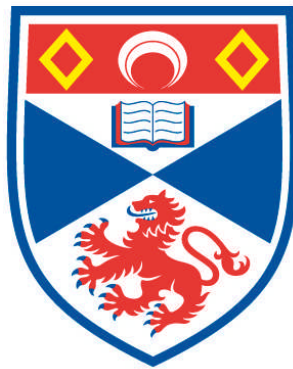


**GEORGE PATON; A STUDY OF HIS LIFE AND
CORRESPONDENCE**

Ronald Paterson Doig

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



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GEORGE PATON ;
A STUDY OF HIS LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

A THESIS

PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

of

THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS

by

RONALD P. TERSON DOIG



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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 October 1952, being a graduate of the University of St. Andrews, and have prosecuted full-time research for at least nine terms in the Department of English under the supervision of Professor A.F. Falconer.



CERTIFICATE

I certify that Ronald P. Doig has spent the statutory period in Higher Study and Research under my direction, 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

The biographical accounts of George Paton that have hitherto been printed are slight and often inaccurate. Archibald Constable,¹ the Edinburgh bookseller and publisher, is the only authority as he was personally acquainted with him. The little that he has left on record about Paton, including a letter which he wrote to the Duke of Roxburghe on the latter's behalf, is to be found in Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents.²

James Maidment lived sufficiently close to Paton's time to have derived information from those who knew the antiquary. No written source is known for many of his statements about Paton, in the preface to his volume of Ritson's letters to Paton,³ and in various notes in his edition of the letters of Thomas Percy and others to Paton.⁴ Both of these were published anonymously. Maidment was also the general editor of the edition of Kay's Edinburgh Portraits produced by Hugh Paton between 1837 and 1839.⁵

-
1. (1774-1827), the publisher of Sir Walter Scott's works.
 2. Edited by Thomas Constable, 3 Vols., Edinburgh, 1873; Vol. I pp. 20-21, 397-398.
 3. Letters from Joseph Ritson, Esq. to Mr. George Paton. To which is added, a Critique by John Finkerton, Esq., upon Ritson's Scottish Songs. Edinburgh, 1829.
 4. Letters from Thomas Percy, D.D. afterwards Bishop of Dromore, John Callander of Craigforth, Esq. David Herd, and others, to George Paton. Edinburgh, 1830.
 5. A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings, by the late John Kay, Miniature Painter, Edinburgh; with Biographical Sketches and Illustrative Anecdotes. 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1837-39.

Most of the short biographies in this edition were the work of James Paterson.¹ There is little in the life of Paton² that was not derived from what Maidment had already written.

All subsequent accounts of Paton are based upon Constable and Maidment. Notable are those of Sir Daniel Wilson³ and Dr. Hans Hecht.⁴ Hecht avoids most of the inaccuracies repeated by others. T.F. Henderson, in the Dictionary of National Biography, unfortunately succeeds in incorporating most of the errors in the work of previous writers.

-
1. See James Paterson, Autobiographical Reminiscences, Glasgow, 1871, pp. 149-156, 239.
 2. Vol. I, pp. 244-247.
 3. Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1848. Vol. I, pp. 163-164.
 4. Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts Edited with Introduction and Notes by Hans Hecht, Dr: Phil. Edinburgh, 1904, pp. 3-8.

CHAPTER I.BIOGRAPHY1. Birth and family.

George Paton was born at Edinburgh on 23rd June 1721, and baptised on 25th July. The record of his baptism is as follows;

25th July 1721

John Paton Bookseller Burges and Margt Mossman his Spouse A S(on) N(amed) George. W(itnesses) Mr. Laurence Craigie of Kilgirston and Mr. Robt Craigie Advocate John Mossman printer Hugh Mossman Bookbinder & George Mossman Merct Born on the 23rd ult.

("N.W." for "North West Parish" in the margin)¹

George was the fifth of a family of eight. His mother, Margaret Mosman, was born in 1683, the daughter of George Mosman, bookseller, and his wife, Margaret Gibb.² We can be less positive about the origins of his father, John Paton; but it seems highly probable that he was the son of William Paton or Patoun, an Edinburgh merchant of some prominence, who was for a time a baillie, and Janet Reid, his wife. Some six children of the name of John Paton were baptised in Edinburgh during the period in which we should look for a record of the baptism of George Paton's father, and there is no evidence to connect any of the others with the subject

1. Edinburgh Register of Baptisms. N.M. Register House, Edinburgh.

2. Baptised 10th July 1683. Ibid.

of this study.¹ There remains, of course, the possibility that the John Paton with whom we are concerned was not born in Edinburgh at all. But there is some reason to infer that the son of Baillie William Paton was, in fact, the father of George Paton.

The evidence is a previous connection between the families of this William Paton, and of George Mosman, George Paton's maternal grandfather. The name of Baillie William Patoun, Merchant, appears as a witness at the baptism on 31st October 1678 of Elizabeth, daughter of George Mosman, merchant, and Margaret Patoun.² This George Mosman, merchant, in turn, was a witness at the baptism on 10th July 1683 of George Paton's mother, the daughter of George Mosman, stationer.³ Further, this George Mosman, merchant, witnessed the baptisms of most of the children of William Paton, including that of his son John, on 4th February 1677.⁴ Baillie William Paton died in 1701, and was buried at Greyfriars on 21st April of that year.⁵

As for his more distant ancestors, George Paton himself traced them to the parish of Muckhart in Perthshire. We cannot do better than quote his own words on the subject;⁶

1. e.g. John, son of John Patoun, "coarsman", and Isobel Hutcheson, baptised 29th April 1677; John, son of John Paton, coachman to Lord Maxland, and Margaret Dunmoore, baptised 2nd November 1684. "Christine Patoun ... alledges James Crightoun to be her Bairns father A S(on) N(amed) John ...", baptised 24th October 1680. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Also Elizabeth (baptised 5th September 1680), Thomas (5th May 1683) and Adam (25th May 1684). He was not a witness at the baptism of a daughter Janet on 9th May 1678. Ibid.

5. Record of Interments - Greyfriars. N.M. Register House.

6. In letter to Richard Gough, 25th June 1787, National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.7.

..... my Forefathers resided in the Parishes of Muckhart & Dollar for the space of nearly four Centuries & were Vassals of the Argyle Family for that Period, the former of which parishes were once inhabited only by the name or Clan of Paton, altho' no Record or written Monument can be adduced for this Fact, every such Testimony &c having been destroyed (sic) by the Marqs of Montrose during the Grand Rebellion last Century when both parishes were laid in ashes, from the private difference between these two noble Families, who according to the humour of the Times ravaged each their possessions to the utter loss of the poor Inhabitants. No evidence of establishing this Fact remains at this time but the rural Monuments at their Graves as their Names or Initial Letters; at this Time there are few of that Surname who reside there & no Tombs worthy notice do remain but one of Bishop Paton who was inhumed there a Great &Ca Granfather of mine he was B. of Dunkeld in James VI reign¹ it is a plain square Table with a modern Inscription thereon, he was a Native of this Parish (sic).

An examination of the parochial registers of Muckhart² shows that the name of Paton was still prevalent there some fifty years before George Paton wrote the above. We find that James Paton and William Paton were elders of the Kirk Session there in the early years of the eighteenth century. Another William Paton, son of Archibald Paton, was accused in 1703 of working on the Sabbath; while the name of George Paton of Middle Ballilisk appears frequently in the minutes of the session in 1718 in connection with an even

-
1. James Paton of Middle Ballilisk (1520(?) - 1596), created Bishop of Dunkeld, 1572. Accused of treason, 1580. (Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Vol. VII p. 339. All references to the Fasti throughout this study are to the revised edition 1915-28.)
 2. These have been preserved from 1698, and are lodged in H.M. Register House, Edinburgh. The information utilised here is in the volume described as the Marriage Register for 1698-1729, but which in fact contains the minutes of the Kirk Session for that period.

more serious misdemeanour.¹ Strangely enough, this same George Paton of Middle Ballilisk is named as a witness in a legal document concerning John Paton, the father of the subject of this study, to which reference will be made later.²

The family of John Paton and Margaret Mosman consisted of four sons and four daughters. The eldest, Margaret, was born on 21st September 1715 and baptised on 18th October.³ Next came another daughter, Sicill or Cicill, born 17th February 1718, and baptised on 25th February³. She died at the age of eight, and was buried at Greyfriars on 26th February 1726.⁴ The third daughter, Mary, was born on 27th May 1719, baptised on 1st June³, and died in December 1723, being buried on the 27th of that month⁴.

The eldest son was William, born 1st July 1720, and baptised 5th July.³ He obtained the degree of M.A. from Edinburgh University on 18th March 1742. He became minister of Eckford⁵ in the Presbytery of Jedburgh in 1755, and remained there until his death on 6th May 1807, exactly two months after that of his brother George.⁶

After George came his fourth sister, Anne, born 17th August 1722;³ then two more brothers, neither of whom survived childhood.

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1. He was accused of being the father of a child born to one Agnes Andersone. While this was still under consideration, a fama clamosa arose that a Margaret Gib was with child, and she too named Paton as the father. After several denials, he admitted his responsibility.
 2. See below, p. 19.
 3. Edinburgh Register of Baptisms.
 4. Record of Interments; Greyfriars.
 5. The obituary notice of Paton in the Gentleman's Magazine, October 1807, (Vol. LXXVII p. 977) gives "Eckfechan". This is misquoted by Maidment (Letters from Joseph Ritson, Esq. to Mr. George Paton, p. vii) as "Ecclesfechan".
 6. Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Vol. II p. 110.

John was born on 20th January 1725,¹ and died at the age of five. He was buried on 4th June 1730.² The last son, Laurence, was born on 1st August 1727.¹ He died in April 1734, being buried on the 21st of that month.²

We are confronted with some difficulty with regard to the dates of the deaths of Paton's sisters, Margaret and Anne. He lost his last surviving sister in November 1789,³ and she was buried on 10th November at Greyfriars in the family burying place, "3 D.p. South East Rophalls Tomb".⁴ Unfortunately, the record describes her simply as "Miss Paton", so that we cannot tell whether this was Margaret or Anne. In October 1772, Paton was called out of town to visit a dying sister.⁵ There is no record of a burial in the Paton's family ground at this time, but that is to be expected, if the sister had married and lived elsewhere. A "Mrs Margarat Paton" (sic) was buried there on 18th January 1776,⁴ but this was probably Paton's sister-in-law of the same name,⁶ unless we are to suppose that the sister who was believed to be dying in 1772 had recovered and lived for over three years more.

Paton does not refer in any known letter to a bereavement in 1776.

Another sister-in-law had been buried in his ground at Greyfriars on

1. Edinburgh Register of Baptisms.
2. Record of Interments; Greyfriars.
3. See below, pp. 21-22.
4. Record of Interments; Greyfriars.
5. Letter to Gough, 21st October 1772.
6. Margaret Paton (born 9th August 1713), daughter of James Paton, Minister of Carrington, George Paton's father-in-law. (Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Vol. I p. 305.)

12th June 1775, the record in this case being perfectly explicit; "Mrs Elizabeth Paton¹ da. of Mr James Paton Minister at Carinton Rophalls Tomb 3 Dps."²

George Paton's father, John Paton, was a burghess of Edinburgh,³ and a citizen of some note. He was one of the founders of the Royal Infirmary,⁴ and a member of the Revolution Club,⁵ a body loyally devoted to the House of Hanover. His name appears in the list of subscribers for the Edinburgh regiment, probably the one formed in 1745 to protect the capital against the Pretender's army. He subscribed the sum of £9.⁶ In December 1720, he served on the jury which tried the case of Christopher Hog, a footpad.⁷

About 1720 John Paton was appointed bookbinder and bookseller to the University of St. Andrews. His petition asking to be appointed printer to the university is preserved in St. Andrews University Library.⁸ Until 1738 he acted as agent to whom copyright books were sent from Stationer's Hall.⁹

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1. Born 9th February 1715. (Ibid.)
 2. Record of Interments; Greyfriars.
 3. Roll of Edinburgh burghesses, 1701-1760, Scottish Record Society.
 4. Kay's Edinburgh Portraits. Vol. I p. 244.
 5. List of the Members of the Revolution Club; Edinburgh University MS. Dc 8.37. Dr. R.H. Carnie drew my attention to this.
 6. National Library of Scotland MS. 3142 f. 79.
 7. Register of Justiciary 30th May 1720 - 1st January 1722. Vol.D10. H.M. Register House, Edinburgh. This was pointed out to me by Dr. W.E. Gillis.
 8. St. Andrews University Library MS. Z325S3P2. Quoted in Appendix II below.
 9. See P. Ardagh, St. Andrews University Library and the Copyright Acts, Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, Vol. III Part III, 1956, p. 187.

The elder Paton, then, was a man of some prominence in Edinburgh, and he evidently had family connections with several persons of distinction in a much wider sphere. Laurence Craigie of Kilgraston or Kilgirston, and his son Robert Craigie, advocate, may have been distant relatives; they must certainly have been bound by some ties of friendship to John Paton and his wife, since they witnessed the baptisms of most of their children, including that of George.¹

Laurence Craigie was one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland.² Robert Craigie, who founded the family of the Craigies of Glendoick in Perthshire, became Lord Advocate in 1742, and President of the Court of Session in 1754.³

George Paton was certainly related to Thomas Craigie, who, having been Professor of Hebrew at St. Andrews, succeeded Francis Hutcheson in the chair of moral philosophy at Glasgow in 1746.⁴ During most of his short tenure of office he was an invalid, and he died at Lisbon on 27th November 1751. His successor was Adam Smith.⁵

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1. Edinburgh Register of Baptisms.
 2. Edinburgh Marriage Register, 1751-1800. Scottish Record Society, 1922 (marriage of his daughter, Cecilia).
 3. Dictionary of National Biography.
 4. "had my Friend & Relation Mr Professor Craigie been alive ..." (Paton to Gough, 29th November 1774). The context shows that he is referring to Glasgow University. I have not been able to establish whether Thomas Craigie belonged to the Kilgraston family.
 5. James Coutts; A History of the University of Glasgow, Glasgow, 1909, pp. 220-221.

Another relation of Paton's was James Gillespie, Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews.¹ Again we have Paton's own authority for this statement, in a letter to Professor William Barron of St. Andrews.²

In a letter to Cough, Paton refers to "our Postmaster-General Mr Oliphant of Rossie my Friend & Relation".³ This was Robert Oliphant of Rossie (1718-1795), Postmaster-General for Scotland.⁴

2. Life to 1760.

It is almost certain, from his own testimony, that George Paton was educated at the Grammar School of Perth, although it has not been possible to find confirmation of this in any records.⁵

Writing in 1792, Paton stated;

I am apt to believe that Major Bisset was a Schoolfellow of mine at Perth, if his Christian name is Charles whose place of nativity was Dunkeld.⁶

This alludes to Charles Bisset, the physician and military engineer,

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1. (1722-1791); Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1779-80; Fasti Vol. VII p. 422.
 2. 8th December 1791. Edinburgh University Laing MSS. II 453 f.2.
 3. 21st August 1786.
 4. Burke's Landed Gentry 1921 edition p. 1358.
 5. Mr A.J. Tait, City Librarian, Perth, writes; "In spite of considerable research, we have been unable to confirm that George Paton was a pupil at the Perth Grammar School" (Letter of 18th September 1954). It is extremely unlikely that Paton would be educated at a private school, however, and the absence of his and Bisset's names from any records can hardly outweigh his positive statement that he was educated at Perth.
 6. Letter to Cough, 21st February 1792.

born at Glenalbert, near Dunkeld, in 1717, and who was awarded the degree of M.D. by the University of St. Andrews in 1766.¹ Another of Paton's schoolmates was his relative, James Gillespie, who, as previously mentioned, became Principal of St. Mary's College.²

Paton refers elsewhere to his having been in Perth or its neighbourhood when a youth in 1733.³ It appears that while attending school he stayed with relations who lived nearby, and whom he characterises as noted for their "inactivity & indolence".⁴

The Grammar School of Perth was flourishing at the time when Paton would be attending it. It was then under the headmastership of James Martine, who had been appointed first doctor in 1729, and who succeeded his father, John Martine, as Rector in July 1732, on the death of the latter. James Martine held the office until his own death in July 1743. The school had been considerably enlarged or completely rebuilt in 1723. In 1734 a Committee of Inspection, appointed by the Presbytery, expressed themselves satisfied with the proficiency and good discipline of the pupils. George Paton may have taken part in "an exhibition of English and Latin readings in the Church before the Clergy, Magistrates, and a large miscellaneous

1. Dictionary of National Biography.

2. In a letter to Cough of 30th January 1788, Paton refers to "my old Schoolfellow & Relation Principal of that University (St. Andrews)". The Principal of the University at that time was Joseph McCormick (1733-99). As he was twelve years younger than Paton, he could hardly have been his schoolfellow. It has already been shown that Gillespie was related to Paton (see above p. 10) so doubtless he was referring to him.

3. Letter to Cough, 21st August 1786.

4. *Ibid.*, 9th August 1787.

auditory" given by the pupils on Candlemas, 1734, and in a performance of Cato in the school on the following Tuesday, both of those events being described in the Caledonian Mercury for February 1734.¹

At what date Paton left Perth is not known, and indeed our knowledge of his life for many years thereafter is very scanty. It is clear, however, that he entered his father's business, and that his status in it was ultimately that of a partner. Chalmers, in his Life of Ruddiman, mentions one book that was printed for John and George Paton.² It is very likely, in view of John Paton's age, that most of the day-to-day management of the business would devolve upon George during the last ten years or so of its existence. It was here, no doubt, that he acquired his deep knowledge and love of books; and it is hard to believe that he found a clerkship in the customhouse more congenial than this pleasant occupation.

Paton visited London once in the period before 1760.³ About 1750 he was in Fife, visiting Sir John Anstruther and other friends at Elie.⁴ There is good reason to suppose that he was

1. Edward Smart, History of Perth Academy, Perth, 1932 pp. 53-63.

2. Of James Man's Censure and Examination of Mr. Thomas Ruddiman's philological Notes, on the Works of the great Buchanan, more particularly in the History of Scotland Chalmers writes; "This huge octavo, of 574 pages, was printed at Aberdeen, 1753, for the author, and sold by John and George Paton, at Buchanan's head, in the Parliament-Close, Edinburgh". The Life of Thomas Ruddiman London, 1794, pp. 249-250 footnote.

3. Letter to Percy, 14th May 1770. British Museum Add. MSS. 32.332.

4. Letter to Gough, 27th April 1787.

under arms in 1745.¹ We know his principles well enough to state categorically that, if he did take part in the conflicts of that year, it was on the side of the Hanoverian government. In a letter to Percy, Paton refers to the battle of Prestonpans as "that unhappy catastrophe".²

According to Archibald Constable, the bookseller's business carried on by John and George Paton failed about 1760 because they had entered into a cautionary obligation which they were obliged to fulfil.³ A search of the records in H.M. Register House, Edinburgh, has not brought to light any evidence of such an obligation. It might possibly have been an oral agreement.⁴ It is, however, abundantly clear that John Paton was in financial difficulties for a considerable time before 1760.

These troubles were partly inherited from his father-in-law and predecessor, George Mosman. A decret of the Court of Session dated 2nd December 1742⁵ shows that already by that time Paton had been involved in prolonged and, no doubt, expensive litigation

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1. Ibid., 10th July 1798; "The same military rage reigns here amongst every degree of life, for my part, I am far superannuated & so feeble now unable for the Discipline, altered much since 1745, when more agile & healthy."
 2. 27th May 1768. British Museum. Add. MSS. 32,332. (Paton wrote "Preston" but the context shows that Prestonpans was meant.)
 3. Letter to the Duke of Roxburghe; Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents Vol. I p. 397.
 4. It was not until the Mercantile Law Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1856, that it was provided "that all guarantees, securities and cautionary obligations ... shall be in writing". Gloag and Henderson; Introduction to the Law of Scotland (Third edition, by A.D. Gibb and N.M.L. Walker), Edinburgh, 1939, p. 198.
 5. Register of Decrets (Dur. Office) Vol. 409. H.M. Register House, Edinburgh.

concerning the shop in Parliament Close, Edinburgh, where he conducted his business. Extracts from this lengthy document are given in an appendix.¹ Here we shall attempt briefly to summarise what it tells us about the state of John Paton's affairs.

George Mosman's business passed on his death to his wife, and subsequently to his son-in-law, John Paton. The ownership of the shop - "that Shop high and laigh back and fore lying on the north side of the Parliament Closs within the Town of Edinburgh", as it is described in the decret - would, in the normal course of events, be shared equally among Mosman's three children; George, Margaret (Paton's wife), and Anna. It was believed by the parties concerned that they had, in fact, inherited it. Thus, John Paton possessed a third share of the shop by right of his wife. Another third was made over to him by Anna Mosman and her husband, William Hardie. The position with regard to the remaining third was more complicated. By a decret of adjudication of 6th December 1732, George Mosman the younger lost his share of the shop to one Robert Scott, merchant in Edinburgh. Scott assigned this decret of adjudication to Ronald Crawford, Writer to the Signet, and Crawford made it over to Paton. The younger Mosman had also been in debt, apparently, to Andrew Ross, a clothier in Musselburgh, and after the latter's death, Ross's daughters, Crizell and Christian, and

1. Appendix III.

their husbands, John Ross of Blackhill and Charles Hay of Hopes, obtained a decret of adjudication dated 18th July 1733 of Mosman's third share of the shop. But they, too, dispoined it in favour of Paton, who probably now felt secure in possession of the shop.

Unfortunately, however, it emerged that as early as 13th July 1726, George Mosman the elder and Robert Hogg, described as "merchants in Edinburgh", had granted a bond to William Grainger, writing-master in Edinburgh, and a decret of adjudication of 6th June 1734 declared to be Grainger's property the whole of the shop in question, as well as "all other land Tenements and other heretable subjects belonging to the said George Mosman".

William Grainger was a son of John Grainger of Houghton Hall, Cumberland, and half-brother of Dr. James Grainger, the translator of Tibullus, and a close friend of George Paton.¹

The matter of the shop therefore resolved itself into what is described in the record as "a competition of heretable rights". When Grainger brought the dispute before the court in 1741 he claimed from Paton the rent of the shop from 1732 at the rate of £20 sterling per annum; and on 1st December 1742 the case was finally decided in Grainger's favour.

This must have been a heavy blow to Paton, but his troubles did not end there. We can infer from what follows that a lengthy dispute ensued between Paton and Ronald Crawford - not unnaturally,

1. Article on James Grainger in D.N.B.; see below, p. 52.

since Paton no doubt felt that he had a right to recover from Crawford what he had paid him for the younger George Mosman's third share of the shop. Eventually, in February 1759, Paton and Crawford submitted all their differences to the arbitration of the Lord President of the Court of Session, Robert Craigie of Glendoick. The choice of arbitrator seems a little surprising since, as stated above, Craigie was a personal friend of Paton's, and possibly a distant relative.¹

Craigie's decision was pronounced on 13th August 1759, and the record of this is quoted in full in an appendix.² Crawford was ordered to pay Paton £100 sterling on 1st September 1759, as full satisfaction for all Paton's claims against him, on account of the decret of December, 1742 by which Paton had lost the ownership of his shop to Grainger. On the other hand, Craigie found that Crawford had a right to the decret of 6th December 1732 against Mosman at the instance of Scott, and he ordered Paton to retrocess Crawford in respect of that adjudication if required by Crawford, but he expressly stated that Paton's failure to grant this retrocession should not be a ground for delay in the payment by Crawford of the capital sum of £100 to Paton.

The protracted litigation over the ownership of the shop must have been a source of great anxiety and expense to John Paton; but

1. See above, p. 9.

2. Appendix III.

that was by no means the whole of his legal worries. He also had a dispute with one Gavin Thomson, writer in Edinburgh, regarding the title to a "five merk land" in the town of Bothwell in Lanarkshire. The difficulty seems to have arisen, as in the case of the shop, through conflicting decreets of adjudication. The matter was placed before two arbiters, William Elliot and Alexander Christie, writers in Edinburgh, and they found that Thomson had the better right to the lands. In accordance with this decision, Paton granted a discharge and renunciation to Thomson. The discharge itself is dated 26th June 1754, but the record of it in the Register of Deeds is dated 3rd February 1755.¹

Of even greater significance as evidence of John Paton's unhappy financial circumstances are the protests lodged against him for various sums of money, recorded in the registers of deeds. On 23rd June 1755 William Cuming protested a debt of £25 sterling;² on 29th January 1756 John Balfour, bookseller in Edinburgh, claimed £15: 7/- from Paton;³ and the same creditor, this time described as "John Balfour & Co." is concerned in a protest of 20th July 1756, the sum involved being £16 sterling.⁴ On 6th December 1758, John Jaffray, former provost of Stirling, protested against John Paton, bookseller in Edinburgh, and Thomas Paton in Stirling, a debt of £50 sterling.⁵ On 22nd December of the same year, William Taylor, as

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1. Register of Deeds (Mack. Office) Vol. 181. H.M. Register House, Edinburgh.
 2. Register of Deeds (Dur. Office).
 3. Ibid.
 4. Register of Deeds (Mack. Office).
 5. Ibid.

factor for James Hodges, a London bookseller, lodged a protest against Paton, the sum in this case being £24: 5: 4 sterling.¹ Messrs. Forrest and Sinclair, merchants in Edinburgh, protested a debt of £31: 7/- on 21st January 1760;² while on 31st May 1760 John Wilkie of Dalhousie claimed a debt of £72 sterling, plus interest at five per cent from 4th June 1759, in accordance with an agreement entered into by Paton at that date.³

Further evidence of debts incurred by John Paton is provided by the records in the registers of deeds of two bonds signed by him. The first of these acknowledges that he had borrowed £1040 Scots from Cicill Paten, "Eldest Lawfull Daughter of the deceast William Paten in Coudene relict of the deceast James Paton some time in Coudene and now Spouse to Robert Sime Tennant in Barkhill". This Cicill Paten or Paton was no doubt a relation of John Paton. Until the capital sum was repaid he promised to pay annual interest to her or to her children by her first marriage, whose names are given as "John, Margaret, Christean, Isobell and Margaret Paton" (sic). This bond was signed on 21st April 1737, and recorded in the register of deeds on 5th April 1758.⁴

The second bond acknowledges a debt of £100 Scots to John Alice, "Tennent in Waugh Milne of Cowden". This bond was granted on 26th April 1737, and promised to repay the money by Martinmas 1738,

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1. Register of Deeds (Dur. Office) Vol. 217.
 2. Register of Deeds (Mack. Office).
 3. Register of Deeds (Dal. Office) Vol. 187.
 4. Register of Deeds (Mack. Office).

with a penalty of £20 in case of failure, and interest to be paid "yearly & termly" so long as the capital sum remained unpaid. This bond is entered in the register on 19th November 1760,¹ so that it is probable that the money had not been paid at that date.²

It is not surprising, in view of the evidence of John Paton's financial embarrassment which we have produced above, that the bookseller's business came to an end about 1760, and George Paton was forced to seek employment elsewhere. He became a clerk in the custom house, and spent the rest of his long life in that position.

3. The Prime of Life; 1760 - 1790.

The above heading requires justification. For Paton was sixty-nine years old at the close of the period which we have described as the prime of his life. None the less, it is true to say that his enthusiasm in the pursuit of his wide scholarly interests, and his zeal in the communication and exchange of knowledge, remained undiminished in 1790. Indeed this continued for a year or two after that, despite all bodily frailties. His letters to Cough were still as frequent and lengthy as ever, and it was not until November 1795 that Cough complained; "... am sorry to have to regret that your letters are not extended to the same length as heretofore".³ Moreover, Paton

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1. Ibid. One of the witnesses to this bond was George Paton of Middle Ballilisk. (See above p. 6.)
 2. For help in the interpretation of the legal documents referred to in the above pages I am indebted to my cousin, Mr. C.D.H. Doig, LL.B.
 3. Letter of 19th November 1795, National Library of Scotland. Adv. MS. 29.5.6.

was still attending to his daily duties in the Customhouse, and was to continue to do so for some years more, except when prevented by illness.¹

In the present section, we shall deal only with the more important events in Paton's private life during the thirty years under review. Other aspects of his life, such as his career in the customhouse, the various houses he lived in, and his relations with his friends and correspondents, can best be treated in separate sections, in some of which it will be convenient to carry the story beyond 1790.

On 21st February 1762, George Paton married Rosina, daughter of James Paton, minister of Carrington or Primrose.² His wife was older than himself, having been born on 25th October 1717.³ His brother-in-law, Robert Paton (1711-1786),⁴ minister of Lasswade from 1746 until his death, is alluded to more than once in Paton's correspondence.⁵ Mrs. Paton died in 1772, and was buried at Greyfriars on 17th June, the cause of death in the record of interment being given as "decay".⁶ We have only one reference to his wife by Paton, that in which he announces her death to his friend Richard Cough.⁷

1. See below, pp. 29-33.

2. Edinburgh Marriage Register, 1751-1800, Scottish Record Society.

3. Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ, Vol. I p. 305.

4. *Ibid.* p. 330.

5. Letters to James Cummyng 17th August 1769, and undated; Edinburgh University Laing MSS. II 81 ff. 10,34.

6. Record of Interments; Greyfriars.

7. Letter of 24th June 1772.

John Paton, George's father, died in May 1765, and was buried at Greyfriars on the 14th of that month, the cause of death being given as "old age".¹ There was a very considerable delay in the winding up of his estate. His "testament dative" was not registered until 16th May 1781. A copy of this document is given in an appendix.² The existence of the record of a testament dative affords strong presumptive evidence that John Paton left no will. A delay of this length between the date of death and the recording of the testament is quite extraordinary, and it may be that George Paton is referring to this matter when he complains of having been

so often shifted by a Writer (or an Attorney as you term them) here that I cannot get a Sum from him, which has been long in his hands these many years, & am affraid will loss (sic) the whole, this is disagreeable.

However, as the above was written in a letter to Gough of 8th November 1783, after the eventual registration of the testament, it may refer to another matter.

Paton's mother died in June 1771, and was interred in the family burial place on the 22nd, "old age" being given as the cause of death.³ The bereavement which he seems to have felt most deeply, however, was the loss of his last surviving sister in 1789. In a letter to Gough begun on the 4th and completed on 7th November 1789 he wrote;

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1. Record of Interments; Greyfriars.
 2. Appendix IV.
 3. Record of Interments; Greyfriars.

Be pleased to excuse my brevity at the time, my Spirits being much deranged with the Concern for the distress of my affectionate, amiable only Sister, who is dying.¹

After the death, he wrote in a letter of 25th November;

I hope you received my last letter & beg to be excused for its defects being then in the deepest concern for the approaching Death of an affectionate amiable & beloved worthy Sister: - a Loss to me irreparable - this Calamity has been very grievous to me & will require a very long period 'ere I can recover my Spirits to attend properly to be able to answer my worthy Friends Letters ...²

Miss Paton was buried at Greyfriars on 10th November 1789.³

4. Career in the Customhouse.

With the failure of the family business, Paton was faced with the necessity of earning his living otherwise, and he secured a post as a clerk in the customhouse. Constable is no doubt correct in saying that this post was obtained by the influence of the friends of Paton's father.⁴ It has already been shown that the Paton family was well connected, and voices would not be lacking to speak for them in those days when patronage was essential for almost any public appointment. It may be that the Patons were on terms of friendship with John Craigie, collector of His Majesty's Customs at

1. National Library of Scotland. Adv. MS. 29.5.7.

2. Ibid.

3. Record of Interments; Greyfriars.

4. Letter to the Duke of Roxburghe; Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents, Vol. I, p. 397.

Port Lerwick in Zetland, who on 30th March 1755 married Cecilia, the only daughter of their friend Laurence Craigie of Kilgraston, by that time deceased.¹

It was necessity, and not personal preference, that made George Paton spend the whole of his life from 1760 onwards as a customs clerk. He was not given to complaining, but the tone in which he always referred to his office work implies that he considered it little better than drudgery. He was frequently harassed by overwork, caused sometimes by the illness of colleagues,² but more often by parliamentary demands for accounts.³ One letter to Percy⁴ tells of his hopes for a little relaxation being disappointed;

The Librarian⁵ is out at present on an excursion, I once hoped to have made one of the party, but Revenue Matters with Attendance at the Exchequer just now disconcerted my Scheme. I wearie much for a very few days' Amusement, but must postpone it till some time hence.

On another occasion, when he was ill, he retired on doctor's orders to the country for a few days, but was recalled to the customhouse before he had had time properly to recuperate.⁶

We have his own description of his daily routine in 1790;

1. Edinburgh Marriage Register, 1751-1800. Scottish Record Society, 1922.
2. Letter to Cough, 15th February 1777.
3. Ibid., 23rd December 1783, etc.
4. 3rd October 1774. British Museum Add. MSS. 32,332.
5. Alexander Brown, Keeper of the Advocates' Library.
6. See below, p. 30.

at present I am obliged to attend Duty from between 10 or before it to 4 and of (ten Y) 5 afternoon & then to return there again to seven. ¹

In the following year a new regulation enforced even longer hours of work, which, as Paton wrote to Cough on 14th March 1791, he found exhausting at his time of life.

According to Constable, Paton's salary was originally £30 per annum, afterwards raised to £70, but subsequently reduced to £55 owing to new regulations. ² Paton himself stated in 1800 that it was then, and had been since 1767, £60 per annum including perquisites. ³ This figure is confirmed by the Customs records, preserved in H.M. Register House, Edinburgh.

The salaries of employees of the customhouse were recorded in two places, the quarterly Salary Bills and the annual Cash Books. Prior to 1801, the names of the clerks in the comptroller general's office are not mentioned separately in the Cash Books. The Salary Bills for the years 1794-1804 inclusive are not extant; and those prior to 1794 do not name the clerks individually. That for the quarter ending 10th October 1805 has the following entry;

James Geddes actg for Mr Paton	£	Less duty to the king
	15 - -	£
		1

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1. Letter to Cough, 13th September 1790.
 2. Letter to the Duke of Roxburghe, op. cit.
 3. Letter to Cough 17th February 1800; Letter to Chalmers 17th February 1800 (Edinburgh University Laing MSS. II 453 f.7.)

The receipts for salaries are enclosed with the Salary Bill and the following is the one signed by James Geddes;

Received from John Campbell Esqr Receiver General of the Customs in Scotland the Sum of Fifteen Pounds being my Salary as additional Clerk in Comptroller General's Office for Quarter ended 10th October 1805. The tax of 6d per £ being paid

£ 15
7: 6
£ 14:12: 6

James Geddes.

The evidence of the Cash Books would suggest that Paton retired from active work on 5th March 1801. From the book (No. 88) for the year 1800-1, where the clerks in the comptroller-general's office are still not mentioned individually, we learn that a William McLean was clerk to the receiver-general of tobacco until 5th March 1801, when he was succeeded by John H. McLean. In the next book, (No. 89, 1801-2), this William McLean appears as "acting for Mr Paton" until 3rd September 1801, when he becomes third clerk to the comptroller-general, and James Geddes then becomes Paton's deputy. The relevant entries in the Cash Book for 1801-2 are as follows;

	10th Oct 1801	5th Jan'y 1802	5th April 1802	5th July 1802
Richd Gardner Assiat: Compr Genl at £160 p.an.	40 - -	40 - -	40 - -	40 - -
Wm McLean Acting for Mr Paton from 5th July to 3rd Sept at £60 p.an.	9 5 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	- - -	- - -	- - -
James Geddes Do for Do from Do at Do	5 14 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	15 - -	15 - -	15 - -
Ferdinand Schenniman Addt allowance as 2d Clerk from 5th March to 20th July at £20 p. annum	7 9 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	- - -	- - -	- - -

Geo. Gardner Do Do from							
Do at Do	4	4	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	-	-	5 - -
Do Do as 3d Clerk from							
5th March to 20th July							
at £20 p. Annum	7	9	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	-	-	- - -
Wm McLean Addt Allowance as							
3d Clerk from 3d Sept at							
£20 p. An.	1	18	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5	-	-	5 - -

In his old age, Paton found his salary inadequate even for bare subsistence, so greatly did the cost of living increase on account of the wars with France and the economic troubles of the time. His misfortune was increased by the loss of a great deal of his savings in the failure of the bank of Bertram, Gardner & Co.¹ Archibald Constable wrote to the Duke of Roxburghe on Paton's behalf. Roxburghe replied that he was unable to help Paton, for reasons which he did not condescend to state, although he believed him to be a very worthy man.²

Paton and his colleague, Ferdinand Schenniman, submitted a memorial to the Commissioners of the Treasury requesting an increase in their salaries, and Paton wrote to both George Chalmers and Richard Cough on the same day, 17th February 1800, asking them to use whatever influence they might have to further the claim.³ Chalmers acted energetically on Paton's behalf, as can be seen from

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1. Constable puts the sum Paton lost at £200. Letter to the Duke of Roxburghe, op. cit. See also below, p. 35.
 2. Roxburghe's reply is dated 26th April 1800. Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents, Vol. I p. 398.
 3. The letter to Cough is in National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.7.; that to Chalmers, Edinburgh University Laing MSS. II 453 f.7.

his reply;

I lost no time in speaking to Mr Mitford of the Treasury about your application for some augmentation in these hard times: I spoke to him again and again about it; and he desired me to say to you, that he had spoken to a Mr Rose upon the point, and would again lay the matter properly before him, at a more leisure moment, in the most favourable manner. I will renew my applications till I can serve you effectually.¹

Gough's reply, on the other hand, was a well-intentioned refusal;

I have mentioned yr case to several members of Parliament who incline to think that answer to any application for augmentation of Stipend may be this unpleasant one: "If you are not content w yr present appointment there are not wanting persons who will take yr place on the present terms". This is too often the case w application to Government. The fear of doing you a material injury will therefore deter me from seconding yr memorial even were it more in my power than it really is. I trust you will view my conduct in its true light & give me not less credit for my wishes to serve you.²

With this letter Gough sent a bank post bill for £10. Paton had previously sent him a set of the Statistical Account of Scotland which, through a misunderstanding, he believed Gough wanted for a friend.³ Gough was therefore able to call the £10 a reimbursement of Paton's outlay, and the latter did not refuse it.⁴

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1. Chalmers to Paton, 6th March 1800. National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 121.
 2. Letter of 24th March 1800, Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.6.
 3. Letters Paton to Gough 14th March and 6th May 1799; Gough to Paton 14th January, 29th February, 17th April 1799.
 4. He acknowledged it in a letter of 5th May 1800.

The above suggests that Paton would receive half his salary, or more, from James Geddes, while the latter was acting for him; since Geddes would be unlikely to lose by his change in status from Paton's deputy to third clerk at Paton's death.

It is evident from the customs records quoted above that Paton's ultimate position was that of first clerk to the Comptroller-general; and it is probable that he had held that post from 1767, when he first received a salary of £60 per annum.¹

5. Paton's Health.

Paton's own words are the best description of the general state of his health during the first seventy years of his life;

My Constitution nor Make of Body never were any of the robust yet (thank God) I never was troubled with any diseases but the Ague, quite a stranger to Fevers.²

In April 1769 Paton had "a severe Touch of the Pylis".³

On 23rd May he wrote to James Cummyng that he was now able to attend the office every day, but was "still very weakly". After he had reached his fifties, he seems to have suffered from colds very frequently.⁴

In the winter of 1775-6,⁵ and again in January 1777,⁶ he was

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1. Letter to Cough, 17th February 1800.
 2. Paton to Cough, 23rd October 1790.
 3. Paton to Cummyng, 14th April 1769.
 4. See, for example, Paton's letters to Cough of 1st March 1774, 8th September, 23rd November 1775, 8th January 1776, 13th November 1777, 24th February 1778.
 5. Paton to Cough 11th December 1775.
 6. Ibid. 17th January 1777.

afflicted with more serious illnesses, influenza in the first case. The letter to Cough of 17th January 1777 was written at his home at Castlehill, whereas almost all the other letters he ever wrote are headed "Custom house". In June 1782 he was suffering from rheumatic pains, headaches and "roughness at the breast & throat".¹ He was not confined to bed, however. In the following February he was more seriously ill, and went to the country to recover. He was very quickly recalled to the customhouse to deal with the parliamentary accounts.²

Paton's correspondent, Richard Cough, was alarmed in 1783 by rumours of disease in Scotland, and apparently suggested that Paton should seek safety at his home at Enfield.³ Writing on 22nd September 1783, Paton assured Cough that his fears were unfounded;

Dear Sir I must express my warmest thanks for your most benevolent friendly invitation of retiring to your safe place of residence, but there is no danger to suspect any calamity. News writers are not always to be believed.

Paton appears to have enjoyed somewhat better health during the next few years, although in December 1786 he complains of some bodily disorders that have brought upon him "a flatness of spirits disabilities of exertion".⁴

In September 1790 he wrote "the load of years now bring on me

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1. Ibid. 15th June 1782.
 2. Ibid. 15th - 22nd February 1783, 22nd March 1783.
 3. The letter in which Cough made this suggestion does not seem to have survived.
 4. Paton to Cough 16th December 1786.

many infirmities - I am now insured".¹

In a letter of 23rd October 1790 appears the paragraph on his health, part of which was quoted at the beginning of the present section.

He went on;

this Season being wholly moist, I've felt several twitches of the Rheumatism in my right shoulder which went off in a day or so; presently, it has been more severe than ever I felt it, this does not confine me, only prevents my moving any thing heavy & ca. - what else can one of my years look for?

The note of patient resignation in the last question recurs in subsequent letters when he refers to his increasing disabilities.

By 1794 Paton's sight was much impaired.² In February 1795 he wrote to Cough that he had been "much indisposed for these two months past & confined at home".³ A letter which he wrote to his cousin Benjamin Waters about the same time⁴ is a graphic and touching account of his plight;

Please excuse my tardy Silence to your kind repeated Inquiries about my Health; I crawl out in the best manner cautiously down this length in day time & if call'd out of the Evening take the assistance of a support during out & and return home which is of no duration, dare not venture any further expedition while seven days last, being less able to weather out the storm than the former of 39 and 40; now scarcely can hold the Pen for shivering, as you so do I pity the Eckfordians⁵ but hope (as the Custom was of past seasons) sufficient provision of Fewel

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1. Ibid. 13th September 1790.
 2. Paton to Cough 11th June 1794.
 3. Ibid. 28th February 1795.
 4. Nat. Lib. MS. 3648 ff. 161-2. The letter is undated, but "1795" is marked on the outside.
 5. i.e. his brother William and his family at Eckford.

used to be laid in of Coal during the Summer as a Fortification against Sir John Sharp, I think there may be about as much in my cellar as may nearly serve during this storm if it does not continue till end of next month, or nearly so long.

In April 1795 Paton was still only "slowly recovering"¹ and in November he was again "very valetudinary".² On 4th December he wrote;

I must acknowledge that the variableness of this year has bore very severely on me, rendering me often unfit for writing &ca. by the tremor of my hand - But what else can I expect at my time of Life. ³

In a letter of 8th March 1796 he told Cough that during January he had been

confined with a bealing inwardly of my right ear, have got better but lost all hearing with it, whether I do recover it is uncertain, tho' enjoy the same by the left which comforts me.

On 12th April he wrote;

I feel myself much weakened & feeble since my late confinement but get abroad mostly every day.

In July 1796 he was "distrest with tremor of hands",⁴ and this continued for about six months, as is clear from a letter of 10th February 1797;

I now take the earliest opportunity of soliciting your pardon for my too long silence occasioned by the violent fits of Rheumatism, tremor in my hands &ca. rendering me unable to attend any business or amusement &c. during this Autumn & Winter,

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1. Paton to Cough 24th April 1795.
 2. Ibid. 6th November 1795.
 3. Paton to Cough 4th December 1795.
 4. Ibid. 14th July 1796.

but for these few days by past, have got some relief, hoping in a short time to enjoy such health as can be expected at my time of Life.

But again, in April 1798,¹ he had to confess that the winter had been very severe on him, while in July he apologised for the interruption of his correspondence with Cough, caused "by application to business thro' my late confinement & partly the return of my former Complaints ...".²

On 27th March 1799 Paton wrote to Cough;

Having never got free of the Complaints by the late Storm I am confined to the House

and again on 6th May 1799;

By the severity of our late Storm I have been confined to the House & mostly to Bed for these five or six weeks, being unable to attend to any amusement or Business ...

On 20th June of that year, Dr. Robert Anderson wrote to Bishop Percy, that since the beginning of March

the infirmities of age have increased so fast upon (Paton), that he has never been able to exert himself sufficiently for that purpose. (to give Anderson all the materials in his possession regarding James Grainger, the poet) He is very feeble, but, as the warm season advances, I hope he will gain a little strength, and favour me with his recollections; yet, at the age of eighty, the most vigorous constitution cannot afford much hope.³

When he wrote to Percy again on 31st July, Anderson was able

1. Ibid. 9th April 1789.

2. Ibid. 10th July 1798.

3. J.B. Nichols; Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, Vol. VII p. 76-77.

to tell him that Paton was "upon the recovery".¹ But by 5th May 1800 his condition was again as bad as it had been the previous year;

.... a renewed attack of Aguish complaints laid me aside from minding any Business with the Easterly winds, which do continually distress me.

Paton wrote to Cough on that date, and again on 17th September;

.... being laid aside by a violent Cold &c. but now recruiting hope soon to get the better of such Complaints as my advanced years will admit.

Four days earlier, Anderson had written to Percy that Paton was "very ill".²

On 24th December 1801 Paton wrote;³

I have past the Summer & autumn pretty well, but have been confined during our late Frost & fall of Snow, hope soon to get better.

and on 28th April 1802;⁴

I must hastily put an end to this Epistle, as the Cramp of Hand makes it unfit for my writing or mending a Pen. Mr Constable's Accot of my Health⁵ was more favorable than true

The last letter that we have from Paton's pen was written to Cough on 26th September 1804. In it he said;

I beg acceptance of my best thanks for the very kind inquiry about my Health, please know that since Autumn last year, I have been disabled by a Return of the Influenza with other Complaints at my time of life to attend any Business; but am now getting better

1. Ibid. p. 80.

2. Nichols, *op. cit.* p. 87.

3. Letter to Cough.

4. Letter to Cough.

5. Cough had written to Archibald Constable enquiring about Paton's health, and Constable had apparently replied that Paton enjoyed health and comfort. (See Cough to Paton 7th March 1804.)

Anderson wrote on 29th October 1804 that Paton's understanding and memory were almost gone.¹

6. Financial and other losses.

Illness and bereavements were not the only misfortunes that Paton suffered. Previous biographers have noted how he lost his savings in the failure of the bank of Bertram, Gardner and Co. This happened in 1793, one of the many casualties in the economic disaster that followed the outbreak of the French Revolution.² Constable gives the sum Paton lost as £200.³ Paton alluded to the loss in a manner which suggests that he had not been deprived of all his savings by this calamity;

my finances prevent buying every Book having
lost much of my Cash by the late stoppages
amongst our Merchants. ⁴

But this was by no means the only financial loss that Paton sustained. He seems to have inherited his father's bad luck in money matters. On 1st May 1772 he wrote to Cough that he had "met with some considerable loss of late". Again, in 1783, when referring to George Low's loss of his savings,⁵ he remarked that he himself had "lately suffer'd in a similar degree by the insolvency

1. Nichols, *op. cit.* p. 134.

2. W. Graham; The One Pound Note in the History of Banking in Great Britain, Second edition, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 142.

3. Letter to the Duke of Roxburghe, *op. cit.*

4. Letter to Cough, 25th August 1794.

5. See below, p. 369.

of some".¹ Another letter written in the same year mentions that a sum of money had long been withheld from him by a writer.²

Paton wrote to Benjamin Waters on 1st February 1786;

at present it is not in my power to assist you having been misfortunate enough some time past to lose some money that I did not expect by a pretended friend, with whom this gay supercilious world at the present day does too much abound.³

Writing to Cough on 10th February 1789, Paton referred to his "reduced Income of late". Since in 1800 he stated that his salary had not changed since 1767,⁴ this must refer to a loss of another kind, presumably on investments.

Another type of loss frequently sustained by Paton was that of books and coins from his collections. In Kay's Edinburgh Portraits it is stated that

His services - his knowledge - his time - as well as his library, were at the command of all his friends. These ultimately became a sort of common, where our antiquarian writers of last century were wont to luxuriate, and whence they would return, like bees, each to his own peculiar locality, laden with the spoil obtained from the stores of this singularly obliging and single-hearted individual.⁵

Paton's good nature in so freely lending his books to others inevitably led to the loss of not a few, as may be seen from a

1. Letter to Cough, 24th September 1783.
2. See above, p. 21.
3. National Library of Scotland MS. 3648, ff. 136-7.
4. Letters to Cough and to Chalmers, 17th February 1800, op. cit.
5. A Series of Original Portraits ... by the late John Kay ... 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1837-59 Vol. I p. 245.

letter to Cough of 19th August 1784;

Please debit me with the prices of John Dunton's Life,¹ I want it much for my Grandfather's sake, my former Copy being stole from (me) as many others have been.

or, again, from a passage in a letter to Waters of 7th July 1784;

... there is also a Devotional Book used by your Roman Candlesticks, the Title of it may be "Meditations affectueuse sur la Vierge & ca." but can add no more as the Title page of the copy I had stoin from me was wanting²

A much more serious loss of this kind had been suffered by Paton several years earlier, and he enlisted Cough's aid for the recovery of his property. The first mention of the matter is in a letter to Cough of 9th March 1772;

I am probably to trouble you for your assistance in recovering for me a Book borrowed from me & in the Hands of one in London ...

The whole affair is explained at length in a subsequent letter, dated 30th March 1772;

I have used the Freedom of inclosing a Letter for a Friend of mine, Mr Robertson was directed by me to recover a very large Collection of Pamphlets in folio containing many Scots Trials, besides many English ones, with a full collection of the Acts of our Privy Council in Charles II and James II against many of the noble Gentlemen & ca. in this country who were attainted & likewise an octavo volume of pamphlets amongst which the "Trial of Ep Atherton in Ireland for Bestiality with a Sermon after his Execution". It is several years since one Mr Lewis Printer } got them thro' the intercession of his

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1. The Life and Errors of John Dunton, late Citizen of London London, 1705.
 2. National Library MS. 3648, f. 127.
 3. Probably M. Lewis, printer and publisher, 1 Paternoster Row, London, from 1756 to 1776; Flomer, Bushnell and Dix; A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775 Oxford: 1932 p. 155.

friend Mr Clark,¹ Lewis then proposing to print a large Collection of English, Scots and Irish Trials for Treason (&) other Mi(s)deamenors & had the loan of these to promote his Plan, since which time I neither can get back the books nor an Equivalent for them, ten Guineas cannot supply the folio, nor can the other be had, the first cost me 12 or 15 years ago between four & five guineas & at present would sell at double or more that Price: it would be very obliging if you could advise & assist Mr Robertson of the most proper method of getting back my Books or an Equivalent for them

Gough acted quickly, and was able to reply to Paton on 17th April 1772;

... you will receive yr folio Volume of Trials & c. which Mr Robertson & I recoverd yesterday from Mr Lewis. Mr Robertson desires me to tell you he has got the other two folio tracts mentiond in yr letter of attorney to him. But as for Atherton's trial, Mr Lewis says there was some book which you desired him to accept for his trouble, but he does not know what. Mr Robertson had been after him till he despaird of success: & Mr Lewis, tho' he produced the folio Volume to us immediately tied up in a carefull manner, told us he had but very lately received it from a gentleman who had carried it into the country where he had long been confined with a long fit of the gout ... Mr L added that tho you set so high a value on yr books he would not give (sic) fifteen shillings for the whole

Paton replied on 27th April ;

I am greatly obliged to you for the Recovery of my Volume of Pamphlets. I got two of the Books lent him some time ago, at that time apologies were made that this Book had been arrested for Debts due by the Borrower which does by no means agree with the Tale he told you, & do not relish the tearing of the crest & ca. the Reason of his getting these books was an In(tima)tion of publishing some Trials, a

1. Perhaps John Clark or Clarke, bookseller and publisher at the Bible under the Royal Exchange, London, 1697 - 1760. Ibid. pp. 52-3.

note of which was sent him before ever the Books were put into Mr Clerk's Hands as the return made by him was "they should be very welcome". What I desired he might keep was "Baillie of Jervis wood's Trial" another Copy of which I have, this he mistakes for B. Atherton's Trial 8^o but I have written him to restore this to Mr Robertson

Apparently Paton got no further satisfaction, for the last words we have from him on the subject are contained in a letter of 28th May 1772;

... as to Mr Lewis I must wait patiently till he do me Justice.

Fifteen years later, Paton had occasion to complain of unfair treatment from another bookseller, although not in this case amounting to dishonesty. This was Charles Elliot,¹ who otherwise disposed of some books which had first been ordered by, and laid aside for, Paton. Apparently ^{62.15} the latter was not the only customer of Elliot who was treated in this way.²

Paton's collection of coins often suffered in the same way as did his library. Referring to coins, he wrote to Cough on 24th April 1795;

... have of late dropt that purchase, havin_g had many pocketed by inspectors ...

1. See Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers ... 1726 - 1775, op. cit., p. 304.

2. Letters to Cough, 24th - 27th March, 8th April 1787.

7. Paton's Homes.

Previous biographers give the impression that Paton lived all his life alone, at his house in Lady Stair's Close. In fact, he changed his abode several times, and it was not until after the death of his sister in 1789¹ that he lived alone.

In 1773, when the first Edinburgh Directory appeared, he was living in the Castlehill.² In 1779 he moved to Libberton's Wynd.³ A passage in a letter to Gough of 30th September 1779 refers to his removal;

the late trouble of transporting & not yet having had time to put my Books in any order thro' the wretched delays of Tradesmen whom I cannot get to finish their work (being tied down to particular persons) else might (have) been well advanced by this time.

Gough wrote on 15th October;

Mr Spottiswood commends yr new Abode: wish you much & long enjoyment of it.

Gough was engaged at this time in removing his books to a new library, and Paton was able to give him the benefit of his own experience;

might I advise you not to admit them too early into the new apartment nor immediately below the Roof of the house, the moisture of either generates the Book worm & that very speedily, this I have experienced: I am singularly obliged to you for your good wishes & hope to be better accomodated than in my former house.⁴

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1. See above pp. 21-22.
 2. Williamson's Edinburgh Directory 1773-4.
 3. Ibid., 1780-1.
 4. Letter of 23rd October 1779.

In 1790 Paton was obliged to move again, as the dilapidation of his house was threatening the ruin of his property, especially the books which he treasured most of all.¹ It was probably with reference to this house that Paton sought his friend John Davidson's advice, in an undated letter which is preserved with Davidson's reply on the same sheet.² Paton wrote;

Geo Paton presents Compliments to Mr Davidson incloses his unlucky Tack with the Factors discharges, begs to have Mr Davidson's opinion & advice, but thinks he is under no obligation to remain here unless the House be made habitable & kept free of Rain & ca. - Q. After the repeated Intimations given formerly & of late might not a protest be taken that he shall not be liable at least for this half year's Rent & that he quit the House for the Injury suffered, inconvenience put to & receiving no benefit from that part, which by the by is the most comodious Room of the House?

Thursday morning.

Davidson's reply was not encouraging;

I am afraid you can have no remedy but to put the house in a habitable condition yourself as you are bound to do so by the tack unless you can persuade the landlord to do so wch you may try.

Paton's new accommodation was at the head of Forrester's Wynd.³

It was evidently unsatisfactory, for only a year later he wrote to Cough of his intention of moving yet again;

I am shortly to be engaged in a new private toil of moving to another house, where I shall be more commodiously & healthfully situated than at the time: the transporting

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1. Letter to Cough, 24th July 1790.
 2. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 53.
 3. Williamson's Directory 1790-92.

my Books, Papers &c. will employ my mornings & Evenings toil for some time. ¹

This was the house in Lady Stair's Close ² with which he has always been associated. There, as far as is known, he ended his days.

8. The Cape Club.

The Cape Club was a social society that flourished in Edinburgh in the second half of the eighteenth century. Accounts of the club are to be found in Dr. Hans Hecht's Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts ³ and in Mr M.P. McDiarmid's introduction to his edition of The Poems of Robert Fergusson. ⁴ The manuscript records of the club are preserved in the National Library of Scotland. ⁵ It was presided over by an elected "sovereign" whose "reign" generally lasted about a year. The members were known as "knights of the cape". They took their humorous "titles" from some adventure which had befallen them, and which they were required to narrate at their admission ceremony. The elaborate mock ritual carried out at the admission of new members was a parody on freemasonry. ⁶ The club's regalia consisted of the sovereign's cape and two pokers for maces. These are now lodged in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries

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1. Letter of 14th March 1791.
 2. Aitchison's Edinburgh Directory, 1793-4.
 3. Edinburgh, 1904; pp. 35-51.
 4. Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, 1954. Vol. I pp. 49-60.
 5. MSS. 2000 - 2040.
 6. W.F. Gillis, The Unpublished Poems of Robert Fergusson, Edinburgh, 1955; p. 8.

of Scotland.

The club may have begun as early as 1733, although it was not formally constituted until 1764.¹ There are no records earlier than the latter year. It seems that Paton was a member of the club in its less formal days; for he and James Cummyng² frequently address each other as "Sir James" and "Sir George" in their letters. Paton, writing to Cummyng on 11th September 1768, began;

Geo Paton presents Compliments to Sir James Cummyng
salutes his Knightship of the Cape ...³

On 17th August 1769 Paton wrote to Cummyng;

Having past half an hour with the Sovereign yesterday
afternoon, who exprest a fondness to know the Origin
of the Phrase "Knights of Windsor"...⁴

The sovereign at this time was William Hair, whose "title" was "Sir Plank", and who "reigned" from 17th December 1768 to 4th November 1769.⁵ But it is possible that Paton was really referring to David Herd, who had been installed as sovereign on 10th September 1768, but who remained in office for only three months.⁶

Paton's name does not appear in any of the lists of members.⁷

1. See Necht, Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts, op. cit. In an unpublished thesis by Dr. D.L. McElroy in Edinburgh University Library, The Literary Clubs and Societies of Eighteenth Century Scotland, and their influence on the period from 1700 to 1800. Edinburgh, 1952, p.534, it is stated that "the Cape Club was organized in 1763, although there has been an unsuccessful attempt to suggest that it was in existence some thirty years earlier". But cf. the letter, written in 1762, cited below, p.44 note 6. The fact that Paton and others were regarded unofficially as members after the constitution of the club does suggest that there was some sort of informal Cape Club before 1763.
2. Cummyng was the "Recorder" of the Club.
3. Edinburgh University Laing MSS II 81 f.4.
4. Ibid. f. 10.
5. Nat. Lib. MS. 2000 f.25. List of Sovereigns.
6. Ibid.
7. Nat. Lib. MSS. 2000, 2002-2004.

At least two of his friends, evidently associated with the club also, were, like him, omitted from the membership lists. These were George Campbell¹ and Andrew Stevenson². A letter written by the former to Paton on 19th March 1772 begins;

I am favoured with yours of the 11th ult concerning one from our worthy Sovereign and answer to which I beg the favour you will be so good as deliver ...³

The "sovereign" at this time was Andrew Plummer of Middlestead.⁴

Paton concluded a letter written to Andrew Stevenson on 18th May 1775 with

will be at good Sir Andrew's devotion on a Call (if possible) given⁵

The earliest letter from Cumming to Paton that we have, dated 21st November 1762,⁶ begins "Dear Sir George", and we have the same introduction on one as late as 31st March 1774.⁷ Paton could hardly have remained officially a member after a decision of the committee of the Cape Club taken at a meeting on 23rd January 1771;

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1. Since this correspondent wrote from Stranraer, he can confidently be identified as George Campbell of Airies, collector of customs at Portpatrick, who was known to James Boswell. See Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle. In the collection of Lt-Colonel Ralph Heyward Isham. 18 vols., New York, 1928-34. Vol. VIII p. 17, Vol. XIII p. 263.
 2. Depute Receiver of the Customs, Edinburgh.
 3. This letter was forwarded by Paton to Gough, and is now placed after the letter to Gough of 9th March 1772 in Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.7.
 4. Nat. Lib. MS. 2000 f. 25. For some particulars of Plummer, see McDiarmid, op. cit. p. 53.
 5. Bodleian Library MS. 25443 f. 735 (MSS Montague Vol. V f. 78).
 6. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 1.
 7. Ibid. f. 2.

the Recorder having produced a list of Severalls in and about Edinburgh who have hitherto been called Knights, yet have never given any attendance nor Signed the Laws and taken out Diplomas. The Recorder was authorised by the Council to write to these Gentlemen once more peremptorily requiring them to comply with the regulations of the Society and appear and take out Diplomas, on or before the ninth of February nixt - otherwise the Council have resolved that by and with the consent and determination of a Grand Cape to be held that day They shall then be declared to have forfeited all manner of Tittle they ever could pretend to be members of the Society and expelled therefrom in all time coming. ¹

The fact that his name, and those of his friends Campbell and Stevenson, do not appear in the lists of members, indicates that they did not accede to this demand.

Paton may have continued to join the members of the club occasionally, in the various taverns which at different times served as "Cape Hall". But even this association would be stopped by a rather dictatorial decree of the council made on 1st February 1777, whereby the practice of admitting strangers on Sunday evenings to the room reserved for members was ordered to be discontinued, even although Sunday was not an official "Cape night" and members were meeting on that evening in their private capacities.² Sunday was eventually made a "Cape night" on 18th January 1780, "a due observance being always had to the Sanctity of That Day".³

1. Nat. Lib. MS. 2004 p. 53.

2. Ibid. p. 146.

3. Ibid. p. 190.

9. The Last Years; 1790 - 1807.

Little is known about the closing years of Paton's life. Most of what we do know has already been given in previous sections. Until the close of the eighteenth century, Paton's diligence in his correspondence, as in his daily work, continued almost unabated. But his retirement from the custom house, in March 1801,¹ came too late to enable him to devote himself with full enjoyment to the studious pursuits that had occupied his leisure hours for so long. Old age was fast robbing him of his energy and enthusiasm.

An unhappy dispute with an old friend marred the close of Paton's life. This friend was Dr. Robert Anderson (1750 - 1830), the editor, among other works, of A Complete Edition of the Poets of Great Britain.² In September 1799 Anderson borrowed a copy of Thomson's Orpheus Caledonius from Paton for the use of Dr. Currie,³ the biographer of Burns.⁴ This book had not been returned to Paton in 1804, and apparently the latter addressed a somewhat impatient letter to Anderson on the subject. This may be gathered from Anderson's reply, dated 19th October 1804;

Dr Anderson is extremely concerned that the book which he borrowed from Mr. Paton for the use of Dr. Currie has been kept so long at Liverpool. Mr Paton well knows that Dr. A. has, for a long

1. See above, p. 25.

2. 13 vols, Edinburgh, 1792-5 (Fourteenth volume added in 1807).

3. James Currie, M.D. (1756-1805). (Dictionary of National Biography)

4. Letter Dr. Anderson to Bishop Percy, 28th September 1799; J.B. Nichols, Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century Vol. VII p. 82.

time, used every fair gentlemanly means to procure the return of it. At length it has been returned, at the expence of quarrelling with Dr. Currie, & Dr. A. has been waiting, for some weeks, for a proper opportunity of putting it into Mr. Paton's own hands, with his apologies. Such an opportunity was likely to occur when Dr. A's health would enable him to go abroad; but the peremptory tone of Mr Paton's note of this date (the first he has had the trouble of writing to him on the subject) renders the visit which Dr. A. intended to pay in Lady Stair's Close not only unnecessary but improper.

In consideration of the tokens of amity & goodwill which Dr A. received from Mr Paton, in the days of their acquaintance, & in testimony of his esteem for his character he takes the opportunity of sending, with the Orpheus for his acceptance, a copy of Miss Stewart's Ode to Bishop Percy & a copy of Dr Hill's Address to the Students of Physic, of which he intended himself to be the bearer some future day. ¹

It may be that Paton, who had so often borne with patience the inconsiderateness of others in regard to the borrowing of his books, had at last been a little over-hasty with one who was more conscientious. On the other hand, it is to be regretted that Anderson did not call upon Paton as he had intended, instead of writing the indignant letter which must have been more, rather than less, distressing to Paton on account of the continued kindness of feeling towards him implied in it. Moreover, Anderson's statement that his recovering the book had cost him a quarrel with Currie seems to be untrue on the evidence of Currie's letter to Anderson on the subject.

1. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 125.

It had entirely escaped my memory that the Orpheus Caledonius was still in my hands. I now return it with many thanks, and with sincere regret it should have been retained so long ...

wrote Currie to Anderson on 24th June 1804.¹ There is no sign there that Currie had taken offence at being asked for the book.

It is to be hoped that Anderson and Paton were reconciled; but we have no further information on the matter.

Paton died on 6th March 1807,² and was buried at Greyfriars on 9th March. The record of the burial is as follows;

George Paton Custom house March 9 3 D.P.S. E. Rophalls
Tomb.³

10. Paton's Friends and Correspondents.

One might attempt to divide Paton's correspondents into two groups; on the one hand, the small band of intimate associates who shared his scholarly interests, and his social life; on the other hand, the much larger company of scholars, living in many parts of Great Britain and even beyond, who drew upon his ever available stores of knowledge.

1. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 22.4.11 f. 190.

2. The Dictionary of National Biography gives the date as 5th March 1807. Maidment gives 6th March (Letters from Joseph Ritson Esq., to Mr George Paton Preface p. vi). Customs records confirm 6th March (see above, p. 28).

3. Record of Interments; Greyfriars. H.M. Register House, Edinburgh.

This distinction is acceptable so long as it is realised that it is a broad one. There is no hard and fast division in the Paton Correspondence between the personal and the formal. Various degrees of intimacy are reflected in the letters, depending as much upon the temperament of the writer, as upon his relationship with Paton.

Of those letters that have come down to us, even those addressed to and received from Paton's close friends are concerned mainly with literary or scholarly, rather than personal matters; the only exception to this statement being the letters to his cousin, Benjamin Waters.¹ Paton did not preserve his purely private correspondence. From various allusions in his letters to Waters, it is clear that Paton received frequent communications from his brother William in Eckford.² But unfortunately we have none of those letters.

Further, it must be remembered that because Paton was in close contact with such friends as David Hurd and James Cumyng, the correspondence between them that survives presents an inadequate and rather disjointed picture of their relationship. Most of their communication would be oral, and some of it also, perhaps, in notes which would probably be destroyed as purely personal.

In this connection it should be mentioned that a number of known friends of Paton are not represented at all in the existing

1. See below, pp. 53-57.

2. e.g. letters of 2nd November 1789, 7th November 1795. Nat. Lib. MS. 3648 ff. 143, 160.

correspondence. Notable among these was Andrew Plummer,¹ who shared many of Paton's literary and antiquarian interests. Plummer refers to Paton a number of times in letters to David Herd, in terms which indicate close friendship. On 22nd January 1797, for instance, Plummer wrote to Herd;

I am very happy to hear that my friend Mr G. Paton still enjoys his health & ale. I am a sort of title page as well as he But I admitt he is the Elder Edition²

Paton was known also to James Boswell, who has left a record of two meetings with him. The first of these was on 10th August 1774;

In the evening I called in at Mr. Bell the Bookseller's shop,³ where I found Mr. Paton of the Customs, who varied the ideal prospect of my mind by presenting to it his remarks and anecdotes concerning Scottish Antiquities. He told me of a curious Manuscript in the Advocates' Library, the Diary of Birrel, a Citizen of Edinburgh,⁴ in which all things that happened in that man's time (from 15- to 16-) are recorded. It will help me in my intended History of Edinburgh.⁵

The second was on 20th April 1777;

I visited Lady Mary Cuninghame and Lord Dundonald in the forenoon. Balbarton, Surgeon Wood⁶, and

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1. See above, p. 44.
 2. National Library of Scotland MS. 892 f.85.
 3. John Bell (d. 1806). See Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers.. 1726-1775, op. cit. pp. 282-3.
 4. Robert Birrell's Diary, now National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 33.7.28.
 5. Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle. In the collection of Lt.Colonel Ralph Heyward Isham .. 18 vols. New York, 1928-34. Vol. IX p. 167.
 6. Alexander Wood (1725-1807), popularly known as "Lang Sandy Wood"; a grandson of Wood of Warriston. (Kay's Edinburgh Portraits 1837-39 edition Vol. I pp. 161-6, and D.N.B.)

Mr. George Paton of the Customhouse (first time) dined with us. I was comfortably amused with Mr. Paton, who was formerly a Bookseller, is Grandson to Mosman, the printer, and has a great knowledge of Antiquities and curious Books. ¹

It would appear from Paton's letters that he continued to meet Boswell occasionally. ² On 16th March 1778, for instance, he wrote to Cough;

Mr James Boswell Advocat express his desire of seeing you when at leisure in London he set out a few days ago resides there for two months will be got notice of at Genl Paoli's house in London where I believe he takes up Lodging.

A lifelong friend of Paton was John Hope (1725-1786), who became Professor of Botany and Materia Medica at Edinburgh in 1761. ³ On his death, Paton wrote of him as "my very worthy late Friend and above fifty years acquaintance", ⁴ and several years afterwards referred to him as "my intimate from his early youth to his death". ⁵

Sir John Pringle (1707-1782), the distinguished physician who in 1772 became President of the Royal Society, ⁶ was acquainted with Paton in his earlier days. But the same modesty that Paton himself noticed in his friend George Low, ⁷ prevented Paton from keeping up

1. Private Papers, op. cit. Vol. XII p. 182.
2. Boswell must have known Paton before the two meetings recorded above. See Paton to Percy 23rd August 1773 (British Museum Add. MSS. 32,332) "Mr Boswell told me he had seen you after your Return from Inveraray".
3. Dictionary of National Biography.
4. Letter to Cough, 19th December 1786.
5. Ibid. 25th August 1794.
6. D.N.B.
7. See below, p. 369.

the connection when Pringle rose to national eminence. Our evidence for the friendship is in two letters from Paton to Cough. "Sir John Pringle was once my very old acquaintance", he wrote on 11th December 1775, and, at greater length, on 5th February 1776;

Sir J. Pringle, whom with the most chearfull pleasure I should be ready on any occasion to serve, as I had the favour of his Acquaintance many years ago when he ranked as one of our University Professors, where he then as ever since made a figure most respectable, but he must have forgotten me as also my Mother.

Another early friend of Paton was the minor poet, Dr. James Grainger (1721? - 1766).¹ Grainger was a half-brother of William Grainger, who was involved in the lengthy legal proceedings with Paton's father over the ownership of the shop in Parliament Close.² James Grainger was a friend of Bishop Percy and of Dr. Johnson. A letter on Grainger was published in the Gentleman's Magazine for July, 1791³ above Paton's initials.

Among other intimate friends of Paton, may be mentioned Allan Ramsay and Thomas Ruddiman, regarding both of whom Paton was able to supply George Chalmers with valuable information.⁴ Robert Fergusson must have been well known to Paton also, as they were both frequenters of Dowie's tavern.⁵ Paton may have been one of the friends who

1. D.N.B.

2. See above, pp. 14-15.

3. Vol. LXI p. 614. See below, pp. 213-4.

4. See below, pp. 183-191.

5. McDiarmid, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

accompanied Fergusson to the madhouse.¹ Robert Burns, too, could hardly have failed to become acquainted with Paton, but I know of no reference to Paton by Burns, or to Burns by Paton. Burns may have thought Paton of little account.

Paton's friends, as distinct from his correspondents, were by no means confined to the city of Edinburgh and its neighbourhood. We shall have occasion in a future chapter to comment upon the number of men living in the Orkney and Shetland Islands with whom he was acquainted.² None of these were correspondents, except for his most intimate friend in Orkney, George Low. The connection with Low began as a scholarly correspondence, but even before the first meeting of the two men, it had developed into something more; after that meeting it deepened into a warm friendship, ended only by Low's death.³

With the mention of Low, we may pass to a consideration of those close friends of Paton, some of whose correspondence with him, on one side or the other, has survived. Benjamin Waters deserves to be mentioned first in this connection. Our material in his case is unique. We have only letters from Paton to Waters. With most of the other correspondents, the extant letters are entirely or mainly addressed by them to Paton. Paton must have destroyed the letters he received from his cousin, in accordance with his policy of keeping

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1. I owe this suggestion to Mr. W.E. Gillis, who has submitted a Ph.D. thesis on Fergusson to Edinburgh University.
 2. See below, pp. 330, 336.
 3. See below, p. 343.

only letters of a literary or scholarly interest. The letters to Waters are thus our only example of Paton's domestic correspondence, and as such are of considerable interest.

The letters to Waters, who was a merchant seaman, cover the period 1784 to 1795.¹ The first letter, of 28th June 1784, is addressed to "Mr. Ben Waters Mercht Wick".² Later in the year he was in London, for on 16th November 1784 Paton addressed a letter to him "at Mr John Stuart No 5 Crosby row Snow fields London".³ Next year he was back at Wick, and in the address of one letter, Paton describes him as a "cooper", although usually the designation is "merchant".⁴ Latterly, Waters settled down at Leith, where his successive addresses were "Timber Bush,"⁵ "Quality Street,"⁶ and "at the foot of the Walk".⁷

The letters of Paton to Waters are largely a record of services rendered by the two men to each other. As a seaman, and a merchant in contact with other seamen, Waters was able to obtain for Paton foreign books and objects of antiquarian interest. Paton, in return, sent Waters clothes and household articles which were probably not always readily available in the distant places where the latter

1. National Library of Scotland MS. 3648 ff. 125-157, 160.

2. ff. 125-6. Dated "1748" in error by Paton.

3. ff. 128-9.

4. 6th April 1785. ff. 132-3.

5. 28th April 1788. f. 138.

6. 7th August 1788. f. 140.

7. 16th January 1795. ff. 156-7.

found himself. In the letter of 28th June 1784, for instance, Paton, after writing about various clothes that he was getting for Waters, went on;

wish you had sent more particularly how large or small your hatt ought to have been as I may not so justly get you fitted in that, however hope you shall appear as spruce as any of their Frenchified Gentry. ¹

In the same letter, Paton thanked Waters for offering to buy books for him in Germany, and said that the only one he required at the time was the third volume of Begeri Thesaurus Brandenburgensis folio.

In 1785 Paton had a clock mended for Waters, and sent it off to him at Wick on 19th July 1785, receiving a receipt for it from the captain of the vessel on which it was carried. ² Another sort of service rendered to Waters by Paton is indicated by a letter just prior to that;

I received yours this afternoon of 15th & have exerted myself so much in passing from a variety of hands that I've got you excused from the appearance at the Tryal both by the Sollicitor & the Agent for the Defendant so that you may transact your business at London as you please, (you must excuse this scrawl as the Post is going & no time allowed for mending pens & c). ³

There are a number of references to Paton's brother and sister in the letters to Waters, which are precious, as allusions to family affairs in Paton's correspondence are so few. The following note

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1. f. 125.
 2. ff. 134-5.
 3. 19th November 1784. ff. 130-131.

is dated "10 Novembr 1789," the date of his sister's funeral. If we assume that there is an error of one day in the date, it might be an invitation to the funeral;

Geo Paton presents best Compliments to Mr Waters & good Family, begs the Favour of Mr Waters' Company half an hour before twelve o'clock tomorrow at Mr. Mackenzie's house Miln's Court.

Mr Waters will please this day at convenience send up to Mrs Mackenzie the sam Quantity of Red & White Wines as came to her yesternight.

Waters was apparently Paton's nearest relative at the latter's death, and inherited his property. According to Constable, the sale of Paton's extensive collections of books and antiquarian objects was mismanaged through the "narrow views" of Waters.² Whatever may be the truth of this, there is no doubt of Paton's high esteem for his cousin, or of the generosity of Waters. On 20th February 1790, for instance, Paton acknowledges receiving from Waters cider, fish, honey, a staff, and a "Table Cover of Wax Cloth".³ He protests against these "continued loadings," and goes on to say that he "cannot bear or be reconciled with such generous undeserved marks of your regard to me." Nor was Waters totally without interest in those things which meant so much to Paton, if we may judge from the fact that on 14th September 1789 Paton sent Waters Solis's Conquest

1. ff. 144-5.

2. Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents, Vol. I p. 20 footnote.

3. Nat. Lib. MS. 3648 ff. 149-150.

of Mexico 2 vol. 8^o, ¹ which, he wrote, "may afford a few minutes evening amusement when unengaged, instead of the more barbarous usage of the harmless enthusiastic in Charles & James's Reigns".²

John Davidson of Haltree³ was one of Paton's close friends. A number of letters from Davidson to Paton have been preserved, but only one, which has already been quoted, in the opposite direction.⁴ The subject-matter of the letters is, in general, antiquarian and scholarly, like most of Paton's correspondence, but personal matters are frequently included as well, and the tone is friendly and informal. In one letter, Davidson thanks Paton for sending strawberries.⁵ In another, he requests Paton to write to Dr. Thomson in Oxford about such varied subjects as edible snails and notes on Cicero.⁶ Davidson frequently refers to Paton's brother William, the minister of Eckford. On 22nd February 1772, for instance, he writes; "Your brother the parson preachd to us on Sunday & dined wt us afterwards in good health ..."⁷ Again, on 11th October 1777; "The parson of Eckford was here last day & looks well indeed ..."⁸ In an undated letter Davidson wrote;

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1. Antonio de Solis y Ribadeneyra; The History of the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards. This work was originally translated into English by T. Townsend (folio, London, 1724); that given by Paton would be N. Hooke's revised edition, London, 1738 (or third edition, London, 1753).
 2. Nat. Lib. MS. 3648 ff. 141-2.
 3. (d. 1797) Writer to the Signet. Kay's Edinburgh Portraits, 1837-39 edition, Vol. I p. 243.
 4. p. 41, above.
 5. 22nd February 1772. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 22.
 6. 18th December 1786. Ibid. f. 32.
 7. Ibid. f. 22.
 8. Ibid. f. 25.

The Parson was with me last week he had walked up to a Presbytery meeting & was at Jedburgh before 8 in the morning - left ye Brethren after dinner & after cooling himself with a very little Spirits, he took a few glasses of Port, & a walk in the Garden, & then tea, & at 7 at night set off on foot for home in great glee & spirits - I never saw him better - He says he is a year or two younger than me - Pray write me of this I wish you to be exact - Look if you are not sure the baptismal record - I will pay the fees¹

Davidson pays two significant tributes to Paton in his letters;

You are so much better employed with your Groses, your Lorts & Chambers's that I wonder at your goodness in writing me so fully.²

and

I had your favour of the 10th and have by it & often formerly clear proofs that with you out of sight is not out of mind, you attend to your friends at all times³

We are fortunate in possessing letters on both sides in the correspondence between Paton and James Cummyng.⁴ As in the case of those from Davidson, they deal in general with learned matters in a less formal way than those from Paton's less intimate correspondents. Moreover, the correspondence that we have lacks continuity, both because it is incomplete, and because it would be interrupted by frequent personal contact between Paton and Cummyng. The latter's

1. Ibid. f. 56.

2. 27th September 1789. Ibid. f. 38.

3. 15th September 1788. Ibid. f. 35.

4. (d. 1795). Herald Painter 1770; Lyon Clerk Depute 1770-1773; first Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; Secretary of Canongate Lodge No. 2. See Court of the Lord Lyon: List of His Majesty's Officers of Arms and Other Officials with Genealogical Notes 1318-1945 ed. Sir Francis J. Grant, Scottish Record Society.

interest in genealogy is reflected in this correspondence, and in one letter, evidently in reply to a query, Paton gives all the information he has regarding the Mosman family.¹

David Herd² was another of Paton's most intimate friends. Herd's interests were of a distinctly more literary nature than those of Davidson and Cumyng, and the subject-matter of his letters will be considered in a later chapter.³ Personal matters were sometimes introduced also, however, as in a letter of 2nd July 1789;

I ow a Strong Ale Bet to Mr Carmichael
which was to be discussed with you & Mr
Yeaman but have not seen him lately. if
you happen to meet him be so good as fix
the meeting⁴

Writing on 21st July 1795, Herd acknowledged an "Orkney fish" and invited Paton to join Mr John Scott⁵ and himself at tea that afternoon, thereafter to "adjourn together to some strong-ale office in the evening".⁶ Again, on 4th November 1795, Herd invited Paton to dine at Harry Geddes's the following afternoon, "with Messrs Cockburn, Dalaway, Masterton, Scott, and your humble servant".⁷ The relationship between Herd and Paton has been fully treated in Hecht's Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts.⁸

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1. Letter of 13th July 1786; Edinburgh University Laing MSS. II 81, f. 26.
 2. (1732-1810); See Hecht, Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts, Introduction.
 3. Chapter IV.
 4. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 21.
 5. "A collector of curious prints" who, according to Maidment, is one of the figures in Kay's etching of a group of connoisseurs attending an auction. (Letters from Thomas Percy ... to George Paton, p. 98 footnote; Kay's Edinburgh Portraits Vol. I, p. 141.)
 6. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 29.
 7. *Ibid.* f. 30.
 8. *op. cit.*

The association between the Earl of Buchan¹ and Paton was not, of course, so close and intimate as that with the friends referred to above. But neither was Buchan's attitude towards Paton patronising or aloof. He paid more than one striking tribute to Paton, in tones not only of esteem, but of real affection. On 8th August 1785, for instance, the Earl wrote;

Learned Sir,

I have undertaken to make my honest friend George Paton's correspondence on subjects of literature pass free by my Parliamentary connections and I have a particular pleasure always in forwarding the communications of one who has silently done more than any of us in this country to illustrate it.²

On another occasion, Buchan wrote;

My worthy Sir, go on, and employ the little leisure you have in promoting what is much better for us than troubling men's minds without improving Society ...³

In a letter of 3rd February 1787, Buchan announced his intention of retiring to Dryburgh Abbey, and he concluded his letter with the following offer;

If ever you should find yourself disposed to retire from the smog and bustle of Edinburgh, come to Dryburgh Abbey, and I will give you a cloyster in my garden (for the Abbey is actually within its enclosure), and you shall be my Rousseau and I will be your Mrs Fitzherbert.

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1. David Steuart Erskine, eleventh Earl of Buchan (1742-1829).
(D.N.B.)
 2. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 61.
 3. The letter is dated "June 13th" without the year. Ibid. f. 73.

How few men there are now in this world to whom
I would ever think of paying this compliment to.
Tempora mutantur, sed nos non mutamur in illis.
Tant pis pour nous.

I am, Dear Sir, with great regard,
Your obliged humble servant,

Buchan. ¹

Paton no doubt had too much commonsense to take this offer very seriously. There is no question of Buchan's sincerity, but his somewhat unstable temperament might have rendered Paton's position as a companion at Dryburgh rather insecure. Paton had a shrewd enough estimate of his noble friend's character, as may be seen from what he wrote of Buchan in another connection;

I am doubtfull Id Buchan's Project will not
succeed his Lordship is happy enough in
opening a Scheme but too frequently deserts the
prosecution of it before finishing the same,
starting from one object to another 'ere the
former be compleated²

Paton's position in relation to Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, is comparable to that with Buchan. The difference in the tone of Hailes's letters, as compared with those of Buchan, is just what one would expect, in view of his more reserved disposition. Hailes does not explicitly express his admiration for Paton's abilities as a

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1. Ibid. f. 63. Maidment prints "your obedient humble servant" (Letters from Thomas Percy ... and others ... p. 176)
 2. Letter to Gough, 10th May 1793.
 3. (1726-1792). Hailes is the subject of an unpublished thesis by R.H. Carnie; A biographical and critical study of the life and writings of Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, 1954. (Typescript - St. Andrews University Library)

scholar, but it is implicit throughout his letters in the way he consults his friend on numerous erudite points, and in his willingness to serve him in return. His letters tend to be rather formal, but are without condescension.

It is proposed to deal in this section with only three of Paton's more distant correspondents. All that has to be said of the others can best be given in the remaining chapters of this study, where the subject-matter of the letters is treated in detail. The three requiring special mention are Richard Cough, since his correspondence with Paton is the most extensive and important, Professor William Thomson, whose letters are of such peculiar interest that they warrant very special mention of the writer, and Dr. William Cuming, of whom we shall not have much to say later, but who is too interesting a personality to be neglected.

The correspondence with Richard Cough,¹ both sides of which are preserved in the National Library of Scotland, occupies four large quarto volumes. The two men met only once, when Cough visited Edinburgh in 1771. The exchange of letters began as a result of this meeting, and continued to be very frequent and regular until about 1795. Thereafter it became intermittent, on account of Paton's age and infirmities, and the last letter was written by Paton on 26th September 1804. The tone on both sides is throughout one of

1. (1735-1809). See Chapter V below for a full consideration of Paton's contributions to Cough's topographical works. The letters from Cough to Paton are in National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.6. (2 vols.) and those from Paton to Cough in Adv. MS. 29.5.7. (2 vols.).

friendship, but not of intimacy. Despite the length of their association, there is no sign of any gradual development of a closer relationship, in any way comparable with the growth of mutual respect into warm friendship that we find between Paton and George Low.

Apparently, as late as 1787, Paton knew very little of Cough as a person, and inquired about him of Dr. William Thomson. The latter's reply was not a particularly favourable account of Cough;

All I can learn of Mr Cough for you, is, that he is exceedingly rich, & married a very rich woman, it is said, with more than £20,000!
 - I do not hear that he has any children
 - he lives on Enfield Chase - a pleasant spot about 16 miles fm London - but he has disgusted many of his fds, by that he does not become so rich a man - penuriousness, & inattention to them - I have never heard of him since I left Scotland - but with me this is purely accidental - & may be attributed to my being taken up wholly in professional pursuits - one thing I value him for - his making me known to you.¹

In contrast to Thomson's report, must be set that of John Wood,² who carried a letter of introduction to Cough from Paton when he visited the south of England in 1793. He wrote to Paton on his return to Edinburgh;

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1. Letter of 28th May 1787. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II f. 28.
 2. John Philip Wood (d. 1838) of Saughton hall, near Edinburgh, antiquary, author of The Ancient and Modern State of the Parish of Cramond, Edinburgh, 1794. Although deaf and dumb, Wood acquired considerable learning. He worked as a clerk in the excise office, Edinburgh, and rose to the position of auditor of excise in Scotland. A note by the Earl of Buchan (on back of letter from Wood to Buchan 2nd December 1799, Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.3.14 f.122) that he was a son of Wood of Weryston (i.e. Warriston) is almost certainly wrong. (D.N.B.; letters Paton to Cough, particularly that of 24th October 1792, which is followed in Nat. Lib. MS. 29.5.7. by letter Wood to Cough 31st October 1792.)

V
 See next page

On my coming here yesterday I found the inclosed letter from your accomplished friend Mr Cough, and I send it for your perusal, as I know how highly you will value every thing that comes from that father of British Antiquities. I propose doing myself the honor of writing him ... to thank him for the very great attentions I had the happiness of receiving from him, an honor for which I am wholly indebted to you. You may be sure he enquired most particularly and earnestly after your welfare, and he regretted deeply that he never enjoyed the pleasure of seeing you at Enfield, a place with which you could not fail of being completely enraptured. The library I suppose is the most valuable private Collection on British Topography in the kingdom, and rendered doubly interesting by the courteousness & civility of the worthy owner, who pointed out to me the most curious articles. After dinner we took a walk over his pleasant domain, which contains 21 acres, watered by the New River; a double row of chestnuts, coaeval with himself, and the Diary (sic), wholly inlaid with China, and furnished with China dishes, were particularly remarkable. But pleasant as the gardens of all these were, I could not but lament every moment I passed out of his library ... I wish it was in my power to be of any use to him, limited as my abilities & knowledge are; and I will thank you to point out any way in which I could be of service. ¹

*See Wood's
and ...*

Whatever may have been the impression he made upon others, Cough's attitude to Paton was always courteous and kindly, and there is no doubt that Paton held him in high esteem. The chief fault in Cough that is revealed in his letters to Paton is impatience, shown in his complaints about the slowness of the return of proof sheets of the British Topography, although he is careful to exonerate Paton from all blame on this account.² His impatience seems to have

1. Letter of 3rd July 1793. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.3.8. f. 52.

2. See below. p. 299.

increased as he grew older, and he brought out his edition of Camden's Britannia so hastily as to deny himself the advantage of most of the information and advice that Paton would have supplied, had he been given adequate time.¹

A special place among Paton's correspondents must be assigned to William Thomson, of Christ Church, Oxford. Very little seems to be on record concerning Thomson. According to John Nichols, he "was educated at the King's School, Worcester, and at Christ Church, Oxford; M.A. 1783; B.A. 1785;² M.D. 1786; Reader in Anatomy at Oxford, 1785; and died in 1803."³ His father, also called William Thomson, had originally been a dissenting minister and tutor, and was afterwards a physician, first at Ludlow, and then at Worcester Infirmary from 1757 to 1792.⁴

A letter from John James, Junior to J. Boucher refers to a friend at Christ Church "who was formerly, like myself a commoner of Queen's, and was presented not long ago to an honorary studentship at Christ Church". An editorial footnote on this letter states that this was "probably William Thomson, who entered Commoner 1776, matriculated June 20, aet 15, 'son of William, of Worcester City, Gent' (Chester); entered at Christ Church, 1778; made student 1779 proceeded B.A. 1780; M.A. 1783; B.M. 1785; D.M. 1786".⁵ There

1. See below. pp. 307-316.

2. Clearly a mistake for "B.M. 1785".

3. Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century Vol. IV p. 724 footnote.

4. *Ibid.* pp. 725-6 footnote.

5. Letters of Richard Radcliffe and John James of Queen's College, Oxford. 1755-83, ed. Margaret Evans, Oxford Historical Society, 1888. p. 101.

is another reference to Thomson in the Letters of Richard Redcliffe and John James, although the editor has not realised the identity of the two, on account of the different spelling of the name. W. Barrow wrote to John James, Junior on 26th January 1786;

Perhaps you (know) Thompson has succeeded to the professorship of anatomy, and has been in town all the winter preparing lectures. ¹

Thomson announced his appointment to Paton in a letter of 28th July 1785;

... on Dr. Parson's death in Oxford; (a young man - only 43 - & in ~~the~~ fullest business - making £1400 a year besides £400 by professorships) - I was appointed to succeed him in the anatomical lectureship, worth £150 a year - but of much more consequence as an introduction to practice. I have since bought his house - we is very large, & I, a bachelor, inhabit it alone - This change has created me much trouble, & confusion of all my affairs - for my Scotts fossils cover half the floors in my House - However, as soon as ever my cabinets are ready, they will all be lodged in a room I am fitting up in the anatomy School in Christ Church ... I am exceedingly busy in preparing to open my 1st campaign with credit in Lent - my Predecessor left no catalogue of any thing, nor even a will behind him - so that I have laboured much in making out such a descriptive catalogue of the anatomical preparations as w'd be useful to my successor if I were to die tomorrow²

The connection between Thomson and Paton had begun in the conventional way. Thomson came to Scotland towards the end of 1781, and remained until the following June. He brought with him a formal

1. Ibid. p. 266.

2. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II f. 18.

letter of introduction to Paton from Cough.¹ The latter also wrote of him as follows, in a letter to Paton of 19th October 1781;

Give me leave to recommend to yr Civilities a young Gentleman (Mr Wm Thomson) a student of great Merit in the Physical line from Christ Church Oxford, to whom I am much indebted for his assistance when I was there last summer. He is indefatigable in his favorite Pursuit which he proposes to accomplish himself in under yr Professor; & he has a turn to Antiquities & a good Taste for drawings & I flatter myself will not disgrace this recommendation or prove unmindfull of yr attention. His father is a Physician of Eminence at Worcester. If my letter to you by him should not have reacht him before he set out from home I doubt not you & he will easily find one another out.

On 22nd February 1782 Thomson wrote to Cough;

I should be much to blame were I not to inclose a line to thank you for your introduction to Mr Paton; whose friendly disposition is only equalled by his indefatigable zeal for the promotion of knowledge. I really owe a considerable part of the ease with which I continue my researches to his kind assistance. He has written to Aberdeen to procure me some Asbestos, the product of that country; & hardly a week passes, but I receive some mark of his attention. Indeed he has carried his kindness so far, as to propose my admission into the Society² recently established here - which I make no doubt would be much facilitated, as the proposal comes from Mr Paton, who is, if I mistake not, one of the chief pillars.

- - - - -

What intelligence can you expect from me regarding antiquities, in this country, so long as you enjoy

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1. Quoted in Nichols, Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, Vol. IV p. 727.
 2. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. See below, p. 73.

Mr Paton's correspondence? - he will make so much better use of it, that I will give him the frank I have to you. ¹

In a further letter, of 17th June 1782, Thomson told Gough;

The period is now arrived when I must take a farewell of my Edinburgh friends, by whose unremitting kindness I have spent my time far more agreeably than I ever expected. Mr Paton seems determind to be as much my friend as he has been yours, & he has really given me more information than everybody else put together - (I mean out of the line of my Profession). ²

The correspondence between Paton and Thomson that commenced on the latter's return to England might have been much the same in tone as that with any of Paton's other correspondents in a similar position, but for the remarkable personality of Thomson. His letters are characterised by a friendliness, informality, warmth of feeling and vivacity, which is quite unique in the Paton Correspondence. He writes in a somewhat breathless style, with a liberal use of dashes, as may be seen from passages already quoted. Thomson's letters are as stimulating to read as they are informative. We learn many things about Paton from Thomson which we should not know otherwise.

In his first letter to Paton, for instance, Thomson asks;

Pray how does poor Myles, your Porter, weather out this winter? - he ought to take ye Ether - but tis an expensive medicine - I wish you wd give him half a crown for me - I owe him many good offices - & am sorry I cannot attend him myself this winter³

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1. This letter is in the volume of Paton's letters to Gough, National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.7.
 2. This letter is also in Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.7.
 3. 25th February 1783. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II f.1.

Paton evidently replied with the melancholy news of his porter's death, for in his next letter Thomson wrote;

As I am determined not to be a gainer by poor Myles's death, pray give his widow the half crown I meant for him. ¹

Thomson's generosity is also manifested in his asking Paton to distribute 10/6 among the poor, ² and in his inviting Paton's somewhat undependable relative, James Robertson, to breakfast. ³

We have Thomson's testimony as to Paton's skill in packing. When in Scotland, Thomson had gathered an extensive collection of fossils, which he left in Paton's charge, to be despatched later to the south. In thanking Paton for his care in this matter, Thomson wrote;

I (tho' myself a professor of packing) bow me down before your ingenuity. ⁴

Paton's zeal in the service of his friends was exerted as usual for Thomson, and he apparently suggested that Thomson might obtain a practice in Worcester, his native town, as a result of the death of a Dr. Johnstone there. On 1st November 1783 Thomson wrote;

I observe your friendship in looking out for an opening for me there, in consequence of his death. but my views have all along centered in Oxford, where my interest lies, & where I go to settle at the expiration of a twelvemonth. Dr. J. is succeeded at Worcester by - his Father! ⁵

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1. 27th April 1783. Ibid. ff. 2-3.
 2. Letter of 4th(?) August 1783. Ibid. f. 6.
 3. Letter of 23rd August 1783. Ibid. f. 7. For Robertson, see below, pp. 81-84.
 4. Letter of 4th(?) August 1783.
 5. Ibid. f. 8.

Another instance of Paton's eagerness to be of help is amusingly illustrated by Thomson's next sentence;

I see you take as much care to explain to me your Scotts phrases, as if I had never been in Scotland - this is quite affronting to one who has but just left the country - give me leave to joke you, My good friend, on this, we arises only from your great attention to me.

As a further example of Paton's attention to Thomson, may be mentioned his procuring "5 or 6 dozen Auchan pears" which the latter requested in a letter of 24th October 1785, adding

they will be a high treat to my father - who has not eat (sic) any these 42 years. ¹

Thomson acknowledged the pears on 8th November 1786, ² and in the same letter asked for "a pair of dried Orkney geese".

I have spoke of them as a delicacy here, & am called to the Test are they different fm the Soland goose?

he asked. The "test", nowever, seems to have been disappointing for Thomson, for on 10th January 1787 he wrote,

Having lately eat an Orkney goose boiled, I am not desirous of any more³

Among Paton's other services to Thomson, was his obtaining for him copies of Kay's caricatures of Edinburgh notables. Thomson wrote on 8th November 1786;

The caricatures please me much - be so good as send me several more of them - especially the

1. Ibid. f. 19.

2. Ibid. ff. 21-22.

3. Ibid. ff. 23-24.

following, is to be had - Dr Principal Robertson,¹
 Dr Black,² Dr Hutton,³ Dr Hebrew Robertson,⁴ Dr Gregory,⁵
 Mr John Davidson⁶ - Dr Walker⁷ - Hugo Arnott⁸ - Dr Hope,⁹ -
 Dr Home¹⁰ - E. Huchan¹¹ - any other you think I remember -
 not forgetting Lord Monboddo¹² - those I have already got,
 are rather portraits than caricatures, unless my memory
 fails me - send me also Cullen's¹³ 4to print, as good as
 you can get it - it is for a foreign anatomist.

"I am much entertained by the fresh cargo of portraits" wrote
 Thomson on 24th September 1787, and he went on;

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1. William Robertson, Principal of Edinburgh University. There are two portraits of him by Kay, reproduced in Kay's Edinburgh Portraits 1837-39 edition, Vol. I, facing pp. 93 and 94.
 2. Joseph Black, Professor of Medicine. Three portraits, *ibid.* pp. 52, 54, 56.
 3. James Hutton, M.D. Two portraits, *ibid.* pp. 55, 56.
 4. James Robertson, Professor of Oriental languages. Thomson is mistaken here, as there is no portrait of him by Kay. He is mentioned incidentally in Paterson and Maidment's accompanying text, *ibid.* p. 322.
 5. James Gregory, Professor of the Practice of Medicine. Three portraits, *ibid.* pp. 339, 342, Vol. II, p. 448.
 6. *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 243.
 7. John Walker, Professor of Natural History. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 178.
 8. There are four caricatures of Arnot by Kay; *ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 16, 25, 157, 324.
 9. John Hope, Professor of Botany, *ibid.* Vol. II, p. 415.
 10. Francis Home, Professor of Materia Medica, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 249.
 11. *Ibid.* p. 286.
 12. James Burnett, Lord Monboddo. Five portraits, *ibid.* pp. 10, 14, 21, 243, Vol. II, p. 135.
 13. William Cullen, Professor of Chemistry. Two portraits, *ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 253, 255.

you are not so like as I cd wish¹ - but who is the old bald man sitting formally in a great chair, in the dress of a caddy? 2- any more new ones I shall be glad of, fm time to time. 3

Thomson took every opportunity to serve Paton in return. Through his good offices, Charles Greville M.P. gave permission for Paton occasionally to direct letters for James Robertson under cover to him.⁴ Thomson also enlisted Greville's help in endeavouring to obtain a situation for Robertson, but not with much hope of success;

What success my application to Mr Greville may have had, for ye place Mr. Robertson is looking for, I do not know - I fear but little, as Mr G. is out of place himself - being Id North's friend. 5

In the letter of 8th November 1786 Thomson paid the following tribute to Paton;

I never stir fm Oxford - & I hope that will plead for me, when I am either slow or incapable of performing any of your commissions - & assure you, it is not want of inclination to serve you who have in so many instances stood my friend - on the contrary, I every day feel fresh pleasure, in finding that I live in your memory, & also fm your continual good wishes, & repeated acts of friendship ... I hope, ere long, you will receive fm me a Cheshire cheese, w^{ch} I have commissioned in London, & with it, I wish you a merry Xmas ... 6

Thomson was, if anything, an even more enthusiastic student of mineralogy than of anatomy;

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1. Kay's portrait of Paton is in Vol. I, p. 244.
 2. Adam Ritchie. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 68.
 3. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II, f. 29.
 4. Letter Thomson to Paton, 21st October 1784. Ibid. f. 17.
 5. Letter of 28th July 1785. Ibid. f. 18. See below pp. 81-84 regarding Robertson.
 6. Ibid. ff. 21-22.

I believe I may say without Vanity (he wrote to Paton on 1st November 1783) that I have procured already, with my own hands, every variety of iron or other ore w^o Salisbury craig produces, or will produce, till some convulsion shall change the face of that rock¹

He even gave a course of lectures on the subject in session 1786-7;

You ask about my Mineral lectures; - I ended on July 7th, the class increasing, to the very last - These lectures were never read here before - & I fear my professional concerns will not let me read them again. it was intirely a voluntary intention of my own, not being willing to bury the Information I had got on that subject. - I had no notes, but lectured extempore, with the specimens before me. in mineralogy, nothing can be understood, without specimens - it was calculated by one of my hearers, that the mere slitting & polishing of stones for one day's lecture cost me near £60. This may give you some idea of the bulk of my collection but every day was not equally rich. ²

It appears that Thomson became a member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland during his stay in Edinburgh. But his name was accidentally omitted from the list of members,³ for he wrote to Paton on 25th February 1783;

Your saying I ought not to be forgotten in your lists is very flattering to me - I suppose you mean it as a reflexion on our dear Friend Cummyng - who forgot me last year in your printed Catalogue. ⁴

Strangely enough, this mistake was never rectified. Thomson's name does not appear in any of the subsequent lists of members. ⁵

1. Ibid. f. 8.

2. Letter of 24th September 1787. Ibid. f. 29.

3. In William Smellie's Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1782.

4. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II, f. 1.

5. For references to subsequent membership lists, see below, pp. 88 note 4, 103, note 1.

The letters from Thomson to Paton end very abruptly. On 25th September 1790 the young professor wrote to his friend;

I am under great affliction, suffering a most scandalous imputation, fm an Experiment performed on a man 4 years ago¹

He went on to say that he would no longer be happy at Oxford, and that Paton would next hear of him from Genoa. But there are no more letters. It is very likely that it was the same William Thomson who was the author of two books in Italian on mineralogy, published at the beginning of the nineteenth century.²

Dr. William Cuming is the last of Paton's correspondents to be mentioned in this section. Cuming was born in 1714, the son of James Cuming, an Edinburgh merchant. He was educated at the High School there, and studied medicine at Edinburgh University. In 1738 he settled down in practice at Dorchester, where he remained for the rest of his life. He died in 1788.³

His letters to Paton extend from 1776 to 1787.⁴ Two letters from Paton to Cuming are preserved with the Paton-Cough correspondence.⁵ The second of these, dated 24th January 1788, may never have reached Cuming, who died on 25th March of that year.⁶ Cuming's letters are rather long, and tend sometimes to be a little sententious. It is

1. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II, f. 43.
2. Abozzo di una classificazione de' prodotti volcanici, octavo n.p. (c. 1801). Di una miniera creduta di niccolo, di Siberia, octavo (Naples? 1803?) (Catalogue of the printed books in Edinburgh University Library.)
3. Gentleman's Magazine, April 1788. Vol. LVIII p. 364.
4. National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II, ff. 44-100.
5. National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.7. Letters dated 29th November 1779, 24th January 1788.
6. Gentleman's Magazine, March 1788. Vol. LVIII, p. 278.

perhaps to his disadvantage that in the manuscript volume they come immediately after the extremely lively epistles of Thomson. Nevertheless, they reveal him to have been a man of considerable learning, and of admirable character.

The interest of Cuming's correspondence with Paton is enhanced for us by the fact that Cuming's letters to Cough have also been preserved.¹ Paton is frequently mentioned in the , so that we know the high esteem in which he was held by the doctor. On 6th July 1776, for instance, Cuming wrote to Cough;

I very much respect & esteem our common Correspondent Mr Paton. He is very ingenious, modest, diligent possesses the proper Enthusiasm for developing the Antiquities of his native Country. It is greatly to be wishd that he was placed in a more elevated Situation and had more leisure to cultivate his favourite Study.²

Cuming several times expressed the wish that Paton could be freed from his duties at the customhouse.

What pity it is, that a Man of his Erudition and endowed with such an ardent zeal for promoting the Knowledge of the Antiquities of this Island should be confined to a Desk and summing through the several Variations of the four Rules in Arithmetic!

he wrote to Cough on 7th February 1784.³ To Paton himself Cuming wrote as follows on the same subject;

1. Bodleian Library MS. 25525.

2. Ibid. f. 405.

3. Ibid. f. 540.

I must ever regret that endless Routine of dull and insipid Business in which you are perpetually immersed, you who could otherwise employ your Time so agreeably to yourself and so usefully to the Public, nor can I without the utmost Indignation think of the many Persons of Rank and Fortune to whom your Abilities and Merit must be known, and who do not employ their Interest to raise you to a higher Station, in which you might enjoy more of that Leisure, which you could render so beneficial to the public. I can only say that you are melioire Fato dignus.¹

Cuming felt a keen interest in all things Scottish. As he put it in a letter to Paton of 6th July 1776;

tho I think I have entirely gotte ridd of all narrow unmanly & illiberal prejudices yet I own I feel a particular pleasure in hearing of the prosperity of that part of the Kingdom wh. gave me Birth, and when any of its₂ Natives distinguish themselves in Arts or Arms²

Two examples may suffice to give some idea of the interest of Cuming's letters to Paton. On 22nd November 1777 the doctor wrote;

Lord Kaimes s Book on Agriculture³ is much admired here by many Gentlemen who are good Judges of the Subject, but I cannot help being surprized at his Lordship's Inattention, as he says that his method will suit almost every part of Europe, that he has admitted into his work many Scots Names of Things & of Measures quite unknown in England. he is an excellent judge of the English Language, and ought either to have avoided these Terms or explained them for the benefit of his English Readers. Some of them have been sent to me to explain but I did not understand them all.⁴

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1. Letter begun on 18th November 1785 and completed on 6th December. (Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II, ff. 91-2.)
 2. Ibid. f. 47.
 3. Henry Home, Lord Kames; The Gentleman Farmer; being an attempt to improve agriculture by subjecting it to the test of rational principles, Edinburgh, 1776.
 4. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II, f. 54.

Cuming later sent to Paton a list of the words that he could not explain, to be forwarded to Kames,¹ and on 25th April 1778² he wrote that he was very much honoured by the attention that Kames had paid to his remarks. In February 1779 he was eagerly awaiting the new edition of the work with the alterations that he had suggested.³ He was greatly disappointed when it did appear;

Since I was favoured with your last Letter, Lord Kaims I find has published the second Edition of his Gentleman Farmer;⁴ I have not read it, but I am told by those who have, that it differs but very little from the first; very few indeed of those Corrections which we were given to expect, appear in it; my Lord is not a little entete he is too old, readily to adopt what did not first occur to himself, and I now regret that I gave him, you or myself any Trouble about the Work as it has answered so little Purpose.⁵

Being himself a classical scholar,⁶ Cuming was roused to indignation by the cessation of medical lectures in Latin at Edinburgh University. This is amusingly revealed in a letter to Paton of 8th December 1786;

When I consider the fixed resolution, as it appears of Dr Hope⁷ to make no reply to three Letters I have written to him, when I reflect on the probability

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1. Letter of (?) January 1778. Ibid. ff. 58-59.
 2. Ibid. f. 60.
 3. Letter of 13th February 1779. Ibid., ff. 68-69.
 4. Edinburgh, 1779.
 5. Letter of 28th October 1779. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II, f. 70.
 6. Gentleman's Magazine, April 1788. Vol. LVIII, p. 364.
 7. John Hope (1725-1786), professor of botany in Edinburgh University. The reason why Cuming had received no reply to his letters was that Hope had died on 10th November 1786. (D.N.B.)

of my havin^g lost the Correspondence of my worthy friend Mr John Balfour, ¹ for which I can assign no other Cause, than my havin^g been led to say something on the same subject to him, by his boasting of the very flourishing State of the Medical Schools at Edinburgh, merely from the number of Students who resorted thither, and when I observe, how industriously you avoid mentioning the Subject, though it made a considerable Part of a Letter I wrote you last Summer - All these Circumstances put together amount, I think to an ample and explicit Confession of the Charge brought against the Profession, of their culpable negligence in regard to the cultivation of Classical Learning amongst their pupils, which can neither be justified excused or palliated - When I first began my Correspondence with Dr Hope on this subject, would you beleive it? I was weak enough to flatter myself that I might prove instrumental in bringing about some degree of Reformation, but since that Time I have often blushed at my own Simplicity, in imagining that my feeble Arm could effect any Amendment against such strenuous Opposition - Great is Diana of the Ephesians! - The love of money (says an inspired Apostle) is the Root of all Evil - Oh Edinburgh, Edinburgh how art thou fallen! - And thus I finally close the Subject of Classical Literature. ²

The foregoing account has, it is hoped, given some impression of a few of the more interesting of Paton's friends and correspondents. A full list of the correspondents is to be found in an appendix. ³

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1. (d. 1795), bookseller and printer in Edinburgh. Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1726-75, op. cit., p. 284.
 2. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II, ff. 96-97.
 3. Appendix I.

11. Paton's character.

The picture of Paton drawn by most of the short biographical notices is of a scholarly recluse who spent most of his life in poverty, and who amassed a considerable collection of books and antiquities only by dint of starving himself. Hecht was nearer the mark when he pointed out that Paton was a more prominent figure in society than his friend David Herd.¹ Hecht went on to say that Paton, if less of an eccentric, was probably also less of a personality than Herd. This is no doubt true in the sense that there was nothing strikingly unconventional about Paton which would make an immediate impression on a new acquaintance. He was neither ostentatious nor pushin_g, and he had none of that outward forcefulness of manner which is sometimes mistakenly called "personality". His qualities were of the less conspicuous kind, that reveal themselves gradually, but stand the test of time. He probably had more grace and politeness of manner than Herd, if the bluntness that sometimes characterised the latter's writing extended to his conversation.²

The emphasis that has sometimes been laid on the contrast between Paton's position as a clerk in the customhouse, and the sphere in which he moved on account of his scholarl_y interests, is excessive. His family was well connected, as has already been shown,³ and he would move perfectly naturally in a circle of acquaintances,

1. Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts, p. 3.

2. See Maidment, Letters of Joseph Pitson Esq. to Mr. George Paton, pp. 13-14 footnote.

3. See above, pp. 9-10.

many of whom, partly by good fortune and partly by choice, had reached positions of greater prominence than himself. Moreover, whatever criticisms may be levelled against the social structure of eighteenth century Scotland, it was not a society in which a man of Paton's attainments, however humble his origin or position, would have found himself disregarded.

A man who had such a wide circle of friends as Paton did was certainly not a recluse. His friendships were deep and enduring, and they rested on the firm foundations of common interests and mutual esteem, rather than on the shallower basis of shared conviviality. Not that Paton was averse to the more joyous aspects of companionship, as his frequenting of Dowie's tavern shows.¹ The striking thing about many of Paton's friendships is that they survived long separation. Those with George Low, the minister of Birsay in Orkney,² and Dr. William Wright in Jamaica,³ are examples of this. John Davidson appreciated Paton's quality as a steadfast friend when he wrote that with him out of sight was not out of mind.⁴ Paton was always looking for ways of serving his friends, and the fact that his circle of acquaintances was so large meant that he could often exert influence in their favour. The exertions which, according to Low's own

1. Kay's Edinburgh Portraits, 1837-39 edition, Vol. I p. 246.

2. See below, pp. 337-389.

3. (1735-1819), appointed honorary surgeon-general of Jamaica in 1774. Two of the letters from Wright to Paton were written in Jamaica; 24th July 1772, 25th September 1774. (Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.3.8. ff. 58-59.)

4. Letter of Davidson to Paton, 15th September 1788. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 35.

testimony, Paton was able to make in order to secure the parish of Birsay for his friend are remarkable, especially when viewed in the light of eighteenth century communications.¹

Paton's loyalty to his friends, his constant attention to their needs, and his eagerness to serve them, were outstanding features of his character. He was particularly ready to encourage young men of ability and promise, and to give them letters of introduction to his influential correspondents, particularly Cough. That Paton's recommendation carried considerable weight with the latter may be seen from the kind reception that John Wood received at Enfield.²

Another whom Paton recommended to Cough was a young relative, Dr. Andrew Bain, who was "endued with a genuine thirst for knowledge, solid parts and of the closest application," and who had "an utter aversion to the dissipation of ye times, of a comely personage and an agreeable address, anxious to see the world, he inclines to go abroad in the style of a travelling Physician".³ Cough met Bain at the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries, and introduced him to Sir Joseph Banks, as Paton had requested.⁴

James Robertson, a distant relation of Paton's by marriage, is mentioned very frequently throughout Paton's correspondence.

1. See below, 340-343.

2. See above, p. 64.

3. Letter Paton to Cough, 3rd March 1781.

4. Letter Cough to Paton, 10th April 1781.

Robertson lived in London in rather poor circumstances, and acted as an agent for forwarding letters and parcels to and from Paton's friends. The cause of his misfortunes is given in no equivocal terms by Dr. William Bright in a letter to Paton;

Robertson is settled in the City in a tollerable Way of the Milk Bussiness, but had not a shilling to begin with. I was obliged to add to credits formerly given 7 Guineas - No poor Devil was ever cursed with such a Wife, she is beyond all description bad, a Fiend, a Demon will not convey an adequate Idea of her. I believe that Robertson himself is an industrious and well meaning man, but he is silly & imprudent. his continued complaint is that his wife makes away with his Profits, his every thing: his Friends reply Why does he put it in her Power. Are there not Houses of Correction & Confinement for $\frac{1}{2}$ Crown a Week. hard Labour & short allowance may bring that about which neither Coaxing or Blows can accomplish. I have now told him that he can look no more towards me for a farther supply, I have gone as far as I can & more than I shall soon be reimbursed in. ¹

Paton did his best to help Robertson. On 29th November 1779 he wrote to Dr. William Cuming;

There is a misfortunate man having been lately reduced to very low circumstances thro' the failure of others, he is married to a friend of mine, tho' reduced is anxious to get a son into a Charity School or Hospital in the Parish of St Clement's Deans where he has resided these two Years Mr Caddell Bookseller ² has a large share of influence in these matters, permit me to request the friendly & charitable offices with your Acquaintance William Strahan Esqr ³ his Majesty's Printer to obtain Mr Caddell's favour in behalf of James Robertson on the poor Parent of the Child, I am not personaly acquainted with these Gentlemen otherways

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1. Letter of 19th January 1782. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.3.8. f. 60.
 2. Thomas Cadell, the elder (1742-1802). (D.N.B.)
 3. William Strahan (1715-1785), Cadell's partner. (D.N.B.)

would not have troubled you, hoping you will pardon this my earnestness as it will be doing a humane action to a poor misfortunate well meaning man: whatever services are done to him shall always venerate as if performed to myself. ¹

Cuming forwarded Paton's letter to Cough, and asked him to help in the matter;

Our ingenious and obliging Friend Mr Paton has conceivd (I know not on what Grounds) that I am intimately acquainted with Mr Strahan, his Majesty's printer, & has desired my Interest with him I never saw Mr Strahan, nor ever had any farther intercourse with him, than by his transmitting me some parcels from Mr Balfour at Edinr If it lies in your power to serve our friend in these Matters, I am sure he does not stand in Need of any Application of mine to you in his Favour, I know you will assist him. ²

Writing on 10th February 1780, Cough told Paton;

I am not without hopes of assisting Mr. Robertson in getting his son into a charity school in London.

Apparently Cough was successful, for a month later Paton wrote to him;

I understand that the poor man J. Robertson is singularly obliged to your kind friendship in behalf of this (sic) children, Mr Nichols' warm intercession has also my sincerest thanks: he is most misfortunate in his family concerns, which distresses him much & distracts his mind so greatly that I'm ready to believe he would fly to any thing for comfortable ease yet regards his children much, thro' the incurable inattention &Ca. of his Wife from a tolerable once prospect of earning his livelyhood he seems to be reduced to the narrowest state of life. ³

Robertson eventually attained to greater prosperity, and did

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1. This letter precedes the letter to Cough of the same date in Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.7.
 2. Letter Cuming to Cough, 18th December 1779. Bodleian Library MS. 25525 f. 487.
 3. This letter is dated at the beginning 4th February, and at the end 6th March 1780. The first date is clearly wrong.

not always show gratitude for Paton's services to him. In a letter of 30th March 1793 Gough complained that Robertson had refused to take a parcel for Paton, saying he was not a porter. Paton replied that he was distressed by Robertson's behaviour;

Upon his narrating to me the Distresses &c. he unhappylic had fal'n into I repeated my solicitations (in his behalf) to an old Acquaintance, which proved at last to his present establishment, which if truly informed his annual income may be 130 or 140£, this is double what I do enjoy ... ¹

Those whom Paton befriended were not all so forgetful as Robertson. As a single testimony to this, may be quoted part of a letter from Dr. Edward Hill of Dublin² to Dr. Robert Anderson.³ This letter, dated 5th July 1804, is marked on the outside "E. Hill of Dublin to Dr Anderson on recovering from him an etching of Mr. George Paton".

I thank you in the strongest terms for your most acceptable letter, and am highly obliged by your transmitting me the etching, in which, tho' it is not executed with that care & cost that the subject so well deserves, I, notwithstanding recognize the features of an ancient & highly-esteemed Friend. I am not merely a laudator temporis acti, but feel a peculiar delight in the recollection of past times & events, & in recalling to my mind's eye the beloved Images of those, far remote or in eternal absence, who once constituted the happiness of those times, & render'd those events important. and, tho' the perpetual recurrence of those forms, & frequent repetition of this pleasing occupation in my hours

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1. Letter Paton to Gough, 12th April 1793.
 2. (1741-1830); appointed Professor of Botany, Trinity College, Dublin, 1773. (J.S. Crone, A Concise Dictionary of Irish Biography; Dublin, 1928 p. 95.)
 3. (1750-1830). (D.N.B.)

of solitude, will never admit of their entire obliteration from my memory, yet it is to me a supreme additional gratification, whenever my remembrance of persons, who once were the chief endearments of this life, who gave a zest to my pleasures, & participated in my cares, can be animated by the painter's or engraver's art.

I am happy to hear that my good old friend enjoys a tranquil state of health; and I earnestly wish that it may long continue. ¹

At the end of 1807, Hill sent a "short billet" to Paton, unaware that he had died six months earlier. ²

To turn now to the question of Paton's supposed poverty, it is certainly true that towards the end of his life he found it hard to make ends meet. ³ But there is no reason to suppose that during most of his life he wanted for necessities, although he enjoyed few luxuries. Relaxation for him was the pursuit of his studies; he might, no doubt, have secured greater physical comfort, at the expense of those things, such as his library, which he valued much more.

It is scarcely possible to believe the legend that Paton was in the habit of taking only one meal a day. ⁴ As Sir James Irvine has written;

To cultivate learning on a little oatmeal is merely the picturesque boast of those who have never endured that grim experience. ⁵

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1. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 22.4.16, f.1.
 2. Letter Hill to Anderson 1st December 1807; *ibid.* f. 3.
 3. See above, pp. 26-28.
 4. Kay's Edinburgh Portraits, Vol. I pp. 245-6.
 5. Veterum laudes, St. Andrews University Publications No. XLVIII, Edinburgh, 1950. p.2.

Paton's duties in the customhouse were evidently not light, even if sedentary; and his leisure activities were much more strenuous. It would scarcely be possible for anyone to live so busy a life to the age of eighty-six on such inadequate sustenance. There is no reason to doubt that his main meal of the day was taken in the evening in the congenial company of his friends. But the story of his abstinence from everything except bread and coffee during the rest of the day may have arisen from his practice in the latest period of his life, and even then is probably exaggerated. The fact that the same source mentions only his house at Lady Stair's Close, which he did not occupy before 1791, lends support to this view.

Food is a subject seldom discussed by Paton in his letters, but at least he has left us in no doubt as to what was his favourite dish. On 12th April 1796 he wrote to Cough;

While you have Soups in England, we use Kail & Broths i.e. the former cooked with Barley unhuskt or outter husk or rough Coat taken off at the Milln, then boil'd with flesh & Green herbs: the latter is the barley boiled with the flesh, Beef, mutton &c. without green herbs: this dish of Kail or Broths is reckoned a delicious nourishing morsel & has been my choice nearly these seventy years.

Again, we have the following note written to Waters on 3rd December 1789;

Since I had not the pleasure of seeing you the last week, purpose to be with you on Saturday first & sup a plate fou o' kail with you - make no preparations for me kail will do me more Service than aa the dainties o' the Land. ¹

1. National Library MS. 3648 f. 148.

Paton's views on literary, topographical and other subjects will be considered in the appropriate chapters. Here may be briefly mentioned his opinions on one or two more general matters. In politics he strongly supported the Revolution Settlement, and evidently agreed with the most conservative sentiments of Cough. At the same time, there is no trace of bigotry or narrow-mindedness in Paton, and the following comment on Benjamin Franklin is characteristic;

Whatever base political principles may bewray Dr Franklin, yet if his inventions prove beneficial to the public safety they deserve every respect due their salutary consequences. ¹

Paton was not inclined to engage in the rough and tumble of politics, for he expressed the view that "parliamentary Contests are unhappy articles". ²

It is almost a corollary to his political views that his religious opinions should be strongly anti-Catholic. His comments on Pegge's Life of Grosseteste ³ illustrate this;

Have read (the Life of Grosseteste) with pleasing information, in which are a variety of Hints preparatory to the Reformation, which that worthy Bishop so early in the Days of Veneration of the Vatican Supreme despised. Hints indicating Sentiments of Wish to be unshackled from that Bondage the Clergy were under at that period to the Pope, Happy is Britain now under Freedom; - long may it continue! ⁴

The above passage is also an extreme example of Paton's ungrammatical style.

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1. Letter to Cough, 26th March 1778.
 2. Letter to Cough, 23rd May 1775.
 3. Samuel Pegge, the elder; The Life of Robert Grosseteste, ... Bishop of Lincoln, ... with an account of the Bishop's works and an appendix. London, 1793.
 4. Letter to Cough, 11th June 1794.

CHAPTER II.GEORGE PATON, ANTIQUARY1. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Paton was first and foremost an antiquary. He lived in an age when interest in the antiquities of Britain was growing, and when antiquarian studies were being placed on a scientific basis. This movement was as strong in Scotland, as in England, once the country had settled down under the Union and the political distractions of the first half of the century were over. It culminated, at the end of 1780, in the establishment of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

It is natural that Paton's name should be associated with the society from the start. The Earl of Buchan, who was chiefly responsible for its foundation, was his friend and correspondent.¹ Paton was one of those invited to attend the preliminary meeting held on 14th November 1780.² He was not present, but he was elected a member of the council,³ and later he held office as a curator.⁴

1. See above, p. 60.

2. Letter Buchan to Paton 2nd November 1780. National Library of Scotland Advocates' MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 58.

3. W. Smellie, Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1782. pp. 3, 30.

4. Ibid., part second, Edinburgh, 1784. p. 34. "Curators have been appointed to survey and protect the property of the Society It is proposed that a greater number of curators should be annually chosen, and that two new ones only should be elected, in the room of two who retire, by which means a competent number of gentlemen will always be in office, who are acquainted with the different departments of your Library and Musaeum." Earl of Buchan's speech on the 2nd anniversary of the society (14th November 1782), ibid. p. 7.

Buchan had consulted Paton earlier about his plan of forming such a society. The following passage occurs in a letter of 28th June 1780;

Since I had the pleasure of seeing you I have been endeavouring at a leisure hour to digest a Plan for the institution of a Society at Edr for the investigation of the Antiquities of Scotland which many ingenious Persons in different parts of the Country seem well disposed to promote. As a Nucleus for this desireable institution I propose to invite a Select number of Gentlemen versant in the Erudition & pursuits which are necessary for such a Society to meet on the 1st Tuesday of every Month during Sessiontime at my house in St. Andrews Square at five o'clock in the Afternoon - where at the first proper meeting which can be procured I shall take the liberty of offering my sentiments on the Nature and Extent of the Enquiries which might be thought admissible into the transactions of a Scotch Society of Antiquaries - & at the same time to solicit the aid of better and more experienced judges to frame a Plan of investigation, correspondence - scope of Enquiry, Social Regulation, & whatever else may seem necessary for the effectual prosecution of a Plan which has unfortunately been but too long of being brought to a bearing in this Country. I shall in a few days transmit to you a list of those Gentlemen whom I intend to invite & beg you will mark with yr friendly & intelligent Pen any alterations or additions that may occur to you. ¹

It seems that Buchan afterwards enquired of Paton whether there had ever been a society of such a nature in Scotland before, for on 7th November 1780 Paton wrote to him as follows;

It is with much concern that I must declare my inability to assist your Lordship's Inquiries about the Articles specified in your Lordship's Letter to me last night;

1. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 57.

having never hear'd that any meetings for that purpose took place in this country, at that period; if such happened some Notes or Minutes may remain among the papers of Mrs Balfours¹, Sir Robert Sibbald² & others cotemporaries many or most of which are deposited in the Advocates & our College libraries; or in the private Collections of the Successors of those Gentlemen, who worthily preserved any Remains of Antiquity here.

Lord Hailes, I am humbly of opinion, is best qualified to clear up this point to your Lordship, also Barons Dalrymple³ & Maule,⁴ Sir James Clerk,⁵ Spotswood &c.⁶ whose predecessors devoted much of their time to Antiquities & search of them.

I've heard of a Virtue Club meeting here, more than 30 or 40 years bygone of which Mortonhall &c. were members.⁷ When it commenced or dissolved I am unable to inform your Lordship, but this can be easily ascertained.⁸

Paton's influence in the counsels of the society was considerable. It was doubtless largely due to him that Thomas Pennant and Richard Gough were elected honorary members on 16th

1. Sir James Balfour (1600-1657), and his brother, Sir Andrew (1630-1694). (D.N.B.)
2. Sir Robert Sibbald (1641-1722), physician and antiquary. (D.N.B.)
3. Sir John Dalrymple of Cranston, one of the Barons of Exchequer, was one of the founder members of the society. (Smellie, Account, 1782, p. 31.)
4. Baron Maule was one of those invited to attend the preliminary meeting on 14th November, 1780, but he did not attend. (Smellie, Account, 1782, p.3.) His name does not appear in the list of members.
5. Sir James Clerk of Penicuik (d. 1782), son of the famous antiquary, Sir John Clerk (1684-1755). (Burke's Peerage and Baronetage 1832 Vol. I. p. 257.)
6. John Spottiswood, advocate, son of the distinguished advocate of the same name.
7. I have been unable to find any other reference to this club.
8. Nat. Lib. MS. 2956 page 51 r. 89.

January 1781, and Mr. William Cuming of Dorchester on 29th January.¹
 Another correspondent of Paton's, Mr. William Wright, was elected a
correspondent member² though he believed that he had been made an
 honorary member.³

Paton's advice was sought by Buchan in widely different matters
 as may be seen from a letter to Paton from the secretary of the
 Society, James Cummyng, written on 23rd August 1781;

The Earl of Buchan is to be here this day at one
 with Mr John Young Wright to agree on fitting up
 the half of one of the ends of the Hall & is
 desirous of having your advice at that time you
 need not be detained above a quarter of an hour.

Mr McKenzie has agreed to give a perusal of
 the Mass of Bronze Coins to his Lop who proposes
 that Mr Crosbie⁴ Mr Brown⁵ you & I should examine
 them at his House on Saturday afternoon about five
 or before it he has undertaken for Mr Crosbie & I
 have wrote to Mr Brown. He entreats that if not
 very inconvenient you may be present ...⁶

Buchan himself wrote to Paton on another occasion;

The list of Saxon money in the Societies Cabinet
 ought to be transcribed and sent, and you are very
 good to charge yourself with this commission. on
 Sight of this note the Secretary will put a copy
 into yr hands.⁷

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1. Smellie, Account, 1782, pp. 33-34, and Account, 1784, p. 36. Cough's name was accidentally omitted from the 1782 Account. See below, p. 95.
 2. Account, 1782, p. 36.
 3. Letter Wright to Paton, 19th January 1782. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.3.8. f. 60.
 4. Andrew Crosbie, advocate, one of the society's "censors". (Account, 1782 p. 30, 1784 p. 33.)
 5. Alexander Brown, keeper of the Advocates' Library, one of the original members of the Council. (Account, 1782 p. 30.)
 6. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f.7.
 7. Ibid. Vol. IV f. 73. The letter is headed merely "June 13th 6 p.m."

Several of Paton's correspondents, particularly those who became honorary or corresponding members of the society, showed a lively interest in it from its inception. In the letters to and from Gough, in particular, there is a good deal about the early days.¹ Paton announced its establishment to Gough in a letter of 30th December 1780, adding

his Lordship (Buchan) insisted on my being one of the number, attention & the closs application to public business will not admit of my doing much in that line

Gough congratulated Paton in an undated letter, probably written on the same day, and again in one of 20th January 1781.

On 6th January 1781 Paton had written at some length to Gough on the subject:

As I wrote you our Antiquary Society is but in it's infant State, having not been able (by a severe Cold) to attend but one of the three meeting(s) already held, am hitherto disqualified to give you a list of the Members, which is not printed ...² as to the plan it is enumerated in F. Buchan's Speech,² which hope by this time may be in your hands, some improvements on these regulations were proposed by his Lordp at last meeting, which will be authorised Tuesday se'night, we have hitherto got no fixed place of congregating, altho' views are pregnant in geting a comodious one, probably in conjunction with another respectable Society, who have built a very neat Hall for themselves & not been fitted up for their reception: Sir John Dalrymple one of our Barons of Exchequer appears to be a very interested Member,³ know not if Lord Hailes is one,

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1. All the letters from Gough to Paton referred to in this chapter are in National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.6., and those from Paton to Gough in Adv. MS. 29.5.7.
 2. Discourse delivered at a meeting for the purpose of promoting the institution of a Society for the investigation of the history of Scotland, and its antiquities, Nov 14 1780. (Edinburgh, 1780)
 3. See above, p. 90 note 3.

the time of meeting in the Evenings is not so convenient for his Lordp's attendance as he resides in the Country near Musselburgh thro' the whole year, his Lordp's universal knowledge & particularly of his native Country intitles his Lordp to a distinguished rank especialy in this Society, and to be regarded by every sensible man - You may be satisfied that whatever is published a Copy shall be selected for your Acceptance.

On 9th February 1781 Paton forwarded to Gough the secretary's letter of admission to the society, and Gough replied on 15th February;

I think myself much flattered by the unexpected honor done to me by the Scots Antiquaries to whom I wish all success & shall be always glad to be informed of their Proceedings.

Writing on 23rd June 1781, Gough acknowledged receipt of a copy of Lord Buchan's speech,¹ and suggested;

It would be advisable to put a greater No into the booksellers hands & advertise them. The neat profit to the Society wd be nine pence each & I have no doubt but they wd. sell. Have they no bookseller yet appointed to them.

On 13th July Paton wrote;

Mr Creech² has been named as Bookseller & Mr Smeilie³ Printer to our Society, altho' of the former Fraternity

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1. See above, p. 92 note2.
 2. William Creech (1745-1815), one of the most prominent booksellers in Edinburgh, of which city he was Lord Provost from 1811 to 1813. (Plomer, Bushnell and Dix; A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775. Oxford; 1932.)
 3. William Smeilie (1740(?) - 1795), the author of the accounts of the society cited above. (Ibid.)

several others in Town are Members¹: this was thought proper & usefull in order to be assisting in the making up a Library, which is intended so soon as the Funds may admit, several donations in that Line have been presented & more expected.

and on 22nd December he informed Gough;

Some time hence I suppose may appear a new Edition of F. Buchan's Speech accompanied with an Account of the progress of our Society when this comes forth you may depend on a Copy in course.

Dr William Cuming of Berchester² was another of Paton's correspondents who greeted the formation of the society with enthusiasm. On 24th February 1781 he wrote to Paton;

I congratulate you cordially on the Spirit which now appears for illustrating the Antiquities of Scotland, by the Society of Antiquaries lately instituted there... I can have no doubt that you have been very active in promoting this institution, and much Advantage will, I am confident, redound to the Society, both from your own Exertions, and from your stimulating and encouraging the other Members to be alert and diligent; the Official Letter from Mr Cumayng the Secretary, which you conveyed to me, informing me of my being elected an honorary Member, does me much Honour; I wish I may be able in any Respect to promote the Design of their Institution; As this Circumstance more particularly interests me in the Prosperity of the Society, it will be highly agreeable to me to learn from you every thing relating to its Rise and Progress; to see a List of the Members, the Objects of their Pursuit, and the Extent of their Plan, every thing in short relating to this Subject, when you can find Leisure and Opportunity, I hope you will convey to me. ³

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1. Edinburgh booksellers who were members included John Caw and John Balfour (*Ibid.* and Account, 1782, p. 34). William Strahan of London was a correspondent member, and Thomas Cadell one of the "Artists Associated". (Account, 1782, pp. 36, 38.) Cadell was afterwards designated a bookseller to the society, along with Creech. (Transactions, Vol. I, 1792, title page.)
 2. See above, p. 74.
 3. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II f. 84-85. The date on the letter is "February 24th 1780", but this is obviously a mistake on Cuming's part.

In subsequent letters Cuming enquired about the progress of the society.¹

Another correspondent of Paton's who welcomed the venture was John Nichols,² who wrote on 13th February 1781;

I hear with much Pleasure of the Establishment of an Antiquary Society in Scotland - Is Lord Buchan's Life of Crichton to be made public? ³- I would print it at my own Risque if a Copy could be obtained - But I hope your Society will do it themselves.

Nichols was elected a correspondent member on 2nd October 1781.⁴

In September 1782 Paton sent Gough a copy of Smellie's account of the society which had just been published.⁵ Gough's name was omitted from the list of honorary members, and the Earl of Buchan sent him a personal letter of apology, as Gough told Paton in a letter of 19th September 1782, adding,

tho the omission was rather extraordinary, it did not deserve all that notice.

Paton replied on 2nd November;

The omission of your name in the List was too great a blunder to be past over without proper appology.

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1. Letters of 8th October, 15th December 1781, 11th June 1782. (Ibid. ff. 73, 75, 76.)
 2. John Nichols (1744/5-1826), editor of the Gentleman's Magazine and compiler of the Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century (D.N.B.)
 3. Buchan's Life of James Crichton was printed in Biographia Britannica ... The Second Edition ... By Andrew Kippis, Vol. IV London, 1789, pp. 441-456.
 4. Smellie, Account, 1782, p. 36.
 5. See p. 88 note 3, above. A second part appeared in 1784. See p. 88 note 4, above. An Historical Account of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland in Transactions of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland Vol. I, Edinburgh, 1792, pp. iii-xxvi is a greatly condensed version of the Accounts of 1782 and 1784.

Cuming also received a copy of the Account from Paton about the same time. He praised it as "well drawn up," and went on;

I too wish to contribute my Mite to the rising Institution, and to have my Name recorded in such an illustrious List: I have given Directions to our friend Mr Nichols to send by the first Opportunity a Box directed to you, in which you will find a Sett of the History of Dorset,¹ which I beg you will present or desire the Secretary to do it to the Society in my name.²

In May, 1782, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland applied for a Royal Charter of Incorporation. Their petition was opposed by the University of Edinburgh, The Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, and four of the curators of the Advocates' Library. The Charter was granted in spite of the opposition, and was finally sealed on 6th May 1783.³

Writing on 26th May, Cough enquired;

The News Papers announce the settlement of their Charter to their wishes. Is it so?

and Paton replied on 4th July;

Our Charter past the Seals here long ago & that in a way benevolent manner by the different officers Gratis. - The new Philosophical Society here is about forming their plan & Laws &Ca. but of this when I have more distinct information.

Dr. William Thomson of Oxford⁴ wrote with pleasure to Paton of this

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1. John Hutchins; The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset,.... 2 vols., London, 1774. Hutchins died in 1773 (see D.N.B.) and Cuming played a considerable part in seeing the work through the press. (Cuming-Gough correspondence, Bodleian Library MS. 25525.)
 2. Letter of 14th December 1782. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II, f. 78.
 3. Smellie, Account, 1784, pp. 1-5, 12-32.
 4. See above, p. 65.

success in obtaining a charter;

You may be sure I am very glad to see the society in possession of their wishes - the time is now come, when there can no longer be any pretence for genius to lie idle - & I believe that a little time will wear out all sparks of animosity, & that both societies will concur in one great end, the advancement of literature & the arts. ¹

In a letter of 27th September 1783, Cuming asked Paton to send him any papers

relating to your new Royal Society, or the Altercations between the Members of the University and those of the Antiquarian Society ²

On 6th December 1783 Cuming wrote;

I am very sorry to hear of these unseemly Altercations raised amongst the Literati, by the Institution of the Antiquarian Society in Scotland, however they may raise an Emulation which may Stimulate the Ardour of the Members of both Societies to excell, and thus a temporary Evil may be productive of a permanent Good ...³

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland is mentioned in the Paton-Gough correspondence in connection with the controversy between Gilbert Stuart⁴ and Principal Robertson⁵ over Mary Queen of Scots. This had been reported in the Gentleman's Magazine for April 1782⁶ in the following rather hyperbolic terms;

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1. Letter of (?) August 1783. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II, f.6.
 2. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II, f.81.
 3. Ibid. f. 83.
 4. Gilbert Stuart (1742-1786). His hostility to Robertson is said to have been due to his failure to obtain the chair of public law in Edinburgh University. (D.N.B.)
 5. William Robertson (1721-1793), Principal of Edinburgh University from 1762 to 1792. (D.N.B.)
 6. Vol. LII, pp. 167-8.

The following letter is handed about in the polite circles at Edinburgh. It is understood to be a very generous, but very resolute, call upon Dr. Robertson to defend what he has written to the prejudice of the honour of Mary Queen of Scots. It is from Dr. Stuart, the author of a book just published, containing the history of Scotland from the establishment of the Reformation, till the death of Queen Mary. If Dr. Robertson enters the lists and is successful, he will acquire new reputation. If he refuses to enter the lists, or enters them and is defeated, he will lose many laurels. This dispute will probably be an aera in the history of Scottish literature.

Then follows "A Copy of a LETTER from DR. STUART to JAMES CUMMYNG, Esq.; Secretary of the Antiquarian Society at Edinburgh". In this letter, which accompanied a presentation copy of his History of Scotland¹ for the society's library, Stuart pointed out that he differed essentially from Robertson on the subject of Mary, and stated,

If it shall be demonstrated that Mary was not so perfect and so innocent as I have represented her, I will yield to the controlling power of evidence and argument.

Gough referred to this matter in a letter to Paton of 7th June 1782;

What is the opinion of yr Literati on the challenge sent by Dr. Stuart to Dr. Robertson. Methinks (it) is pity such Controversies shd arise at the (ver)y outset of the new Society between it(s) respectable Members.

Paton replied on 15th June;

1. The History of Scotland from the Establishment of the Reformation till the death of Queen Mary 2 vols. London, 1782.

Dr Stuart's performance I have not as yet had time to peruse, he intended this publication long before the institution of the Society

P.S. I do remember that Dr S____t did privately make solicitation, whether he should add to his name, F.S.S.A. as a feather probably in his Cap.

The same subject occurs in a letter from Paton to Cough of 31st January 1785;

I am apt to believe Dr Robertson desists from entering the lists with Dr Stewart, so the challenge may be rejected, as I suppose Dr Robertson has now given over writing any further, it has been told me & partly had it from himself that his years do now forbid his fatigue in composition, unless in the clerical department

The dispute concerned the Society of Antiquaries only indirectly, and it need not have been involved at all but for the manner in which Stuart chose to draw attention to his difference with Robertson.

The society's failure to produce any Transactions during the first decade of its existence is frequently commented upon in the Cough-Paton correspondence. In Paton's letter of 31st January 1785 we read as follows;

When any Transactions of our Society may appear is beyond my Power to assure you of, being at a loss to learn what the Censors have performed, no Report from them having hitherto been communicated.

Three years later the position was still the same, for Paton wrote on 12th April 1788;

When the Antiqu Society here publish any Volume of their Papers to me is yet uncertain, this has often

been talkt of, a variety of delays probably frivolous has intervned & occasioned the postponing it be assured how soon any such goes to Press, you may expect a Copy to be sent you.

On 16th May 1789 Cough observed;

The Society of Antiquaries with you seem to be at a stand with their publication,

to which Paton replied on 1st June;

Alas! I am disqualified to give you the true reason of our Antiquarian Society's indolent disposition with regard to their Publications, some late disagreements amongst those Gentlemen, who undertook the Charge of selecting proper Papers may be the cause:¹ indeed, your annual exhibitions are duely worthy of high esteem, an imitation here ought to be properly followed.

Paton had something more definite to say on the subject when he wrote to Cough on 23rd July 1789;

The ill used, misfortunate Mr White at Liberton² did write a M.S. description of his Parish, which he presented to our Antiquarian Society,³ this with an Account of the Parish or Religious House at Hadington,⁴ I have been told are to make a department in the first Volume of the Society's Publication, but when this will go to the Press, I am unable to inform you: triffling party matters among some of the Members have forbid my attendance there for more than a year

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1. The "censors" appointed at the foundation of the society were Andrew Crosbie, Alexander Wight, Alexander Tytler, and William Smellie. (Account, 1782, p. 30.) In the 1784 Account (p. 33) the name of William Miller of Glenlee, Advocate, is substituted for that of Tytler.
 2. Thomas Whyte (1717-1789) minister of Liberton 1751-1789. Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae I 172-3. How he was "ill used" and "misfortunate" is not clear from the Fasti, except that in 1757 he was suspended for three weeks by the Presbytery for attending the first performance of Douglas.
 3. An Account of the Parish of Liberton in Mid-Lothian, or County of Edinburgh (Transactions of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. I, Edinburgh 1792, pp. 292-388.)
 4. Account of the Parish of Hadington by Rev. Dr. George Barclay of Middleton. (Ibid. pp. 40-121.)

bypast, out of respect for my native Country I heartily and most sincerely wish such differences had been shut out from that Body, hope in future these may be banished. - Whenever this Volume shall appear, if I am alive to see, it is my duty & shall with pleasure as a small testimony of Gratitude beg your acceptance of a Copy from me.

The above is the first indication that we have that Paton had ceased to attend the meetings of the society, because of disputes among the members.

On 7th September 1789 Gough wrote;

I am sorry to hear so indifferent an account of yr Antiquary Society. That at Dublin has published a second volume before yrs has begun first.

Paton replied on 27th September;

I am intirely disqualified as yet to inform you when our lazy Society will appear in Print.

Gough again raised the subject in a letter of 22nd April 1790, but all Paton could reply a month later was;

I am yet at a loss to apologize for our Scottish lazyness in their publication, the Irish have got the start of us & deserve esteem, suppose this Summer some steps will take place to begin the printing some Papers here when assured will write you thereof¹

At last, on 13th September 1790, Paton was able to announce;

The first Vol. of our Antiqu Society's Papers is at last gone to Press, this will come to you if I survive the publication.

It was to be nearly another two years, however, before the

1. Letter of 22nd May 1790.

volume appeared, and at the end of 1791 Cough repeated his unfavourable comparison with the Irish antiquaries;

The Royal Academy of Ireland have published the 3d vol. of their transactions. Yr Antiquary Society have yet issued out nothing. ¹

Cough eventually received the first volume of the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in the middle of 1792.

It is clear from Paton's correspondence that all was not well within the society. The Earl of Buchan wrote to him on 28th October 1788 that he hoped 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 when we may put up our joint prayer for the revival of the Unlucky Community & devise means for awakening it out of its present lethargy. ²

On 20th December 1791 Paton told Cough;

(I) have not been there this Year having had many private concerns to adjust. Ld Buchan has forsaken it & occupied about the Perth Society &c. ³

Again, on 16th April 1792 he wrote to Cough;

Ld Buchan has quitted that Society for what reason unknown to me, I've not attended their meetings for an year past, the place where it convenes being so distant & time or hour not specified it is also out of my power to be among them, as I do wish.

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1. Letter of 14th November 1791.
 2. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 65.
 3. The Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth. See below, pp. 105-106. On 14th June 1785 Buchan presided at a meeting of this society and read a "Discourse on the Natural History of the World, and of Man". (Transactions of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth, Vol. I (only one published) Perth, 1827. p. 11.)

The last reference to the society by Paton is in a letter to Cough of 2nd December 1800;

having for during (sic) these three years by past given no attendance there, being not so well treated as expected, so have no further conection with them ...

Paton's name occurs frequently in the lists of donations to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland from early in 1781 until 1786.¹ The first recorded presentation by him was made on 13th February 1781. This was "A copy of Mr. Cough's publication on the antient Danish coins found in Orkney".² The variety of Paton's donations reflects the wide range of his interests. We shall illustrate this with a few examples. Several zoological specimens were presented by him at different times. On 2nd January 1782 he gave;

A common humming bird. Another crested. A grass moth, with bright plumage, and two black flies, their wings spotted with scarlet.

On 6th May 1783 he presented "the skeletons of thirty-two small birds, from four inches to one foot in length," and on 7th October "A preserved swallow, in a flying attitude".

"Two pieces of amber stone from the sea shore near the Queensferry" was one of three items presented by him on 12th June 1783. A gift of another kind, made on 19th February 1782, was

1. The List of Donations from December 1780 to April 1782 is in Smellie's Account, 1782, pp. 39-99; and that from May 1782 to June 1784 in his Account, 1784, pp. 42-125. Subsequent lists were printed in the Archaeologia Scotica.

2. See below, p. 328.

An old silver coin, distinguished by a rude head on one side, and a cross on the other, with four crescents in the angles. This appears from Dr. Ducarel's publication in quarto (No 191) plate 1st to be an Anglo-Gallic coin of King William the Conqueror, not described in that ingenious work. ¹

Paton's interest in topography and local history was represented by his presentation on 4th March 1783 of a copy of Warton's Account of the parish of Kiddington.² An object of particular antiquarian interest presented by him on 7th May 1782 was

The seal of the bishoprick of Litchfield and Coventry, cut upon ivory, on which, in a plain square shield, is the armorial bearing of the see, below which are these words, Fidel fuma unionis centrum. Inscription round, Sigil. epis. Coven. et Lich. ad sequest. 1612. This seal, which is two inches in diameter, was found some years ago in Orkney.

At the same time Paton gave "an ancient Scottish altar candle of wax, square shaped, ornamented with foliage".

In view of Paton's enthusiasm for bibliography, it is not surprising that a number of his donations were rare old books. One of those, presented on 5th March 1782, was

Dr. Drake's historia Anglo-Scotica, 8vo, 1703. This book was burnt by the hands of the common hangman, by order of the parliament of Scotland, dated 30th of June 1703, as appears by the Scots

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1. A. C. Ducarel, A series of above two hundred Anglo-Gallic, or Norman and Aquitain coins of the antient kings of England ... London, 1757.
 2. Thomas Warton, Specimen of a History of Oxfordshire, London, 1783.

acts of parliament, Vol. III. p. 636. in 12 mo.¹

Paton's last donation was a peculiarly appropriate one;

A copy of his (own) portrait etched, half length;
and a full length portrait of W. Paton, also etched.²

2. The Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth.

The Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth was founded in December 1784,³ chiefly at the instance of the Rev. James Scott, the senior minister of Perth.⁴ The records of the society are preserved in the Museum and Art Gallery, Perth. These include a collection of letters, and also a manuscript book containing copies of all letters received. One of the letters copied in this book is from Paton to Scott. The original has not been found. This letter is as follows;

-
1. "Ordered That a book published by the title of *Historia Anglo Scotica* by James Drake M.D. and dedicated to Sir Edward Symour containing many false and injurious reflections upon the Sovereignty and Independency of this Crown and Nation be burnt by the hand of the common Hangman at the mercat cross of Edinburgh at Eleven a clock to morrow, And the Magistrats of Edinburgh Appointed to see the order punctually executed."
 2. 5th September 1786. I have not been able to trace who this W. Paton was.
 3. Memoranda of the Transactions of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth ... in Transactions of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth, Vol. I (only one published), Perth, 1827. pp. 9-19.
History of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth and the Extension of the Perth Museum. 1784-1881. Published by the Authority of the Council. Perth; 1881.
 4. James Scott, (1733-1818), minister of St. John's Perth, 1771-1807. (Fasti IV p. 232.)

Reverend Sir,

Some days ago I was favoured with the agreeable polite Communication of your much esteemed Institution at Perth, which must gain the aprobation of every welwisher to this Country, It being the Scene of much action in former days.

Sensible of the unmerited respect exprest in admitting me as a Correspondent Member, I beg leave to solicit acceptance of sincerest thanks to so noble and worthy a Society and to you in particular for the Honor conferred on me; Be assured my poor abilities and endeavours shall be most cheerfully bestowed to promote so valuable a Society as much as the Recess from much labour and Confinement will admitt.

Be pleased herewith to receive for your Use (if noticeable) two Etchings of a youn^e man, while residing in its neighbourhood, these are the only views of Inchcolm (that I know of) except the one in Mr. Pennants Tour; these my Friend got from my acquaintance Dr. Ramsay, but do not exhibite its present state as these two.

With the sincerest Gratitude I am
 Reverend Sir
 Your most obedient and much obliged humble
 Servant

C. Paton

Customhouse Edinburgh
 17th Feb. 1785.

Paton presented to the society a "Table containing the Fiars Prices of Victual from 1630 to 1786, in the shire of Perth".¹

1. Transactions, op. cit., p. 12.

3. The Minor Society of Scottish Antiquaries.

There is preserved in the Bodleian Library The Minute Book of the Minor Society of Scottish Antiquaries.¹ Although designated MS. Cough Scotland 2, this book is described in the catalogue as "not certainly a Cough manuscript". Nothing seems to be known of this society apart from what can be gathered from the minute book. The first recorded meeting was on 1st February 1783, but it is clear from the minutes that this was not the original meeting. The minutes of the last recorded meeting are headed simply, "Aug. 1785". It is stated there that the society was celebrating its third anniversary.

Paton may possibly have attended meetings of this society, although he is not referred to in the minutes. On 1st February 1783 James Cumyng presented to the society "Two base metal Scots coins of Queen Mary's and a Copper Boole of King Charles the II". It is recorded in the minutes for 5th July 1783 that the Earl of Buchan had permitted them to meet in "this hall", presumably the hall of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

On 3rd January 1784, "Mr Alexander Brown Keeper of the Advocates Library presented Charta Willielmi regis Scotorum Canonicis de Jedburgh concessa circa annum 1165 ex Autographo in Archivis Ducis de Buccleugh". On 4th September 1784 "Mr Adam Cardonnel"² presented

1. MS. 18309.

2. Adam Mansfeldt de Cardonnel, afterwards Cardonnel-lawson (d. 1820).
(D.N.B.)

the Rowel of an old Spur". No other known associates of Paton are referred to in the minutes.

4. Paton's Library.

A fair impression of the size and comprehensiveness of Paton's library may be gained from the sale catalogue issued when his books were put up for auction in 1809.¹ The catalogue consists of twenty-four parts, one for each evening of the sale, which began on 27th February, and ended on 25th March. It had originally been intended to take place a week earlier, and all but the last four parts of the catalogue are antedated accordingly.

Criticisms of the bad arrangement of the catalogue are fully justified.² The descriptions of the books are very brief, sometimes to the point of making a particular item hardly identifiable. One book, for example, is listed simply as Certain Sermons Lond(on 16)87.³ No attempt has been made to classify the books according to subject-matter. They are merely arranged in each part of the catalogue,

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1. Catalogue of a Very Valuable Collection of Books, being the Library of the late Mr George Paton, of the Customs, Edinburgh... To be sold by Auction, in Ross' Sale-Room, No 63, South-Bridge Street, opposite the college; The sale to begin on Monday 27th February, 1809, and twenty-three following lawful evenings, at Half Past Six O'Clock precisely, each night. Edinburgh: Printed by C. Stewart.
 2. See Archibald Constable and his Correspondents Edinburgh, 1873. Vol. I p. 20 footnote. Cf. also Maidment - "Paton's wretchedly got up sale catalogue"; Letters from Joseph Ritson Esq. to Mr George Paton Edinburgh, 1829. p. 6. footnote.
 3. p. 2.

under four headings, according to size; "Duodecimo et Infra," "Octavo," "Quarto" and "Folio". It must be admitted, however, that the very disorder of the catalogue lends some fascination to a study of it. One feels that the books were set down just as they were taken from Paton's shelves, so that the lists give us a better impression of the appearance of his library, than if they had been carefully classified. "His very valuable and extensive collection is, indeed, so ill arranged, that it is at all times difficult for him to produce what is in his possession", was what Dr. Robert Anderson wrote to Bishop Percy on 20th June 1799.¹ Paton's library must have shared both the confusion and the charm of many a second-hand bookshop.

It is not surprising that this should be so, when the origin of the library is recalled. It was, in fact, a bookseller's stock, that of Paton's father. Some of it may even have been inherited from his grandfather, George Mosman. It is recorded that neither John nor George Paton would sell a volume which they desired to add to their collection.² This accounts to some extent for the remarkable variety of the books that Paton possessed. It is scarcely possible that he was intimately acquainted with the contents of all of them. Many may reflect the particular interests of his father rather than his own. Nevertheless his library affords strong evidence that his reading was wide. It is hoped that subsequent

1. J.B. Nichols, Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century Vol. VII p. 76-7.

2. Kay's Edinburgh Portraits Edinburgh, 1837 Vol. I p. 244.

chapters will show that it was also deep.

Almost any page from the catalogue reveals the extraordinary range of subjects covered by Paton's books. The following list on p. 9 is an example;

Banker's new guide	Lond. 1762
Paterson's arithmetic	Edin. 1685
Virgilius Heinsii	Ultraj. 1704
Boyer's French Grammar	Lond. 1782
French recueil	Edin. -50
Mair's introduction to Latin	ib. -58
Fabricii Bibliotheca Latina, 2 vols.	Ham. -21
Cluverii Geographia universa	Amst. 1677
Epistolae obscurorum virorum	Lond. 1710
Fencing master's advice	ib. 1692
Dictionary of hard words	ib. -70
Donaldson's husbandry anatomized	Edin. -97
Angler's sure guide	Lond. 1706
Bruce's arithmetic	Edin. -27
Evelyn on navigation and commerce	Lond. 1674
State of Ireland	ib. -82
Robinson's observations	ib. -96
Select trials, 4 vols.	ib. 1764
Cee on trade	Glas. -50
Court, and character of king James	Lond. 1657
Butler's Hudibras	ib. 1710
Halifax, and its gibbet-law, placed in a true light.	
Buchanan's poems, by Monteith	Edin. -08

The copy of the catalogue in the National Library of Scotland has been carefully annotated, and gives the prices realised

for each item.¹ Among the more valuable books may be mentioned Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary, 5 vols., folio, London 1734, which fetched £5.12/-;² Andrew Hart's Edinburgh edition of the Bible, printed in 1610 (£1.16/-);³ the black letter edition of Gavin Douglas's Aeneid, London 1553 (£1.11.6);⁴ the Edinburgh black letter edition of the Gude and Godly Ballads (£6.18/-);⁵ and the Northumberland Household Book (£6).⁶ Cough's Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain the two folio volumes bound in three, realised £13,⁷ while a set of the Scots Magazine from 1739 to 1784, lacking three volumes, brought £10.10/-⁸ Such rarities as Paton's copy of the Complaynt of Scotland will be noted when his contributions to bibliographical studies are discussed.⁹

Perhaps more interesting than an enumeration of the expensive items, however, is a survey of the hundreds of small books on almost every subject. The page already quoted provides examples. Many were sold for only a shilling or two. As a further illustration of the range of subjects the following may be quoted. They are all

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1. Press-mark T.2.d.1.
 2. p. 12 (misprinted 21).
 3. p. 16.
 4. p. 28.
 5. Ane Compendious booke, of godly and spirituall songs ... black letter Edin. p. 29.
 6. p. 50.
 7. p. 68.
 8. p. 30.
 9. Chapter III below.

listed together on p. 50;

Pyrotechnical discourses	Lond. 1705
Theophrastus's history of stones, by Hill	ib. -46
Bates on the existence of God	ib. 1677
Blancourt's art of glass	ib. 1699
James's lives and amours	ib. 1723
Grotius's history of the low country wars	ib. 1665
Da Costa's elements of conchology, <u>plates</u>	ib. 1776
Watt's on mechanicks	ib. -16
Essay on comparative anatomy	ib. -44

Among Paton's books, as we should expect, were many written by his friends and correspondents. Most of these had been presented by their authors in gratitude for Paton's assistance in providing information for their works, or for other services. As he was so liberal with the resources of his own library, it was natural that, in return, he himself should receive many gifts of this kind. Examples of works by his friends which appear in the catalogue are Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman,¹ and his Apology for the believers in the Shakespeare papers;² the Remains of Christian Antiquity³ and the Account of the Martyrs at Smyrna and Lyons⁴ by Lord Hailes; Herbert's edition of Ames's History of Printing⁵; Grainger's translation of Tibullus;⁶

1. p. 43. George Chalmers; The Life of Thomas Ruddiman...London, 1794.

2. p. 23. An Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare-Papers, which were exhibited in Norfolk-Street. (London), 1797.

3. p. 17. Remains of Christian Antiquity...Vols. II and III, 1778, 1780.

4. p. 17. Account of the Martyrs at Smyrna and Lyons, in the second century. (Vol. I of above.)

5. p. 83.

6. p. 25. James Grainger; A poetical translation of the Elegies of Tibullus 1759.

and many of the works of Thomas Pennant. All Pennant's books fetched good prices.¹ William Wright's Mortuus Siccus is marked by the annotator of the National Library copy of the catalogue, "not to be sold".²

The titles in the catalogue include many obscure, and some rather quaint works, such as Hall on the loathsomenesse of long hair.³ That Paton had not ceased to acquire new books even in his last years is shown by the fact that he possessed the first edition of Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.⁴

Paton had so many books in Latin that it can be said with confidence that he must have had a good knowledge of that language. The nineteenth night of the sale⁵ was almost entirely devoted to Latin works, a large proportion of them classical. But the titles of the non-classical Latin works are the more curious, and they remind us that Paton lived at a time not far distant from the days when Latin was the normal language for the exchange of scholarly information throughout Europe. Indeed, it still remained so, to some extent. Three Latin works on very different subjects are listed together in the catalogue;⁶ Apicius Caelius de arte coquinaria;⁷ Brunus Nolanus de umbris

1. pp. 35-36, 60, 79.

2. p. 72.

3. p. 26.

4. p. 22. Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border: consisting of historical and romantic ballads, collected in the southern counties of Scotland; with a few of modern date, founded upon local tradition. 3 vols. Kelso, 1802-3.

5. pp. 73-75.

6. p. 50.

7. Apicii Coelii De opsoniis et condimentis, sive arte coquinaria.... Amsterdam, 1709.

idearum;¹ and Coedartius de insectis.²

It will be shown later³ that Paton's knowledge of zoology was thought considerable by contemporaries who shared that interest; and appropriately enough his library included such works as Johnstoni historia naturalis de piscibus et cetis.⁴

Paton probably had an elementary acquaintance with Greek, for his books included Radices linguae Graecae Paris 1619;⁵ but it is likely that his reading of Greek authors would usually be in translation, as, for instance, the Works of Anacreon and Sappho London 1713.⁶

Paton's extensive collection of miscellaneous tracts was disposed of on the twenty-third evening, and it occupies eleven pages of the catalogue.⁷

Altogether, 2,871 items are listed in the catalogue, and the total sum realised was £1355: 6:11.

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1. Giordano Bruno, of Nola; De Umbris idearum Implicantibus artem, Quaerendi, Inueniendi, Iudicandi, Ordinandi, & Applicandi: ad internam scripturam, & non vulgares per memoriam operationes explicatus Paris, 1582.
 2. J. Coedartius de Insectis in methodum redactus, cum notularum additione ... London, 1685.
 3. See below, p. 412.
 4. Joannes Johnstonus; Historiae naturalis de piscibus et cetis. Amsterdam, 1657.
 5. p. 49.
 6. p. 22.
 7. pp. 89-99.

It was not until over two years later that the remainder of Paton's valuable collections was sold. This sale began on 2nd December 1811, and occupied eight evenings and two afternoons. It consisted of "Manuscripts, Drawings, Maps and Prints, Coins and Medals, Books on Coins, and sundry other valuable books; Minerals, Shells, and a variety of other curiosities, both in nature and art".¹

The catalogue of this sale has the following prefatory note;

Mr Paton's Executors are extremely sorry that circumstances should have occurred to lead to such a long interval between the Sale of his rare and valuable Library, which attracted such a share of public attention in 1809, and that part of his Collection now offered for Sale; but they trust, with no small degree of confidence, that the memory of the Venerable Collector is still sufficiently alive with gentlemen of similar literary pursuits. For though Mr. Paton's love of retirement, and indifference about the glare of public notice, prevented him from offering any of the fruits of his literary labours to the world in his own name, it is well known that he contributed more to the aid of the Antiquary and Topographer than any man of his time, as may be seen by the many warm acknowledgements contained in his extensive correspondence with Pennant, Gough, Grose, &c, &c, now in the possession of his executors.

Paton possessed a number of interesting manuscripts, but it has not been possible to trace where they all are now. One of the most important of these is described in the catalogue as;

A manuscript common-place-book by Mr. George Paton, containing, among other things, an account of the family of McLean, the diary of Robert Birrell, &c &c. Folio. ²

1. Catalogue of the Remainder of that Very Interesting Collection made by the late Mr. George Paton Edinburgh, 1811.

2. p. 5.

The original manuscript of Birrell's Diary is in the National Library of Scotland.¹ Maidment printed several extracts from Paton's commonplace books.² He acknowledged his indebtedness to James Laing for allowing him to see them.³

Two volumes that belonged to Paton have been found in the Laing collection in Edinburgh University Library.⁴ One⁵ is the manuscript described in the sale catalogue⁶ as

A common-place-book, containing an abridgement of acts of parliament and other extracts, 2 vols. ⁷ duod.

None of the manuscript is in Paton's handwriting; it is all or mainly in seventeenth century hands. The second⁸ is a copy of the suppressed edition of John Knox's Historie of the Church of Scotland, printed by Vautrollier.⁹ This contains a bibliographical note in Paton's handwriting on the inside of the cover.

Each of these volumes has Paton's book-plate, the design of which consists of a hand clutching a rose, within an oval floral border, with the motto "Virtute Viget" at the top, and "Geo. Paton Custom-House Edr" at the foot. This plate was probably designed by James Cumyng. It is referred to in a short note from Paton to Cumyng, written in the third person, and headed only "Thursday morning";

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1. Adv. MS. Hist. 16. 33.7.28. 2. Letters, 1830, pp. 206-210.
 3. Ibid. p. xiii. I have been unable to trace these manuscripts, except the one noted below.
 4. I am indebted to Mr. Finlayson, the Keeper of the Manuscripts, for the discovery of these.
 5. MS. Laing 383. 6. p. 6.
 7. The two volumes are now bound together. 8. MS. Laing III 634.
 9. This edition is not included in H.G. Aldis's A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700 .. Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1904. The book lacks a title-page. The Preface, pp. 5-7, is in ms. The book plate is on p. 8. Pp. 9-16 are in ms; pp. 17-560 printed; pp. 561-641 ms. Thereafter the book is continued in ms. in a different hand, the pages unnumbered, beginning with "The Fourt Booke of the Progresse and continuance of true Religion within Scotland".

Would be greatly obliged if he could obtain the sketch of the Crest this afternoon as he will be in this office till 4 or 5 o'clock, should be glad to know if the motto virtute viget might be engraven in the Circular form above the Crest, & his name G.F. Customhouse Edinburgh in the same way below it, being desirous to have it as intelligible as possible.¹

Possibly some of the other manuscripts now in the Laing Collection may once have belonged to Paton; it is not easy to prove this when there is no internal evidence.

One manuscript volume which has not been found, and which might prove particularly interesting, is

A manuscript of Peebles to the play, with remarks by Mr. George Paton. Quarto.²

Among Paton's other manuscripts was;

Precept of clare constat by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, in favour of Robert Lawder of the Bass Island, 1519, with his seal appended.³

Three manuscripts by his friend, George Low, minister of Birsay in Orkney,⁴ were in Paton's possession at the time of his death, and were sold with his other manuscripts.⁵ One of these, A Tour through the Islands of Orkney and Shetland ... in ... 1774, is now in Edinburgh University Library, and was published in 1879 with an introduction by Dr. Joseph Anderson.⁶ The other two are now in

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1. Edinburgh University MS. Laing II 81 f. 32.
 2. 1811 Catalogue, p. 6.
 3. Ibid. p. 3.
 4. For a full treatment of Paton and George Low, see pp. 337-389 below.
 5. 1811 Catalogue, p. 5.
 6. George Low, A Tour through the Islands of Orkney and Shetland Kirkwall, 1879.

the National Library of Scotland; they are A Chronological Sketch of the History of the Orkneys¹ and Fauna Orcadenses.²

Paton's collection of maps and charts was sold on the third night of the 1811 auction, and amounted in all to 82 lots.³ In some cases two widely disparate items were included in one lot, for example, "Plans of Traly (sic) in Ireland, and the south coast of Asia" or "Plan of a workhouse for the county of Middlesex, with a front view of the Register Office, Edinburgh". This sale also included, "Ainslie's map of Selkirkshire, 2 sheets royal paper," "Charts of St. Domingo and the rivers Dee and Don," and "A folio atlas of the counties and islands of Scotland, in 58 maps".

Paton's library was not an orderly, well-arranged collection.

*Induce?
Disappears to
arrange a
negative.*

[There were no unused books with uncut pages.] It was the rather untidy, extremely varied, and much utilised equipment of a book-lover and antiquary. It brought sustenance and comfort to the mind of its owner in his successive homes, where sometimes there was little enough of physical comfort, and where, on occasion, he may even have gone short of food.

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1. Adv. MS. Hist. 239 31.3.1.
 2. Adv. MS. Hist. 238 32.4.1.
 3. 1811 Catalogue, pp. 13-16.

5. Paton's Antiquarian Collections.

Most of Paton's books had been disposed of at the 1809 sale, so that the catalogue of 1811 is primarily concerned with his antiquarian collections. These are not of the same interest as his library, except to antiquaries; but a brief reference to some of the contents of the catalogue will give an idea of the nature and variety of what he had accumulated.

On the second night of the sale, "ores, minerals, shells and sundry curiosities" were auctioned. Examples of these were;

5. Petrified wood and sundry minerals.
11. Tin from Cornwall, and antimony.
16. Obsidan and zeolite from Iceland, &c.
17. An adze head of lapis Nephriticus, from New Zealand.
21. Sundry pieces of Roman earthen ware.
28. A tooth of the hippopotamus and another.
43. Large specimen of plumbago.
47. Five corals.
48. Four stalactites.
64. A chest, containing three skulls, vertebrae, column articulated and sundry other bones.
70. The jaws of a shark, a trunk-fish and sundry remains of animals.
74. A Malay dagger.
79. Two models of Esquimaux canoes.
84. An Otaheitian spear of exquisite workmanship.
112. A tomahawk.
113. A helmet and an ancient dirk.
115. Six bottles of preserved vegetables, labelled.
116. Six do. containin_g snakes, lizards &c. do.

119. Six bottles of fishes.
 128. Crucifix and four strings of catholic beads.¹

A sufficient impression of the scope of Paton's coin collection will be given by an enumeration of the headings under which it was classified;

- Roman and Greek - Brass.
 Roman - Silver.
 Scottish - Silver, Billon and Copper.
 Saxon and English - Silver.
 Foreign Silver.
 Copper and Brass Medallions and Medals.
 English, Irish and Scottish.
 Gold - Scottish English and Foreign.
 Indian Coins - Silver and Copper, &c.²

Paton's prints, drawings, and busts included;

24. Head of Allan Ramsay, the Scottish Poet, by Cooper.
 26. Two Busts of Homer and Pope, by Bartolozzi.
 27. Portrait of Dr. Samuel Johnson in his travelling dress, as described in Boswell's Tour.³
 42. Holyroodhouse Abbey, by Runciman.
 61. Head, by Rembrandt, very fine.
 62. Riding of the Scottish Parliament, with the Funeral Procession of the Earl of Rothes, in seven plates.
 73. A Marine God with Figures, by Carracci, fine.
 74. L'Ecole Flamand, by Tenniers.
 75. Le Veillard Content, by do.
 76. The Morning, by Vivares.

1. 1811 Catalogue, pp. 9-12.

2. Ibid. pp. 21-34.

3. James Boswell; Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL D. (Boswell's Life of Johnson ... ed. Birbeck Hill, revised by L.F. Powell, Vol. V, Oxford, 1950 p. 19.)

77. Le Veilleur, by Tenniers.
78. Tobit after Salvator Rosa, by Goupy.
79. The Last Judgement, by Michael Angelo, a very fine impression.
265. The Bust of Geo Buchanan, crowned with laurel.
348. The Siege of Boulogne by King Henry VIII drawn by S.H. Gremm, and engraved by James Basire, mounted upon canvas, very scarce.
415. Three Portraits, Archibald Pitcairn M.D., Melvill, and Plancius.
441. Portrait of George, Earl of Melville, a presentation copy.
470. Book of Historical Prints of the Tudor Family, with letter-press description, half-bound, engraved by George Vertue, fine impression, rare. ¹

The prints and drawings amounted in all to 526 lots.

1. 1811 Catalogue, pp. 35-50.

CHAPTER III.PATON'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO BIBLIOGRAPHICAL
STUDIES.1. Herbert's edition of the *Typographical Antiquities*.

The *Typographical Antiquities* of Joseph Ames, published in 1749,¹ may be said to mark the beginning of the scientific study of bibliography and typography. It remained the standard work on the subject throughout the eighteenth century and afterwards. For this the credit is due to William Herbert, whose edition of Ames's book is so considerably revised and expanded as to constitute virtually a new work, superior to the original in everything except the quality of the paper and the printing.² The original work is contained in a single quarto volume: Herbert increased its bulk to three larger quartos. The edition of Thomas Dibdin was planned on an even more extensive scale, but was never completed.³

Ames dealt with the history of printing in Scotland in an appendix.⁴ Apart from his own researches, and information supplied by his friends Thomas Ruddiman⁵ and John Mitchell, his only source

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1. *Typographical Antiquities: being an historical account of printing in England; with some memoirs of our antient printers, and a register of the books printed by them, from the year MCCCCLXXI to the year MDC, with an appendix concerning printing in Scotland and Ireland to the same time.* London, 1749.
 2. *Typographical Antiquities ... considerably augmented by William Herbert.* 3 Vols. London, 1785-90.
 3. *Typographical Antiquities ... greatly enlarged, with copious notes and engravings.* 3 Vols. London, 1810-19.
 4. pp. 573-596.
 5. (1674-1757), Keeper of the Advocates' Library.

for this subject was the meagre account of Scottish printers in Watson's History of the Art of Printing.¹ Ames himself described this appendix as

some small hints, relating to the rise and progress of that art in Scotland, which may be of use to such, as would pursue this subject further, in that formerly antient kingdom.²

Paton was very well qualified to "pursue this subject further," and, characteristically, he did this, not by producing a work on the subject himself, but by gathering much valuable information for another. Paton's main contributions to Herbert's work concerned three rare books, the Chepman and Myllar Tracts, the Aberdeen Breviary, and the Complaynt of Scotland. Each of these will be dealt with in a separate section below.

Herbert made contact with Paton through Cough. The progress of Herbert's work can be followed to some extent in the references to it in the correspondence of Paton and Cough.³

The subject was first mentioned, almost incidentally, in a letter of 11th January 1772, where Cough referred to the "immense collections" of a friend of his "for a new edition of Ames' book".

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1. The History of the Art of Printing, Containing an Account of It's Invention and Progress in Europe: with The Names of the Famous Printers, The Places of Their Birth, And the Works printed by Them. And A Preface by the Publisher to The Printers in Scotland. Edinburgh: Printed by James Watson....1713.
 2. Typographical Antiquities, Preface.
 3. All the letters from Cough to Paton referred to in this chapter are in National Library of Scotland Advocates' MS. 29.5.6, and those from Paton to Cough in Advocates' MS. 29.5.7.

Paton asked Cough to signify to his friend

my readiness to contribute any thing I can to his advantage as I think every one ought to do the like for the good of the publick. ¹

On 11th September 1772 Cough wrote;

Ames' History of Printing goes on heavily: as it is hardly possible such a collection shd do otherwise. All notices of rare Scots printed books will be very acceptable to the editor.

There is nothing further of much significance on the subject until a letter of 10th June 1778, when Cough wrote;

I inclose proposals for a new edition of Mr. Ames Typographical Antiquities by a friend of mine whom if you can assist by circulating the proposals or by information of early printed Scottish books by yrself or friends you will much oblige me. Wd not Ld Hailes be an able coadjutor in this Inquiry.

Paton replied on 25th June;

Be assured of all the assistance I can procure or give for the new Edition of Mr. Ames Typog. Antiquities & you will please let Ld Hailes' name & mine be noted down for this work, what more I can pick up shall be communicated; a few more Proposals at any time may be handed here to shew some acquaintances.

On 10th August 1778 Paton wrote;

Wish to be informed particularly what may be wanted by the Republisher of Mr Ames' Typographical Antiquities, as it will be fruitless to transmit what may be well known already whether pertaining to English or Scots Printers or printed Books, could such be easily communicated, I shall as readily as can be in assisting: there are no old printed Books in the Advocates Library but what are notified in the printed Catalogue if any further particulars about any such or singular Book is wanted these can be had so wait any Instructions proper for that end.

1. Letter of 25th January 1772.

He wrote again in similar terms on 17th August, offering to give "an exact Copy of the Title pages of the very few old Books by me" should these be of any service, and stating that he would endeavour to borrow a copy of Ames's book

for direction & give both Scots, as well as any English Articles, that I may know or hear of, but particulars of their lives is what will not be ascertained so careless have our predecessors been.

Cough's answer was;

It is impossible to make out a list of Desiderata for Ames Typographical Antiquities but when the new Edition appears should any prove to be omitted they may be thrown into an Appendix. ¹

Writing on 6th November of the same year, Paton suggested that Herbert should examine bibliographical collections such as that of Bagford,² and incorporate them into his new edition of Ames.

He added;

what old Books I can meet with this winter at a leisure hour shall be noticed & transmitted you either for insertion or rejection as shall be agreeable to pleasure.

On 1st April 1779 Paton stated that he believed he could furnish "some few articles that are not inserted amongst our Scots Printers". It would be some weeks, however, before he had leisure to do this, owing to his removal to another house.³ He added that

1. Letter of 9th September 1778.

2. See W.Y. Fletcher, John Bagford and his Collections, Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, Vol. IV, London, 1898, pp. 185-201.

3. See above, p. 40.

he designed

to pursue the same exactness as Mr. Ames plan'd out taking all from the Books themselves & put no faith in printed catalogues, but where particularly specified or exactly executed in that line.

He went on to suggest that assistance might be had from the catalogue of the library of the late Archibald, Duke of Argyll.¹

On 7th April Cough wrote;

Yr assistance for the new edition of Ames will be gratefully acknowledged by my friend the Editor in the manner you yourself propose.² I hope he will soon meet with encouragement to go to press next winter.

In a letter of 3rd August 1779 Paton thanked Cough for sending him the catalogue of Mores's books,³ and suggested that "the republisher of Mr. Ames' Typographical Antiquities may find some objects there for his purpose". He alluded again to Mores's sale when writing on 21st September;

severals of these rare tracts are very properly the lot of Mr. Herbert, who I suppose will give the world a just account of them in his republication of Mr Ames' Typographical Antiquities.

The most valuable part of the library of Edward Rowe Mores was purchased by Cough,⁴ so that those books would be available to Herbert


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1. Catalogus Librorum A.C.D.A. (Archibald Campbell, Duke of Argyll) Glasgae: In Aedibus Academicis Excudebant Robertus et Andreas Foulis, Academiae Typographi, M.DCCLVIII.
 2. It is not clear what Cough meant by this phrase; he may simply be referring to Paton's statement that his notes were for "insertion or rejection as shall be agreeable to pleasure".
 3. Edward Rowe Mores (1731-1778), antiquary.
 4. Article on Mores in the Dictionary of National Biography.

as well as those which he had just acquired himself from Mores's collection.

The first volume of Herbert's edition of the Typographical Antiquities eventually appeared in 1785. The second volume followed in the next year. The third volume, containing the section on Scottish printers, was not published until 1790. It was, naturally, in relation to the last volume that Paton was able to afford Herbert the greatest help, and it is therefore between the years 1786 and 1790 that we find the most important references to the subject in the Paton-Gough correspondence. Specific acknowledgements to Paton are all in the third volume, either in the section on Scottish typography or in the Corrections and Additions which refer to material in all three volumes.

A long passage in a letter from Paton to Gough dated 17th July 1786 is worth quoting in full, as an example of the type of detailed information supplied by Paton. It shows his bibliographical knowledge, and it happens to deal with an item outside Scottish typography, as well as with a book of importance in the history of Scottish printing. Paton wrote as follows;

Your Friend Mr. Hebert has deviated much from his original Plan of republishing Ames's Typographical Antiquities, this new Edition appears to be swelling to an enormous bulk, but indeed shews much merit in his inquiring Collections: if you think the following comes in the compass of his Work, as it evidently is connected with it, presume to give you the Title &ca. of a most elegant, clean Copy of an Edition of "The New



Testament as it was written / and caused to be written / by them which herde yt whom also oure saviour Christ Jesus commaunded that they should preache it unto al creatures" - The Gospell of S. Mathew - The Gospell of S. Marke - The Gospell of S. Luke - The Gospel of S. John - The Actes of the Apostles. "Joelis ij" I will poure oute of my spryte upon all fleshe / and youre sonnes and youre daughters shall prophesy / youre younge men shall se visions / ad olde men shall dreame dreames. This title page is surrounded with various figures of ornaments, what is included in these commas (") is printed with red ink the rest in black ink, all in black letter: on the Back of this Title page in red ink "An Almanacke for xvij yerres" beginning with m.d. xxvj & ending m.d. xliij: partly red & black: below ¶ "Annus habet menses xij hebdomadas liij et diem unum, Et habet dies cccxv et horas sex" in red. Then follows six leaves containing the 12 months of year with the Sants (sic) days partly red & black as usual. The first sheet is comprised in 8 leaves the second has this signature +i.& so on, the last leaf of this sheet begins with the Gospell of S. Mathew, with a wooden representation of him on the inside margin, besides, a flourished capital Letter T - all the Gospels & Epistles are divided into Chapters, but no verses: the signatures of each following sheet of 8 leaves have a, b, c & c. and each Book & every chapter begins with flourish Letters besides figures of each Evangelist. After the Acts of the Ap(ostles), is a Title page all in black letter with a fancifull border around it, at the top is represented a quarter figure (supposed to be) S. Paul writing, at the bottom of this in a heart inclosure is this figure expressive of the printers name thus  The Epistles of the

Apostle S. Paul. then follows an enumeration of the Epistles & c. the Revelacion of S. John ends with Signature Ebbj, on the back of which leaf is the following Colophon ¶ Here endeth the new Testament diligently oversene and corrected / and prynted now agayn at Antwerpe / by me Wydowe of Christoifel of Endhove. In the yere of oure Lorde M. CCCC and xxxiiij in August 9 - After which in 12 leaves follows, ¶ This is the Table / wherein you shall fynde / the Pystelys & the Gospellys / after the use / of Sarysbuery: concluding with directions to the Bookbinder how to gather together thys boke - This is Tyndall's Translation & shall only notice that this passage in the


viiij Chap. of the Acts, this copy has "and beholde a man of ethiopia which was gelded / ad of grete auctorite with &c."

The above information was used by Herbert in a note in his Corrections and Additions,¹ superseding a two-line entry in the text.² Herbert's description of this Antwerp edition of the New Testament is substantially that provided by Paton, although it is somewhat contracted, and there are a number of orthographical variations.

In the same letter, Paton went on to deal with the Oratio Dominica printed by John Scot;³

I beg leave to add the Title & ca. of another old Book printed at St. Andrews in this Country which fell into my hands lately, The Title page runs thus  In Dominicam Orationem pia meditatio, qua, in Deum anima fidelis, mirum in modum excitatur. Authore Patricio Cocburno, Scoto &c.  Ex typographia Johannis SCOT In Civitate Sancti Andreae 15 Calendas Octobris, 1555. Cum Privilegio Regali. All these lines I have drawn a score below are printed in Italic the rest in Roman Characters part capitals, part small. only the printers name Scot is in capitals: a very coarse representation of two men are represented above the place where printed, these done on metal: follows, the dedication &Ca. Mariae, Regni Scotorum Regenti dignissimae, Patricius Cocburnus &c. consisting of 17 pages concluding Ex academia tua Andream 15 Calendas Octobris Anni Domini 1555 the ^ (sic) 5 pages in Oratio pia, et fideli observanda - nixt page in Roman characters Oratio Dominica - nixt follows In dominicam Orationem pia meditatio &c. consisting of LXXXI leaves. beginning with Signature A &c. & ending with Letter I. which Letters are only noted on the first leaf of each sheet consisting of eight leaves: each particular chapter begins with a flourisht capital, the whole printed text in Italic Characters - On the last page are the Errata

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1. Vol. III p. 1831.
 2. Ibid. p. 1542.
 3. See H.G. Aldis, A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700 ..., Edinburgh, 1904, pp. 2, 120.

below  Excudebat Joannes Scott 1555 - This is the only Book I ever saw with a title page printed at St. Andrews & never hear'd of Scott before - By whom the Complaine of Scotland is printed I never could learn, but said to be at that place. ¹

Paton mentioned in the same letter that he had some old books "about the time of the Reformation," and that he would send Cough a list of some of them if Herbert desired. It is clear that Cough showed this letter to Herbert, for the following pencil note at the end is evidently by the latter;

Am greatly obliged to Mr. G. for these extracts & remarks; shall be further so for a Fac simile of ye 2 men on Scot's title-page, ye expence of wch i will thankfully repay. shall be glad also for a cursory list of such other books as Mr. G. may be in possession of, &c and if there be any of wch i have not had intelligence, i shall be exceedingly obliged for such extracts & c as ye present.

Herbert obviously meant Paton, not Cough, by "Mr. G." Paton's usual signature, " *Epaton* ", might easily be mistaken for some such name as "Graton". This mistake has, in fact, been made in the list of contents of a manuscript volume in the National Library of Scotland.²

Paton's account of Scot's Oratio Dominica is made use of by Herbert,³ the book being noted as in the possession of "Mr G. Payton (sic), Edinburgh". Dibdin, in his edition of the

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1. The Complaine of Scotland is discussed at length below, pp. 137-151.
 2. MS. 2956. It has subsequently been corrected.
 3. Vol. III p. 1483.

Typographical Antiquities, stated that he possessed "a transcript of a letter by George Paton to Richard Cough, respecting the Oratio Dominica, printed by the Scotch Skot, and containing a fuller description than that which appears in the place last referred to (i.e. Herbert Vol III p. 1483)."¹ It is reasonable to infer that this was a transcript made by Herbert of Paton's letter of 17th July 1786, and that it came into Dibdin's hands along with Herbert's other papers pertaining to the Typographical Antiquities.

In a letter of Paton of 1st September 1786, Cough passed on the requests contained in Herbert's pencil note, quoted above. Paton replied on 25th September, enclosing a sketch of the device on the title-page of the Oratio Dominica, which he confessed was

but poorly executed by the Artist, who ever he was, and even so much defaced by the Printing that much of the Devise is worn out, that I did think it needless to transmit you the Book.

1. Dibdin, Typographical Antiquities, Vol. III p. 73.

2. The Chepman and Myllar Tracts.

Probably the most important subject about which Paton supplied Herbert with information is the volume of tracts printed by Chepman and Myllar, presented to the Advocates' Library in 1788. When Herbert wrote his history of printing in Scotland, the earliest example of the work of a Scottish press known to him - and already referred to by Ames - was the Aberdeen Breviary, printed at Edinburgh in 1509.¹ But in the Corrections and Additions he was able to give a full description of this unique volume of tracts, which was printed in 1508.²

Cough had already written that Herbert was "winding up his work that he may enjoy the close of his life in tranquillity",³ when Paton sent the first news of the discovery. In a letter of 12th August 1788 he stated;

Since your Last approached me a Fragment of some o' Dunbar our Scottish Poet has turned up, it consists of several Poetical pieces printed here, every one of which wants Title pages, Leaves &c. some whereof has the Colophon at the end as Heir endis the Knightly tale of Colagros and Gawan, in the South gait of Edinburgh be Walter Chepman & Andrew Millar the VIII of Apile the yhere of God M.CCCC and VIII yheris. Among which poetical pieces is one either from Chaucer or an Imitation of his Poem - The same Device relative to Chepman as noted in the Breviar. Aberdoniense appears in two or three places of this mutilated Collection, but rather more neatly impressed. there is also another Device for And. Miller exhibiting a Windmiln

1. See below, pp. 135-137.

2. Vol. III p. 1815 note z.

3. Letter to Paton, 15th July 1788.

with Spokes expanded also the representation of a Man stepping up the Ladder with a Sack or Bag of Grain (I suppose) on his Back, below all these figures are the Initial Letters of And. Myllar, much in the same Style as represented in Chepman's Initials; if Mr Herbert desires a Copy of this Device, I shall attempt procuring it afterwards. Having only obtained a slight sight of this Book, I can give you at present no further particulars thereof ... This B. lique is now lodged in the Advocates Library, which is but accidentally opened during the Vacation.

Gough replied on 5th September 1788 that Herbert would be glad of the device of Andrew Myllar and of any further account of the fragments. On 22nd December Paton wrote;

As Mr. Herbert was desirous to have the Emblematical figure of our old Printer And. Myllar, I've procured a very exact drawing thereof inclosed, as also, a complete List of the Contents of ye Book (formerly mentioned) given into the Advocates Library printed An. 1508 being 2 years prior to the Breviarium Aberdoniense, these Poems seem to be amongst our first Essays of the Press, as short attempts would be undertaken in the earlier labours of the Press - Hoping this may be some entertainment to you & Mr. Herbert I send the Original, having taken no transcript of it myself, & if it is worthy of Mr. Herbert's notice (which I humbly think) ¹ it deserves, this is cheerfully submitted to him, it being a very rare discovery of this year.

Herbert begins his long note on the Chepman and Myllar tracts with a well-deserved tribute to Paton.² The rest of the note is enclosed in inverted commas, so that it may be taken as practically a verbatim copy of the "complete List of the Contents of ye Book" sent by Paton. It is doubtful, however, if this list was made out by Paton himself. The fact that he says that he "procured" the

1. Parenthesis sic in the original.

2. Vol. III p. 1815 note z.

drawing and the list, and that he had taken no transcript of the list himself, seems to imply that they were given to him by someone else - perhaps Alexander Brown, Keeper of the Advocates' Library. It would be particularly interesting to know who wrote the note, since the list of the contents is interspersed with comments such as this, referring to the Knightly Tale of Golagrass and Cawane: "Bp. Percy mentions 3 tales of Cawane &c. in his MS. This seems to be neither of them". There are also some critical observations following the list of contents, and we should like to believe that Paton really did write the sentence, referred to by Dickson and Edmond;¹ "If these were the earliest, Poesy was the first fruits of the Scottish press". He did, at any rate, say the same thing in different words, in the letter of 22nd December 1788 already quoted.

Whether or not Paton was the writer of the note in question, he deserves the credit for bringing the Chepman and Myllar tracts to the notice of Herbert.

The importance of the discovery of this unique volume has been fully recognised by modern bibliographical scholars.² The excellent facsimile edition of the tracts, published by the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society in 1950,³ supersedes David Laing's edition

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1. Annals of Scottish Printing, Cambridge, 1890, p. 6.
 2. It is very fully described by Dickson and Edmond; Annals of Scottish Printing, pp. 49-82.
 3. The Chepman and Myllar Prints. Nine tracts from the first Scottish press, Edinburgh 1508, followed by the two other tracts in the same volume in the National Library of Scotland. A facsimile, with a bibliographical note by William Beattie. Edinburgh, 1950.

of 1827.¹ In the Bibliographical Note which forms the preface to the former work, Dr. William Beattie speaks of the presentation to the Advocates' Library of the Aberdeen Breviary in 1742 and the Chepman and Myllar tracts in 1788 as "the successive strokes of fate that summoned first Chepman and then Myllar from oblivion". There is no record of this latter in the minutes either of the Faculty of Advocates or of the Curators of the Advocates' Library, and, as Dr. Beattie points out, our information that it was received in 1788 rests entirely on the authority of Paton. If he had not been at hand, with his bibliographical knowledge and his zeal for exchanging information, the book might have remained for many years unknown to those who could appreciate its value.

3. The Aberdeen Breviary.

The Aberdeen Breviary consists of two octavo volumes, the first completed in February 1509/10, the second in June 1510.² Only one copy of the first volume is known with the titlepage, and the titlepage of the second volume does not survive in any of the existing copies. The copy of the second volume which is now in the

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1. The Knightly Tale of Colagus and Cawane, and other Ancient Poems. Printed at Edinburgh by W. Chepman and A. Myllar in the Year M.D. viiij. Edinburgh, 1827.
 2. For an account of the Aberdeen Breviary, see Dickson and Edmond, Annals of Scottish Printing, pp. 86-99.

National Library of Scotland was discovered by Paton, and presented to the Advocates' Library by him.¹ In response to a request from Gough for a transcript of the titlepage and colophon of the Breviary, Paton wrote on 6th June 1778;

It was not in my power earlier to procure you the requisite about the Breviarum Aberdonense, must refer you to the account published by Mr Ames in his History of Printing p. 573.574 but must observe that, the second Volume of the Book had not turned up, which it was my good fortune to meet with accidentally many years ago, (amongst a parcel of waste Books intended for destruction & c.) and hearing of the 1st Volume being in the Advocate's Library, I devoted this to their service, it appears to be in the original or very old binding, far from contemptibly executed in the press work, the paper not thin nor ill coloured. Each Volume contains half a Years Service & c. the blank prior to - per anni & c. is contracted & could not be read by the transcriber, so omitted the word as substitute any other

Gough referred to the Breviary in his British Topography,² evidently using the information sent by Paton at this time. Unfortunately, Gough seems to have misunderstood Paton. He copied from Ames the last part of the colophon of the second volume, apparently mistaking it for the title. No titlepage of the second volume has ever been known to exist. Gough also printed the whole of the colophon, no doubt from the transcript supplied by Paton.

In dealing with the second volume of the Breviary in his edition of

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1. Press-mark H. 36.h.5. There are two copies of the first volume in the National Library, H. 36.h.4. and Ry. VI.f.5. The former was presented to the Advocates' Library by Professor John Ker in 1742.
 2. Vol. II, pp. 643-4.

the Typographical Antiquities,¹ Herbert, in turn, copied from Cough, and thus repeated his mistake. This point can be satisfactorily explained only with the aid of lengthy quotations from Ames, Cough, and Herbert. It will therefore be treated in full in an appendix.²

Paton obtained a transcript of the titlepage of the first volume of the Breviary from the copy in Edinburgh University Library, and sent it to Cough for Herbert on 29th May 1788.³ This was too late for inclusion in Herbert's text, but he placed it in his Corrections and Additions.⁴

4. The Complaynt of Scotland.

Paton possessed one of the four known copies of the original edition of the Complaynt of Scotland, one^{of} which is now in the National Library of Scotland.⁵ Another copy, the least perfect, was owned by Paton's friend, John McCowan.⁶ Its whereabouts was unknown to Sir James Murray when he published his edition in 1872,⁷ but it has

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1. Vol. III, pp. 1468-70.
 2. Appendix V, pp. 477 - 486.
 3. Letter Paton to Cough of that date.
 4. Vol. III, p. 1817 note a.
 5. Press-mark H. 34.a.19.
 6. A writer to the signet, who shared many of Paton's antiquarian interests.
 7. The Complaynt of Scotlande ed. J.A.H. Murray, E.E.T.S. London, 1872. Introduction, pp. xvi-xviii.

since found its way to the National Library.¹ The remaining two were in the Harleian Library, and are both now in the British Museum. One of them was there during Paton's lifetime.²

In a letter to Cough of 4th July 1783 Paton wrote:

There is a very small 12^o Book called "Scotland's Complaint" by Sir James Inglis vide Dr. Mackenzie's Lives Vol 3d p. 40 3 - I wish to know if you have it or have seen it, this is very rare, never saw but 2 copies all my life, I know of one that is imperfete, the owner wishes to make it up by copying the defects in M.S. but cannot meet with it: it seems to have been printed at St. Andrews.

The two copies referred to by Paton were no doubt his own and McGowan's.

Cough noted in the margin of this letter that Watson's History of Printing dated it 1540,⁴ and presumably he mentioned this in replying to Paton, for the latter wrote on 14th August 1783 that Watson must be in error about the date of printing, but that he could not correct this as his copy lacked the titlepage.

In 1785 John Pinkerton⁵ was contemplating bringing out an edition of the Complaynt, and in December of that year the Gentleman's Magazine published a letter by him, signed "Philarchaion", asking if

1. Press-mark Ry.II.h.27. For evidence that this was McGowan's copy, see below, p. 139, footnote 5. It is difficult to identify this copy with the one described in the catalogue of H.B. Bright's sale in 1845 as "wanting all before page 16" (See Murray, op. cit., p. xviii). Although very imperfect, McGowan's copy has pages 4, 5, 10-15. Unless the catalogue description is inaccurate, it seems necessary to conclude that Bright's copy was a fifth one, previously unknown, and once again lost.
2. C.21.a. and Grenville Library No. 5438.
3. George Mackenzie, M.D. The Lives and Characters of the Most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation ... Edinburgh, 1722.
4. op. cit., p. 7.
5. (1758-1826), antiquary.

any reader had a copy with the titlepage.¹ He had already requested the Earl of Buchan to obtain from Paton transcripts of certain pages.² Paton replied as follows in a letter of 19th December 1785, which Buchan passed on to Pinkerton;³

In obedience to your Lordship's request I here inclosed send a transcript of page 39 but the Copy by me wants page 137, so could not supply that: I beg leave to observe that the pages are only markt on one leaf & severals of them are not number'd, your Lordship will see that every printed Book have the Letters of the Alphabet printed at the bottom of the sheet as A.B.C. & Ca. the second leaf having A2 the 3d leaf A3 & so on as a proper direction to the Book binder to arrange these sheets in due order, the signature of page 137 is the Letter S. but wanting in my copy,⁴ as it has page 138 being Sii.

I have been carefull to write this Extract as it is printed, y is mostly exprest by z, and u for y also y for w, this has been occasioned from the scarcity of types in the Infancy of printing here in Scotland. - I have also adhered to the exact number of the words in each line conform to the printing, likewise to the capital Letters.

Pinkerton also made a similar application to John McGowan⁵, and obtained a transcript of page 39 from him in March 1786. With regard to page 137, McGowan wrote;

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1. Vol. LV p. 959.
 2. See below, p. 142.
 3. National Library MS. 1709, ff. 2-3.
 4. This statement was not correct. See below, p. 142.
 5. The following manuscript note is pasted on the inside back cover of National Library of Scotland copy Ry. II.h.27.; "London Octr. 1785. Mr Pinkerton No 3 Knightsbridge requests Mr McGowan to send him a copy of folio's 29 & 137 wanting in the British Museum Complaints of Scotland".

I have look'd over my copy of the Complaint and found it very imperfect, several leaves wanting, and many of the corners so much chaf'd that I cannot send you a copy of folio 137 till you signify to me the catch word, or rather three or four lines of the top of that page, and as many at the bottom of the preceeding one, and if I find them contain'd in my impression a transcript shall be immediately sent you¹

Pinkerton finally obtained the desired transcript of page 137 from Herbert in January 1788.² His edition of the Complaynt never appeared. This did not prevent him from insinuating, in a review of Leyden's edition,³ how much better he would have done it himself.⁴ In the same review, with his usual gratitude, he described Herbert as "a heavy plodding man wholly destitute of common literary sagacity".

Writing on 25th September 1786, Paton suggested to Gough that the Complaynt of Scotland should be inserted in Herbert's edition of Ames. He referred Gough to Dr. George Mackenzie's Lives of the Scots Writers as the authority for ascribing the work of Sir James Inglis, the place of printing as St. Andrews and the date 1548.⁵ He added;

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1. McCowan to Pinkerton, 2nd March 1786. National Library MS. 1709.f.8.
 2. Herbert to Pinkerton, 1st January 1788. Ibid. f. 31.
 3. The Complaynt o Scotland, J. Leyden, ed. Edinburgh, 1801.
 4. Critical Review, May 1802. Reprinted in Critiques by Mr. David Herd and Others, upon the new edition of "The Complaynt of Scotland" with observations in answer by the Editor, the late Dr. John Leyden, Edinburgh, 1829.
 5. The Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation ... 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1708-22. Vol. III, p. 42.

I know not upon what Authority a late Author Mr. Pinkerton, ascribes this work to a Wedderburn in his prefatory list of Scottish Poets of Pepy's Collection of Maitland's M.S. I shall not take it upon me to say any further of this publication, leaving every one to judge for themselves that read it.

Paton was mistaken here, since in his list of All the Scottish Poets in the introduction to his Ancient Scottish Poems ... published from the M.S. Collections of Sir Richard Maitland¹ Pinkerton ascribes the Complaynt to Inglis. Paton's perusal of this work must have been rather cursory, because he wrote in the letter to Buchan of 19th December 1785 that he could not see Wedderburn, the author of Ane Compendious Booke of Godly and Spiritual Songs, mentioned in the list.²

Paton's copy of the Complaynt was of great interest to his friends and others and he always lent it willingly. On 20th November 1787 he wrote to Gough;

Mr Davidson³ having never seen the "Complaint of Scotland" borrowed lately the Fragment I have of it, being very defective & did never bind it up again hoping to meet with a Copy to supply these defects in writing, which I've never been fortunate enough to gain, possibly it may turn up sometime - I do not agree with Mr. Pinkerton that Wedderburn was the Author, but of this in my next p. post & some thing of the supposed Printer at St. Andrews to which beg leave to refer you ...

As soon as he received the Complaynt back from Davidson, Paton sent it to Gough,⁴ and the latter acknowledged it on 18th

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1. 2 vols., London, 1786.
 2. Wedderburn is mentioned on p. cxx.
 3. John Davidson of Haltree. See above, p. 57.
 4. Letter to Gough, 24th November 1787.

December 1787, stating that he had forwarded it to Herbert. A letter of Paton to Cough dated 30th January 1788 reveals that he did not know for whom the transcript he had sent to the Earl of Buchan in 1785 was intended;

I am pleased that you have received my Fragment of the Complaint of Scotland, have never learned yet if Ld Buchan communicated the Transcript sent him while in London long ago, but for whom or for what purpose intended, his Lop told me it reached him, so declined to inquire further on the Subject. - I have been hitherto disappointed by receiving no Answer to my Inquiries at St. Andrews, whether there be a Copy of it in their Library, I design writing my old Schoolfellow & Relation Principal of that University ¹ if the Book be complete & is amongst their Collection, as I judge it my Duty to assist Mr. Herbert in his valuable researches, of this event you shall get notice afterwards.

Writing on 8th February 1788, Cough announced that Herbert had returned the book to him again. He informed Paton that

Mr. H. is clearly of opinion that the Complaint of Scotland was printed in France - because it wants the w; but further he can give no opinion as to the different Authors assigned it, till a more perfect copy turns up. Leaf 137 is not wanting, but misplaced after 139. The transcript sent to Ld Buchan was for Mr. Pinkerton ...

If you wd wish to have yr Copy of the Complaint of Scotland completed from that in the British Museum I will get it done.

Paton eagerly accepted this offer, replying on 12 th February;

It would be a most singular favour to get the defects of my Copy of the Complaint &c. made up, as I can by no means hear of another Copy in this Country as yet, pray let me know the Charge that you be reimbursed ...

1. James Gillespie (1722-91), Principal of St. Mary's College. See above, p.10.

He wrote at greater length on the subject on 18th February 1788;

at present will not determine that point of the letter w, until I inspect some of our old Scottish printed Books, of this hope to be better qualified to approve or differ from Mr. Herbert before sealing this: that Mr. Mackenzie in his lives of Scottish Writers might have seen a perfect Copy of it seems to be pretty probable, else would not assign the year of it's publication or fix St. Andrews for the place, where printed, from which University Library have not yet got information, whether a complete Copy of the Book may be lodged there ... it is by no means amiss to add that Sir Jas Inglis, who resided in life would have his work printed as near to himself as possible provided there was a printing office at St. Andrews in that period ... I shall be singularly obliged to you for the kind offer made me of getting the defects of the Complaynt & c. supplied, the Charge whereof will cheerfully pay on first notice, at same time if the Fragment belonging to me affords any assistance for completing the Copy in the Br. Museum I freely acquiesce (sic) in whatever may supply the leaves wanting in the Copy lodged there, if a transcript of the same is indulged to me.

The following day, 19th February 1788, Paton added further observations on the inferences, if any, to be drawn from the lack of the letter "w" in the original edition of the Complaynt;

I observe in Bassenden's English Bible printed here Anno 1576 has the German W capital for the most part printed thus VV but small w is for the most part express as the present letter Founders use it sometimes, as the capital, in the same Book the capital W is the same as the Moderns do now, probably this has happened from the Scarcity of this Letter in the Count of types.

Paton has not expressed his point very clearly. What he apparently meant was that in Bassandyne's Bible, capital W is usually printed VV, but sometimes W; whereas small w is usually printed as such. He went on;

This Printer (i.e. Bassandyne) as well as Waldegrave (Printer to the King's Majesty) Charteris (also Printer to d^o) Andro Hart &c. use the vowel u most frequently or always for u; in Mr. Robert Bruce's Sermons on the Spanish Armada Invasion & at E. Botwell's publick Repentance 1588 & 1589 ¹ Waldegrave uses the Letter z often or mostly for y: I believe this frequency will be indiscriminately found in the English printed Books.

In a further addition to the same letter, written on 23rd February, he indicated that he had still not received a reply to his enquiry from St. Andrews. On 15th March 1788 he wrote as follows;

Having got an answer from St. Andrews am ashamed to inform you that their library at that place is in shameful disorder, having no Catalogue (as I suspect) they cannot inform me what they have ...

In a letter of the same date, Cough informed Paton;

Mr. Herbert has put a quære into the Cent. Mag. for the Complaint of Scotland of which no more copies have yet appeared. Yr Copy is completing at the British Museum & theirs from it.

Paton replied on 24th March 1788;

I shall be very glad to hear that Mr. Herbert meets with a Complete Copy of the Complaint of Scotland, which is indeed a very scarce Book, the promising opportunity of getting the defects of it supplied to the one I sent you is very acceptable & hope no ceremony will be used with it to render the one in the British Museum more perfect only wish a written transcript may be substituted in the place of these leaves abstracted from my Copy.

Writing to Cough on 29th May 1788, Paton thanked him "for completing the Copy of the Complaint of Scotland from the Musaeum Book". Herbert stated that the British Museum copy "has lately been

1. Sermons preached in the Kirk of Edinburgh by M. Robert Bruce
Edinburgh, 1591.

perfected, except the title-page, from another copy in the possession of Mr. G. Paton".¹ Leyden stated that three of the copies of the Complaynt had been completed from each other.² Sir James Murray pointed out that the British Museum copy was not perfect, while the two leaves which it lacked, 59 and 142, were preserved in Paton's copy. "Clearly neither his (Leyden's) statement nor that of Herbert can be taken in its literal meaning. What they did mean to say I have no idea," Murray wrote.³ Now, it is clear from his letters that Paton gave the officials of the British Museum full authority to extract leaves from his copy to complete theirs, provided that they supplied him with written transcripts in their place. (as good bibliographers?) [For some unexplained reason,] they evidently did not take advantage of this offer, but were content to take transcripts of the pages their copy lacked.⁴ Herbert no doubt believed that full advantage had been taken of Paton's offer when he wrote the words referred to by Murray, and therefore he meant that the British Museum copy had been completed at the expense of Paton's copy. All that Leyden meant when he wrote that three of the copies (i.e. the

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1. Typographical Antiquities, Vol. III, p. 1477.
 2. The Complaynt of Scotland, ed. J. Leyden. Preliminary Dissertation, p. 289.
 3. The Complaynt of Scotlande, E.E.T.S. edition. Introduction, pp. xviii - xix, footnote.
 4. Pinkerton wrote to Paton on 31st March 1788 (Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV, f. 122); "Your copy of the Complaynt is completing at the Museum; and, as I have got copies of two leaves wanting in the Museum copy, they shall be added. But the title, alas! seems lost for ever." But the two leaves would not be necessary, since the two missing from the British Museum copy were not lacking in Paton's.

original British Museum copy, Paton's copy, and McGowan's copy) were completed from each other, was that the deficiencies in each copy were supplied by transcripts from one or both of the others.

Paton's copy later had leaves from Leyden's reprint interpolated to supply the deficiencies. This was probably done in his lifetime, for in the auction catalogue of his books it is described as "The most perfect copy extant".¹ In the catalogue of the purchaser, William Laing, bookseller, issued in 1810, it is stated that, "the leaves are inlaid, and completed from the new edition printed at Edinburgh in 1801".²

Paton's copy of the Complaynt was again in Herbert's hands after the British Museum authorities had finished with it, in May or June 1788. In letters of 5th June and 15th July, Cough indicated that it would soon be returned to Paton. It was finally despatched to him on 1st February 1789, and on 10th February he acknowledged receipt of it.

Herbert's third volume appeared in the following year, 1790, and, as a result of Paton's help, he was able to deal with the Complaynt of Scotland in detail.³ He concluded that the book was printed in France, probably at Paris, a verdict that has been

1. Catalogue of a Very Valuable Collection of Books, being the Library of the Late Mr. George Paton, Edinburgh, 1809, p. 101.

2. Murray, op. cit., p. xix.

3. Vol. III, p. 1477 et seq.

supported by the modern authorities, Sir James Murray,¹ and Dickson and Edmond,² Pinkerton was also of this opinion.³ Paton, as we have seen, was unwilling to depart from the traditional view that the book was produced at St. Andrews, just as he adhered to the opinion that Sir James Inglis was the author.

Paton's interest in the Complaynt of Scotland remained as lively after the completion of Herbert's great work as before. When writing to Professor William Barron⁴ on 8th December 1791,⁵ he took the opportunity to try once more to find out whether there was a copy in the library of the University of St. Andrews. No letter from Barron to Paton is extant, so far as is known, but the reply would, (of course, be negative.

On 16th April 1792 Paton wrote to Cough;

I have some hopes of getting intelligence from France relating to the year when Sir James Inglis' Book Scotland's Complaint was published.

We hear nothing more of this, however. Perhaps this remark indicates that Paton had now accepted Herbert's view that the book was printed in France.

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1. op. cit., p. cvii.
 2. Annals of Scottish Printing, p. 149.
 3. Letter Pinkerton to Herbert, 22nd February 1790. Printed in The Literary Correspondence of John Pinkerton Esq. London, 1830. Vol. I, pp. 243-5.
 4. (d. 1803), Professor of Belles Lettres and Logic in the University of St. Andrews.
 5. Edinburgh University Laing MSS. II 453.

Paton's copy of the Complaynt continued to be much in demand among his friends. Andrew Plummer wrote to David Herd on 10th February 1794;

I would look upon it as very particularly kind of Mr P. if he would indulge me with a sight of the Complaint of Scotland, it should be soon returned & when not in my hand should be under lock: But do not hint this to him if you think he has any objection, because I would not wish to have him do anything of that kind about which he has any scruple.¹

The request was granted as readily as usual, for Plummer returned the book to Herd on 3rd March.² In an undated letter to Herd written shortly afterwards, Plummer made a contribution to the discussion concerning the authorship of the work, by suggesting that the mysterious "Vedderburn", who is given as the author in the Harleian catalogue, may have been the printer. "Will you ask George Paton, if he ever heard of any of that name about that time," he added.³

Paton returned to the subject in a letter to Cough of 12th April 1796;

A friend informed me some days ago that the Book "The Complaint of Scotland" &Ca. dedicated to Q. Mary, a very rare small book, never had a Title page, at least none that I ever hear'd tell of or ever saw but 2 Copies of what wanted this & he assured me that none ever had a Title page or it was abstracted for this prohibition Vide page CLVII (or 157 the 2d page) of our Scot's

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1. National Library of Scotland MS. 892 f. 45.
 2. Ibid. f. 47.
 3. Ibid. f. 50.

Acts of Parliament fol. printed here 1566¹ this Act was in her reign: you will find a Copy of this Book in the Brit. Museum.

The next reference to the Complaynt in the correspondence between Paton and Cough occurs four years later, and betrays that old age was now afflicting Paton with forgetfulness, although his enthusiasm was undiminished. It is important because it has the first notice of the projected new edition of the Complaynt. Writing on 5th May 1800, Paton began strangely by asking, "Have you a Copy of Sir Jas Inglis' Complaint of Scotland 8^o". After referring again to Mackenzie's Lives of the Scots Writers, he continued;

if it has the Title page & if printed at St Andrews, all the copies in this Country want the title page & can hear of no more than of three or four Copies. I have an imperfete one, but Mr. Constable² is reprinting it, to consist of no more than 50 or 100 copies

P.S. In the Harln. Catalog. Vol. 1. The Complaint of Scotland is said to be by Wedderburn instead of Sir Jas Inglis. How is this difference arisen?

Cough replied on 30th May 1800 that he did not possess a copy, and apparently not realising, or forgetting that one of the Harleian copies was in the British Museum, wrote, "At this distance of time it is impossible to find out the purchaser or possessor of books in the Harleian Catalogue". He reminded Paton of what he had forgotten;

1. The actis and constitutionis of the realme of Scotland said in Parliamentis haldin be the rycht excellent, his & mychtie Princeis Kingis James the First, Secund, Thrid, Feird, Fyft, and in tyme of Marie now Quene of Scottis ... Imprentit at Edinburgh be Robert Lekprevik the xii day of October, 1566. (A second edition was printed on 28th November 1566.)

2. Archibald Constable (1774-1827).

Mr Herbert in his edition of James has availed himself of the information you gave him at length about the different authors to whom this poem is ascribed.

On 25th November 1800 Cough wrote;

I see announced in one of our Monthly Publications a new edition of the "Complaynt of Scotland" from 4 copies one of which is yrs. Who is the editor?

Paton replied on 2nd December;

"The Complaint of Scotland" is reprinting from my copy the Editor is a Mr Leyden, a young Antiquarian Divine,¹ Mr Constable tells me, as he is the republisher or undertaker of this very scarce Book will be ready in January or about that time next year, then you'll accept a Copy from me.²

Paton despatched the promised copy on 24th December. Cough acknowledged it in an undated letter, adding that he was "much edified by Mr Leyden's informing preface".

Leyden's edition is a creditable work of scholarship, and it is spoken of with respect by Sir James Murray. It is generally agreed, however, that he was not successful in establishing a claim for Sir David Lindsay's authorship. Paton's last recorded word on the subject was in reply to a request from Cough for particulars of Leyden. He referred Cough to Constable for fuller information, and added;

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1. John Leyden (1775-1811). See D.N.B., also John Leyden - Life's Fitful Fever in J. . Graham, A Stepson of Edinburgh and other papers, London, 1925, pp. 119-130. Leyden was, of course, not a divine but a physician.
 2. The following manuscript note by Constable is on the inside of the front cover of McCowan's copy of the Complaynt (National Library of Scotland Ry. II, h. 27); "This Copy of the Complaynt of Scotland was used in reprinting the edition 1801 - A. Constable". This confirms that Paton's copy was not the only one used. Cf. the quotation from Cough's letter of 25th November 1800, given above.

I cannot agree with his attributing this work to Sir David Lindsay as he was the most active supporter of our Protestant Reformers here; as no Title Page (that I can hear of is extant) to the few Copies which are preserved to elucidate the real Author's Name, ¹ so I must confess my submitting to Dr McKenzie's assigning it to Sir Ja' Inglis, as the Author of this work (who ever he was) in several passages favours the R. Catholic Opinion. ²

5. Paton's assistance to Herbert; conclusion.

The preceding sections have dealt with the more important items with which Paton assisted Herbert. His help extended also to numerous minor matters. One or two examples may be given.

With reference to Watson's History of Printing,³ Herbert assumed, following Ames, that Watson himself had written the preface to that work.⁴ Paton provided the information that it was written by John Spottiswood.⁵ Herbert, again following Ames, referred to Thomas Ruddiman, the Keeper of the Advocates' Library, as "Mr. Professor Ruddiman".⁶ Paton corrected this mistake in a note which Herbert printed in his Corrections and Additions.⁷

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1. Punctuation sic in the original.
 2. Paton to Cough, 27th March 1802.
 3. Cited above, p. 123, note 1.
 4. See Ames, p. 573; Herbert, Vol. III, p. 1468.
 5. Herbert, Vol. III, p. 1815, note y.
 6. Ames, p. 574; Herbert, Vol. III, p. 1469.
 7. Vol. III, p. 1817, note b.

Herbert had the use of two manuscripts belonging to Paton; Row's History of the Kirk of Scotland and James Melville's Diary. The former is mentioned in Herbert's discussion of the authorship of the Complaynt of Scotland;¹ the latter, as Paton pointed out to Herbert, tells how the printer Robert Lekprevik went with his press from Edinburgh to St. Andrews at the time of the Reformation. Herbert used this information in a footnote.² Paton's copies of both these manuscripts are now in the Signet Library, Edinburgh.³

As a final example of the sort of miscellaneous bibliographical notes sent by Paton to Herbert, there is the following in Paton's letter to Cough of 30th January 1788;

I further beg leave to observe that the 1st Edition of J. Knox's history in 8^o or 12^o was really printed by the printer as specified by Dr Tanner in his Bib. p. 459 ⁴ Vautrollier, by which Printer at Edinburgh I remember to have seen sundry of Rollocus (Rob.) Commentaries as mentioned by the same Dr p. 642 with the same type with it at the same time am at a loss to produce them having many years ago given them away.⁵
- I am also of opinion that H. Stephens' Apology for Herodote, under the Title of a World of wonders in English fol. was really printd at Edinbr by Andro Hart, as many of his Title pages bear altho' others express being executed in London, yet the Vignetes & Ca. evidently shew them to have been thrown off by him

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1. Ibid., p. 1477, note r.
 2. Ibid., p. 1494, note t.
 3. See John Row, The History of the Kirk of Scotland ... ed. David Laing, Fodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1842, p. lxi; Diary of Mr James Melvill, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1829, Prefatory Notice, pp. ii-iii.
 4. Thomas Tanner, Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica ... London, 1748.
 5. See Herbert, Typographical Antiquities, Vol. II, p. 1074; and Dickson and Edmond, Annals of Scottish Printing, p. 382. See also p. 116 above.

here, similarly convinceable from the other Books printed by him.¹ - Be pleased to excuse this my improper Anecdotes, which are hinted only as may be more accurately known to the intelligent Mr. Herbert while he is engaged in our Scottish department of his labours.

It is remarkable how few are the landmarks in the study of Scottish typography, and how great the distance between them. From Watson to Ames, from Ames to Herbert, from Herbert to Dickson and Edmond - each of these is a considerable stride. But for Paton, Herbert's work in the Scottish field would not have marked nearly so great an advance upon that of Ames as it did. Herbert himself did not fail to appreciate the assistance, and he paid Paton a striking tribute in his Preface;

The history of printing in Scotland and Ireland which Mr Ames, for want of sufficient materials, threw into an Appendix after the general history, i have given in its order, with enlargement; for which in Scotland i am indebted to Mr George Paton, of Edinburgh, whose comprehensiye mind takes in every branch of literature.²

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1. Henricus Stephanus; A world of wonders or a preparative treatise to the apologie for Herodotus... The copy in the National Library of Scotland has "Edinburgh, 1608".
 2. Vol. I, p. xi.

A condensed version of the preceding five sections has been published under the title of George Paton's Contributions to Herbert's Typographical Antiquities in Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, Vol. III, part 3, 1956, pp. 215 - 219.

6. Sir David Lindsay's "Satires".

Paton possessed an imperfect copy of the 1602 edition of The Satyre on the Three Estates, printed by Robert Charteris.¹

He consistently referred to this book as "Sir David Lindsay's Satires" and seems never to have freed his mind from confusion about it.

The references to it in his letters cover a period of thirty years, and the book seems to have been more often out of his hands than in them. His generosity in lending it was not always reciprocated. In 1800 he was still looking forward to completing this defective copy, as eagerly as he had been a quarter of a century earlier.

In a letter to Paton of 28th February 1772, Cough mentioned that he had a copy of Lindsay's Dialogue between Experience and a Courtier printed by Purfoote in 1575.² He went on to describe the book, adding that it was not mentioned by Ames. Paton replied on 9th March 1772 with a description of the edition of Sir David Lindsay's Works (by which he meant the Dialogue) in his possession. It was identical to Cough's, but was dated 1581.³ He then went on to mention the other work of Lindsay's in his hands;

However upon the whole there is another Book printed in 4^{to} Roman Letter with this running Title on the head of the Page Sir D. Lindsay's Satyres, which have but can get no other Copy any where or Accounts of it however in turning over

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1. See The works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490-1555 ed. D. Hamer, Scottish Text Society, Vol. IV, Edinburgh, 1936, pp. 67-72.
 2. See *ibid.* pp. 52-53.
 3. See *ibid.* pp. 57-59.

lately "Lindsay of Pitscottie's History of Scotland fol. Edit. pag. (I think) 201 mention is made there of the clergy's condemning and ordering Sir D.L. Book to be burnt: this I suppose was it's Fate & has rendered this Book so rare as it is the most virulent bawdy performance against the Romish Clergy I have seen.

The passage Paton was referring to here - and often in subsequent letters - is actually on page 202 of the History of Scotland by Lindsay of Pitscottie and his continuator,¹ where it is stated that an assembly of the clergy, meeting at the "Blackfriars of Edinburgh"; "made an Act, That Sir David Lindesay's Book should be abolished and burnt".

On 19th May 1772 Cough wrote to Paton;

A friend of mine meditates republishing a very scarce & severe Satire written in England about the time of the Reformation. But no notice is to be taken of this design, which I mention only that in case you can procure the complete edition of Sir D. Lindsays Satires which you wish, I wd propose it to him to unite it with the other.

Paton replied on 28th May 1772;

I can as yet find no Account of another copy of Sir David Lindsay's Satyre but what is in my possession & regret much the Imperfect State it is in, shall make all the Inquiry in my power to obtain these Defects, which if fortunate enough to meet will acquaint you & beg you will communicate to your Friend that he shall be extremely welcome to a Loan of my Copy so far as it is existing & shall heartily wish to see it compleat & republished, every word as

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1. The History of Scotland; From 21 February, 1436, to March, 1565. In which are contained Accounts of many remarkable Passages altogether differing from our other Historians; and many Facts are related, either concealed by some, or omitted by others. By Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie To which is added A Continuation, by another Hand, till August 1604. Edinburgh, 1726.

it was first printed without abstracting any of the Obscurities in the Book: I shall be glad to have that severe Satire in England & agree the two are suitable companions, but the publication of the English Satyre may be delayed till I be fully ascertained that no other Copy is to be found but what I have

Gough's answer¹ was that the publication of the English satire was very distant, and Paton would have sufficient time to look up his own or any other copy of Lindsay. Although there are one or two further references to this scheme, nothing seems to have come of it. There is no definite indication of what was the English satire in question. Bale's King Johan is an obvious possibility.

In a letter of 24th August 1772, Paton told Gough that he had written to Daniel Prince, bookseller in Oxford,² to ask whether the copy of the 1602 edition of Lindsay's Satyre of the three Estates in the Bodleian Library was the same book as his. Prince's reply had not satisfied him, and he asked Gough if he had any acquaintance there,

whom I might address to call on Mr Prince and get the Specimen sent him, from which it might be ascertained this is the same book I want to complete mine from: what makes me suspect it is not, Dr Mackenzie in his Life of Sir David Lindesay, mentions this Book, also his Interludes [&] Plays [acted] near Edinburgh at the Greenside Well } this I take to be my Book, which gave the Clergy such disgust

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1. Letter to Paton, 6th June 1772.
 2. (d. 1796). Prince was a regular correspondent of Gough's between 1780 and 1796. See Plomer, Bushnell and Dix Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers ... 1726 to 1775, p. 204.
 3. The Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation.... Vol. III, pp. 37-38.

The above passage reveals the source of the confusion in Paton's mind. The "Interludes" or "Satires" or "Plays" are simply alternative names for Lindsay's Satyre of the Three Estates. They originate from the Bannatyne Manuscript version of the Satyre. This consists of eight extracts from Lindsay's play, which Bannatyne calls "Interludes". Many writers, both before and after Paton, have been misled by this. The point has been fully cleared up by Mr. Douglas Hamer in his article, The Bibliography of Sir David Lindsay.¹ Paton mentioned in the same letter that he hoped shortly to compare his book with a manuscript. This was, of course, the Bannatyne Manuscript, which had just been presented to the Advocates' Library by the Earl of Hyndford.

Gough promised, in a letter of 11th September 1772, to write to a friend in Oxford about the matter. This was the Librarian of the Bodleian, the Rev. John Price, to whom Gough addressed a letter of enquiry on 15th September 1772.² Price replied on 26th September, stating that he, as well as Prince the bookseller, had had a letter from Paton some time before, and that Prince had replied for both of them, informing Paton "that the book was in the Bodleian Library, and that he was at liberty to complete his imperfect copy when he pleased". Price quoted a long extract from the preface by Henry

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1. The Library, fourth series, Vol. X, No. 1, June, 1929, p. 39.
 2. J. Nichols, Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, London, 1817-58, Vol. V, p. 515. Cf. Hamer, Works of Sir David Lindsay, Introduction, Vol. IV, p. li, "Price, Bodley's librarian, and John (sic) Gough were in correspondence on behalf of the Scottish bibliographer George Paton, regarding the 1602 quarto of Ane Satyre"

Charteris to Lindsay's Works,¹ and stated

From the above extract, I should imagine that Sir David Lindsay's Satyre of 3 Estaitis, & c must be the severe Satyre against the infamous practices of the Romish Clergy in Scotland. The Interlude must be the same with this Satyre²

Price, therefore, stated quite explicitly that the Satyre of the Three Estates and the Interlude were the same. Gough, unfortunately, misunderstood Price's letter in its most important particular, and passed on to Paton a mistaken interpretation of it. Paton's misapprehension that his book was a different work from the Satyre of the Three Estates was thereby prolonged. Gough wrote to Paton on 10th October 1772;

The Librarian of the Bodleian Library at Oxford informs me that Mr. Prince the Bookseller acquainted you that the book described was in that Library & that you were at liberty to complete yr imperfect copy whenever you pleased. The 8^o copy there has a preface by Henry Charteris & in it these words (Gough here repeats the quotation given by Price) This copy wants part of the title: but from its contents it seems to be the Edition printed at Edinburgh 1571 8^o

Gough was thus confusing Lindsay's Works and the Satyre of the Three Estates; whereas Price had quoted a reference to the Satyre from the preface to the Works, Gough passed this on as a quotation from a preface to the Satyre.

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1. Mr. Hamer refers to this passage in The Bibliography of Sir David Lindsay, and says that it "has been entirely overlooked". It is interesting to see that Price fully appreciated its significance.
 2. Quoted in Nichols, op. cit.

Paton replied on 20th October that he would be better able to answer Gough when he got back his copy, then on loan to a Mr. Robertson,

only must observe that the imperfect copy I have is in 4^{to} tho' you most distinctly inform me that the one is in 8^o which remains in the Oxford Library. ¹

Writing on 4th May 1773, Paton informed Gough that he was sending the Bannatyne Manuscript to Bishop Percy in London, ² and continued;

in the same Box I intend to let him have a Sight of Sir David Lindsay's Satyres which if I could by any means get perfected as I despair of it here, would chearfully cause reprint it, with the old Poem or Satyre on or about the Reformation in England you mentioned would be a proper Companion the Doctor shall have directions from me to allow you the Use of Sir David Lindsay's Satyres & possibly you both may find out some method of recovering the Defects in England but do not chuse to part with this Copy at any Rate.

I shall obtain an Evening of Banantyne's MSS & will compare it with my printed Book, as I am well assured are Poems by Sir David in that Collection of a similar nature

Writing again three days later, ³ Paton repeated much of what

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1. Gough had made a further mistake about the size, besides his confusion of the Works and the Satyre. Price believed that the copy of the Works from which he was quoting (Bodleian 8vo L24 Art. Seld.) was the 1571 edition, the size given in the catalogue being wrong, as this edition is a quarto. This particular copy has given modern bibliographers some trouble, but it is evidently not the 1571 edition. Hamer dates it conjecturally as 1580. (The Bibliography of Sir David Lindsay, cited above, where the title page of this copy is illustrated - Plate VIII; also Lindsay's Works, S.T.S. edition, Vol. IV, p. 54.) Gough overlooked Price's statement that the copy he was quoting from was a quarto, not an octavo, as given in the Bodleian Library Catalogue.
 2. It was acknowledged by Percy in a letter to Paton of 3rd June 1773. (Nat Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I, f. 67.)
 3. 7th May 1773.

he had said in the letter quoted above, and added;

in this MSS volume I find is the Satyre under the Denomination of Interludes from which I hope to compleat the Defects in the printed Copy, it has been so short time in my possession I have not yet examined the place where to supply what is wanting at the end of the 4to Satyre, but on it's return to Scotland again hope to see it at more leisure. Vide page 174 MSS. & p. 17 of the printed Book

In a second letter of the same date, Paton asked Cough to take charge of Lindsay's book, and wrote that when its imperfections were supplied,

I will cause print it & beg you may if possible procure me a loan of the Satire written about the time of the Reformation in England, you mentioned long ago to me - I am suspicious that the Poem, you was kind enough as to procure me an Extract from out of the Bodleyan Librery at Oxford is a different Book from this 4to belonging to me: but think this last Poem may be worthy of reprinting as well as all Sir David's other Works

On 7th June 1773 Paton wrote to Cough that he had been notified that Percy had received Bannatyne's Manuscript and Lindsay's "Satires",¹ the latter of which he was to forward to Cough. Cough wrote on 21st June;

have recd Sir D.L's from Dr. Percy. It wants a great deal both at beginning & end to be transcribed from the M.S. When I have run it over will send you my thots on it.

Paton told Cough in a letter of 25th September 1773 that he had seen

1. See letter Percy to Paton, 3rd June 1773, National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. 1, f. 67.

Percy in Edinburgh for a minute or two, and that he would that winter "supply the Defects of Sir David Lindsay from Bannatyne's MSS. Poems, so that we may have it reprinted".

On 13th February 1774 Paton wrote to Cough as follows;

Last Post brought the Favours of the Revd Dr Percy,¹ who must 'ere now be in London, he desires the particular Service of your sending him "Sir David Lindsay's Satyres" as he intends the Comparison thereof with Bannatyne's MSS. in his Possession, before he transmit it again to Scotland, so hope to supply the defects of the printed Copy, whereby it may the more readylie be republished some time or other after this.

Percy addressed the same request to Cough in a letter of 3rd March, 1774.²

On 11th March Cough informed Paton that

Dr. Percy has received from me yr fragmts of Sr D.L. he finds it to belong to his Plays & that a complete copy of it is in Bannatyne's MS. As he has already detained yr MS. so long he will not have time to transcribe more from it; there is a great deal wanting both at the beginning & end of yr book. If you shd think it will answer to transcribe these deficiencies I will do all in my power to get it encouraged here & to add the other satirical poem, if not too great an encrease on the expence. I do not wish you to be involved in publications; but to offer it to some bookseller, as I am doubtfull whether the sale among yrselves alone wd indemnify you. It is rather singular that no other printed copy of these plays shd be found, & this not perfect.

The confusion was thus continued, as Paton's book was now

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1. Percy to Paton, 6th February 1774, Ibid. f. 71.
 2. Nichols, Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, Vol. VI, p. 563.

described as Lindsay's "plays". Paton's reply is dated 18th March 1774;

I've procured a further time of Indulgence to Dr Percy for using Banantyne's MSS. have no intention of being further concerned in publications than to serve any Bookseller & obtaining from him a copy or two to oblige a Friend with, it merits & has my due Thanks for your friendly advice: the defects of S. David Lindsay hope to get supplied from the MSS. on it's return here as I will not trouble you or Dr Percy further than to point out the proper places in the MSS. to make the printed Copy complete, altho' the former does differ much from the later: this last having fain a Sacrifice to the merciless Rage of the Clergy

On 31st March 1774 Paton wrote that Lindsay's book might accompany the Bannatyne manuscript when the latter was sent north, Percy had been granted a further extension of time in which to retain the manuscript. In a letter of 9th February 1775, Paton requested Gough to send "Sir D. Lindsay's Satyres" to Percy at Northumberland House, "as he will probably put me in the way of supplying the defects". Gough answered on 20th February that he did not recollect the book referred to, and Paton replied on 25th February;

The Book referr'd to is Sir David Lindsay's Satires, which is incompleat, it is a thin Quarto, Dr Percy has found out in a MSS. Collection, which he procured the Loan of from this Country, & from that he hoped to supply my Copy; which he shew'd you: this is a separate Book from his other poems often reprinted & this promoted the extinction of Popery here & had the effect of producing the Reformation, some such work you seem'd to hint was published in England of the same nature & tendency.

Paton was clearly mistaken in thinking that Gough had the book

in February 1775. As has been mentioned already, Gough sent it to Percy in March, 1774. In a letter written at Alnwick Castle on 18th August 1774,¹ Percy told Paton that he had left the "printed copy of Lindsay's Satirical Play" in London. Nearly a year later, Paton had still not received his book back, and in a letter of 21st July 1775² he enquired of Percy;

Be pleased to inform me if Mr Gough returned to you Sir David Lindsay's Satyres & to the defects of which Copy will be supplied (by your friendly pointing out) from the M.SS. Collection belonging to the Advocates' Librery: when you are pleased to return them: & am apt to believe Banantyne has interspersed more of this Knights Poems in that volume, than may as yet have been published.

Percy replied on 28th July³ that he had ventured to detain the book a little longer, till he could compare it with a "perfect copy" transcribed from the Bannatyne Manuscript by Allan Ramsay, and lent him by his son.⁴ Paton at once expressed his approval of Percy's keeping the book longer, and welcomed the prospect of completing it from Ramsay's transcript.⁵ But evidently nothing came of Percy's promise, and Paton seems to have received the book back about March, 1776.⁶

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1. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I, f.77.
 2. British Museum Add. MSS. 32.332.
 3. National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I, f.83.
 4. Ramsay's transcript was not "perfect". See The Bannatyne Manuscript, ed. W. Tod Ritchie, Scottish Text Society, Vol. I, Edinburgh, 1934, pp. xxiii-xxvi.
 5. Letter of 7th August 1775. British Museum Add. MSS. 32.332.
 6. In a letter of 9th March 1776 (ibid.), Paton told Percy that a friend wished to see the book, doubting that any such was printed, and that his friend Mr Robertson would call at Northumberland House for it when Percy was finished with it.

In November 1778 Paton presented Cough with Lindsay's "Poems", i.e. his Works.¹ A letter to Cough of 27th February 1779 reveals that he still did not realise that his book was the Satyre of the Three Estates;

Sir D. Lindsay's Satire of the 3 Estates 4to & c. I never saw, nor is in any of our public Libraries here so far as information is handed to me; it must be very rare; Dr Mackenzie I think mentions it; presume your Copy must be printed by Henry Charteris' Son Robert, of whom know nothing, no notice being taken among our Scots' printers, at least his name has escaped me: I would be glad to learn what is the principal subject of this work, what vices &c. does the Poet saterize or if it be designed mostly against the Papish Clergy for their immodest lives in the style of Interludes or Plays, it may be the same as by me, this imperfete Copy, you saw several years ago, which the Revd Dr Percy had the use of at that time: but probably it may be another performance

Thus Paton, while recognising the possibility that his book was the Satyre of the Three Estates rather decided against it. Unfortunately, the letter of Cough's to which the above is the reply does not seem to have been preserved, there being no letters in National Library of Scotland Advocates' MS. 29.5.6. between 24th January and 7th April 1779.

The next correspondent of Paton's to show an interest in this book was John Callander of C.raigforth.² On 23rd March 1781 Callander wrote;

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1. Letter Paton to Cough, 28th November 1778.
 2. (d. 1789). See Dictionary of National Biography.

May I beg of you to send me by the Stirling
Fly your Copy of Sir David Lindsay, which
I shall not keep from you above eight days. ¹

Callander's letter of 3rd April² begins with a receipt for "Books
borrowed of Mr. Paton", including "Sir David Lindsays Satyre - 4to".
In this letter Callander asked whether he might take a transcript,
and whether a transcript could be obtained of what Paton's copy
lacked at the beginning.

In an undated letter that must have been written shortly
after, Callander stated;

Your Copy of Lindsays Satyr is a perfect Treasury
of the purest Scots. I am beginning to transcribe
it, but you would oblige me, and the Learned in
general very greatly, would you get a Transcript
of the beginning, which is wanting in your Copy,
up to the 17th page which begins with this Verse,
Gif ze think that sho thinks shame, then hyd ye
bairns ine
and your Copy also wants somewhat at the end, for
it breaks off at this verse, P. 148.
Ane right sweir Swingeour by our Lady Thou - - - -
I nothing doubt but it will be found intire in
Ballantyns MS. in the Advocates Library, and I
beg you'll cause a correct pen copy it for me,
for I seriously think of giving a new edition of
so great a Curiosity ³

Callander returned to the subject in a letter of 7th May 1781;

If it has your approbation I would gladly reprint
that poem, with a few Notes. It is very Valuable
both as a History of the times, and a fountain of
the purest Scots I ever read - I was (so) highly
pleased with his Description of the Pardoner, and

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1. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.3.8. f.22.
 2. Ibid., f. 24.
 3. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.3.8. f. 35.

his Speech, that I transcribed it, and made Mennon print it in his Edinr Evening Post, where you will find it, in last Saturdays Paper - I hope you won't blame me for giving the Publick a little Specimen of so elegant a Poem. Pray read, and let me know if I have done wrong, and whither I may have your leave to publish the whole, which I wish much to do, as no money can find a copy of it at present. ¹

Only two days later, Callander wrote again on the same subject;

I am favored with yours of yesterday and return you my sincerest thanks for your kind Permission to reprint Lindesays Satyre, which I mean to avail myself of, the moment you send me the Lines that are wanting, from the MS. I have looked into your Copy - There are no Various reading(s) marked by Doctor P(ercy) on your Copy. only a short Note in the Drs Handwriting dated London 1766, explaining the Form and informing, that the intire poem is to be found in Bannatyn's MS. (now in the Advocates Library) beginning at P. 164, of the MS, and there are considerable Variations betwixt the MS, and the Printed Copy. Be not at all afraid of ever any Printer getting your Copy into his paws. I will watch over this precious Relict as carefully as you can wish me.

Many leaves of white paper are bound up at the end, which makes me imagine there is much to be added from the MS. I think you should add from the MS, the various readings and insert them on the Proof sheets as they are cast off, or give them me, and I will insert them in the Notes I propose to add at the Bottom of the pages. I should be glad to have your assistance in this work by your writing the Life of the Poet, and inserting any Notes you judge proper, and thus, between us, we shall be able to usher our good old Bard into the world, with some advantage.

There are no Various readings noted by Doctor Percy in your copy. I wish you would write him to send you these Variations, (if he wrote them out) and it would save us much trouble.

1. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.3.8. f.26.

I beg earnestly you will put the Transcriber to work, and send me what is wanting in your Book, as correct as possible, for I would choose to write my Notes from the Beginning, lest I be found to write the same things twice over.

On 29th May¹ Callander wrote that he was returning the book to Paton so that he could collate it with the Bannatyne Manuscript, and once again urged him to begin work on a life of Lindsay;

Meanwhile I beg you'll set about collecting any materials you can for a life of the Author, as it would appear ridiculous to send this valuable Poem into the world without saying something about the writer. But I scarce know where to bid you go for information. McKenzie² and Nicolson³ were most laborious Blockheads. Perhaps some of our Historians Buchanan⁴ - Knox⁵ Pitscottie⁶ &c may be of use to you on this occasion.

Callander's friend "Mr Thompson of the Excise", carried the book to Paton on 3rd June.⁷ From Callander's letter of 23rd June,⁸ we learn that Paton was to be unable to get a transcript "till the rising of the Session".

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1. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.3.8. f.28. The letter is dated only "May 29" but it obviously belongs to 1781.
 2. George Mackenzie, M.D., (1669-1725), author of the Lives and Characters of the Most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation, 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1708-22.
 3. William Nicolson, (1655-1727), Bishop of Carlisle, author of The English, Scotch and Irish Historical Libraries ... 3 vols., London, 1736.
 4. George Buchanan, (1506-1582), author of Rerum Scotiarum Historia. Edinburgh, 1582.
 5. John Knox, (1505-72) the reformer, author of The Historie of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland ... 2 vols., London, 1644.
 6. Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, (1500?-1565?), author of The History of Scotland ... Edinburgh, 1728.
 7. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.3.8., f.29.
 8. Ibid., f.30.

Meanwhile (wrote Callander) I intend to avail myself of the hint you so kindly gave me, by writing to Lord Buchan to give me some materials for a life of the author, which I shall beg leave to put into your hands to be digested into proper order.

It may be gathered that Paton had expressed his unwillingness to be the author of the biography. The task that Callander was eager to impose upon him was one that suited neither his talents nor his inclination. On 7th August¹ Callander wrote;

I hope the Collation of Lindesay is now well advanced. I am quite impatient to (se)e my old friend again and to do all in my little power to usher him into the world with the advantages this truly classical author justly claims - Write me what you are doing with him

and again on 23th October;²

I have long looked for a Letter from you to inform me what you have got done with our good friend Sir David Lindsay If you cannot get a regular Collation made, I beg you may, at least, get what is wanting in your Copy, supplied from the MS in the Advocates Library

In his letter of 3rd December 1781³ Callander expressed his pleasure that Paton had got the blank in his copy of Lindsay supplied from the manuscript, and he requested to have the use of the copy again. But this was Callander's last letter to Paton, and nothing more came of the proposed edition. Perhaps ill-health made it impossible for him to proceed. It may be that Paton was unwilling to take the active part in the preparation of the edition that

1. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.3.8. f.31.

2. Ibid., f. 32.

3. Ibid., f. 33.

Callander wished, and that on this account their correspondence was broken off.

The next reference to the subject is in a letter from Paton to the Earl of Buchan, dated 19th December 1785;

I take N^o 14 of that Poet's (i.e. Lindsay's) Works (as mentioned by Mr Pinkerton) to be the imperfete copy of his Satires, a sight of which your Lordship had from me. ¹

The fourteenth of Lindsay's works in the List of Scottish Poets in Pinkerton's Ancient Scottish Poems ... from the MS. Collections of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington ... ² is Some fragments of plays acted on the castle hill Coupar; and between Leith and Edinburgh, on the play green. ³ These "fragments" were, as Mr. Hamer has made clear, ⁴ simply versions of the Satyre of the Three Estates, so that this entry is, in effect, a duplication of Pinkerton's thirteenth item. Pinkerton failed to realise the nature of the fragments at this time, for he wrote of them; "They are in the Bannatyne MS. and, in spite of their immodesty, ought to be published."

Paton referred again to his copy, but without throwing any new light on the matter, in a letter to Cough of 31st January 1786. The next development in this story of frustration is a highly interesting letter from Adam de Cardonnel to Pinkerton, dated 11th

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1. National Library of Scotland MS. 1709, ff. 2-3.
 2. 2 vols., London, 1786.
 3. Vol. I, p. cvi.
 4. In The Bibliography of Sir David Lindsay, cited above.

December 1786.¹ It refers to an imperfect copy of Lindsay's "Satires", the "only Copy at present extant". This can hardly be any other than Paton's copy. Cardonnel says that it begins at page 17 and ends at page 148. He makes the remarkable assertion that the owner will hardly let it out of his sight. Anything less characteristic of Paton can scarcely be imagined. We have already seen that the book had been borrowed by a number of people, and more were to borrow it. Cardonnel went on to say that he did not know how to get it copied, and asked Pinkerton to tell him how it could be done.²

The result was that Pinkerton borrowed the book from Paton. Doubtless he had little difficulty in doing so. The transaction was carried out through Mackenzie, the bookseller.³ In a letter of 24th November 1787, Paton told Cough that Pinkerton had a loan from him of "Sir David Lindsay's Satires, the only printed copy, that I can hear of, it is also a fragment & is as great a rarity as can be seen". He asked Cough to get a sight of it from Pinkerton, or to inform Herbert of it. He did not seem to recollect that Cough had seen it before, in 1773. Cough replied on 18th December 1787;

I have got yr copy of Lindsay from Mr Pinkerton
& when Mr Herbert has seen it will return it
to you.

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1. National Library of Scotland MS. 1709, f.22.
 2. Cardonnel wrote again to Pinkerton in similar terms on 5th March 1787. See The Literary Correspondence of John Pinkerton, London, 1830, Vol. 1, pp. 147-9. Here again he states that the owner of the book will not let it out of his sight.
 3. Not in Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers 1726-1775, op. cit.; in January 1787 he was sent to London by Charles Elliot, the Edinburgh bookseller, to take charge of a shop that he was opening there. See Paton to Cough, 20th January 1787, and several subsequent letters.

On 23rd January 1788 Paton wrote to Pinkerton;

My good friend Mr Cough informs me that you have given him back my copy of Sir David Lindsay's Satires, some how I have mislaid the MS. transcribed from Banatines' Collection to make up the Leaves wanting at the Beginning of the printed Copy, as to the defects at the end of that Book, I hope some time this Summer to compare my book with the Banantine M.S. in the Advocates' Library, as I suppose it may not want much, but am certain the printed copy differs in arrangement from that M.S. as I observed from a slight view of it, this you can easily discern by collating Allan Ramsay's Transcript, if he copied the whole of that Collection, it was in his Son's Possession & still (for any thing I know) must remain in his heirs' possession, this you can easily trace out in London¹

On 31st March 1788, Pinkerton replied;

Lindsay's Satire I returned as desired, though I had made no use of it, for want of the Bannatyne copy. I wish you would complete and collate yours with that copy; and lend it me again; and I should reprint it immediately.²

Pinkerton resented being asked to give the book to Cough. This emerged in the letter of 8th April 1788, in which he broke off all relations with Paton. He referred there to Paton's

ungentlemanlike behavior, in getting Mr. Cough to require Lindsay's Satire from me, while my receipt stands to Mr. McKenzie; so that I am still liable for the book.³

Paton asked Cough not to give the book back to Pinkerton.⁴

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1. National Library of Scotland MS. 1709, ff. 31-35.
 2. National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV, f.122.
 3. Ibid. f. 123. See below, p. 255.
 4. Letter of 12th April 1788.

Paton showed in a letter to Dr. William Cuming, dated 24th January 1788,¹ that he was still under the impression that his book was

Satires or Interludes against the R. Clergy by way of Plays acted at Cuper in Fife & the Greenside Well at the foot of our Calton hill, it is so scarce as generally thought never to have been printed: but as I am possessed of an imperfect Copy of it, can evident the contrary.

In his letter to Gough of 24th November 1787, Paton referred to Row's History of the Kirk of Scotland of which he possessed a manuscript copy.² The passage he had in mind is where "Sir David Lindsay his possie upon the four Monarchies" is named as one of the causes of the Reformation in Scotland. Row tells the well-known story of how Lindsay's book brought about the conversion to the reformed faith of the pupils, and subsequently the master, of Perth Grammar School.³

Writing on 30th January 1788, Paton expressed his approval of Gough's showing Lindsay's book to Herbert, and made the suggestion that it was probably printed at St. Andrews. In connection with it, he mentioned another manuscript in his possession, the autobiography of James Melville, or his Diary as it is usually called. Herbert had a loan of both manuscripts in 1788.⁴

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1. This letter follows one to Gough of 4th January 1788, in National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.7. Vol. II.
 2. See above, p. 152.
 3. The History of the Kirk of Scotland, ed. David Laing. Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1842, pp. 6-8.
 4. See Paton to Gough, 18th February, 22nd December 1788; Paton acknowledges their return to him in a letter to Gough of 10th February 1789.

Cough mislaid Paton's copy of Lindsay's Satyre in 1788, as he told him in a letter of 1st December. Paton was still hoping to complete it from the Bannatyne Manuscript, so that he was somewhat anxious for its return. This is indicated in letters to Cough of 23rd February and 13th May 1789, and on 27th September Paton wrote;

If Mr Chalmers,¹ first Clerk to the Committee to the Board of Commerce & ca should wait of you for a sight of Sir David Lindsay's Satires & if turned up in your Library be kind enough as shew him the Book, but refrain lending it.

On 9th December 1789, however, Cough had still not found the book, and he asked for a description of it. Paton replied on 16th March 1790 with a repetition of information he had given more than once before, and added,

do not know whether it be fact as told me that Mr. Pinkerton has republished that Book lately or is about doing so, - the only M.S. Copy supposed to exist is in the "Banatyne MS" in our Advocates Library whence I hope to complet my printed Copy some time this Summer, the arrangement differed from the printed one.

At last, on 22nd April 1790, Cough was able to report that the book had been found, and that it had been given to Mackenzie on the 14th of that month. Its next movements are not quite clear. On 12th April George Chalmers had written to Paton;

You were so good as say, that you would write to Mr Cough to communicate to me an old Tract, or edition, of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, whose whole works I have with a print; but, this Tract belonging to you is very scarce;

1. George Chalmers (1742-1825). See Dictionary of National Biography. Paton's connection with Chalmers is discussed below, pp. 181-193.

and I will take good care of it, if you will entrust it to me. ¹

On 22nd May Paton wrote to Gough that he hoped to receive it through Cardonnel, but on 13th September he stated that Chalmers was to transmit it to him soon.

In the same letter in which he announced the finding of the book, Gough stated that he did not know that Pinkerton intended republishing Lindsay's "Satires" or had done so. Paton already knew that Pinkerton intended the publication, as the latter had said so in his letter of 31st March 1788; his edition appeared in 1792.²

In letters written to Dr. Stenhouse and Professor Barron in 1791, Paton repeated his previous misconceptions about his book.³ Ill-luck continued to foil all his attempts to complete it. Apparently he had never recovered the transcript of the part missing at the beginning, that he had obtained from the Bannatyne Manuscript in 1781, but had mislaid by the beginning of 1788. In 1793 Joseph Ritson obtained for him a transcript of what his copy lacked; but the parcel containing it went astray, and it was a year later before Ritson realised that it had been lost.⁴ Andrew Plummer wrote to

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1. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 99.
 2. Eight Interludes by Sir David Lindsay. Copies from the Bannatyne MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh 1788. This is the second volume of Scottish Poems, reprinted from Scarce Editions ... Collected by John Pinkerton ... In Three Volumes. London, 1792.
 3. Letter to Dr. Stenhouse, 19th August 1791; letter to Prof. William Barron, 8th December 1791. Both in Edinburgh University Library Laing MSS. II, 453.
 4. Ritson to Paton, 5th March 1794, National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I, f. 97.

David Herd that he condoled with Paton "upon the loss of the supplementary leaves of S.D. Lindsay's Satire".¹

The source of Ritson's transcript appears to have been a perfect copy in the possession of Richard Farmer.² In his first letter to Paton, dated 15th November 1792, Ritson wrote;

Dr. Farmer, not having his copy of Sir David Lindsays Satyres in town, has obligingly promised to send down for it to Cambridge. I shall expect it, of course, in a few days.³

But on 9th January 1793 Ritson informed Paton;

I am sorry (to say) that Dr. Farmer has not been able to find the volume of tracts containing "Sir D. Lindsays Satire". He supposes it to have been lent to Mr. Malone, to whom Mr Steevens has promised to make immediate application.⁴

Presumably the copy was found as a result of Malone's application. But it was lost again after Farmer's death, apparently, for none of the existing copies is known to have belonged to him.⁵

Writing to Cough on 10th July 1798, Paton stated that he had been informed that Farmer, whose library had just been sold,

was possessed of a complete Copy of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount's Satires & to a very rare

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1. Undated letter, clearly belonging to March, 1794; National Library of Scotland MS. 892, f. 50.
 2. (1735-97), Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
 3. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29,5,8. Vol. I, f. 95.
 4. Ibid. f. 96. Ritson dated this letter "1792", but this is obviously an error for 1793.
 5. See Works of Sir David Lindsay, ed. Hamer, Vol. IV, pp. 70-72. As Farmer's copy was in a "volume of tracts" (Ritson to Paton 9th January 1793) it may be the copy that is now in Bodleian Library. 4^o 2.3. Art. Seid., a volume of late seventeenth or early eighteenth century binding, containing nine other works besides the Satyre.

Book I have a Copy of it but inperfete, and by no means can get the defects supplied, if not disposed of & moderately purchable (sic) I would buy it.

Cough's reply, dated 14th July 1798, shows that he did not even then appreciate that Paton's book was not the same as Lindsay's Works;

There was in Dr Farmers Library an edition of Sr D. Lindsay's works Edinb. 1597 which I did not get, but I have several editions of them in the succeeding Century at yr service to make up yr imperfections if you will let me know they shall be sent to you

On 25th November 1800, Cough wrote;

I see announced an intention of publishing a complete edition of the works of Sr David Lindsay of the Mount, by some members of yr Antiquary Society. I suppose it was with a view thereto that you frequently solicited me for information.

Paton replied on 2nd December;

At present I know of no Edition or republication of Sir David Lindsay's of the Mount's Works by any member of our Antiquarian Society it may have arisen from some intimation to the Publishers of your Monthly Gentleman's Magazine in order to get any unprinted Poems &ca. of this worthy & venerable promoter of the Reformation: ¹ what I was & am so solicitous to get, is a perfect Copy of his Satires having one defective, but hope to compleat it, from a Copy that may turn up here, when so fortunate as to procure this or the use of it you shall be served with one when reprinted

In a postscript to the same letter, Paton added;

I hear just now that a Copy of Sir David Lindsay's Satires with the Title Page is discovered & hoped to be sent to Edinburgh so that I hope to supply the defects of my Copy in M.S. from it & doubt not it will be reprinted here.

1. See Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LXX, 1800, p. 976; "A new edition of the Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, a Scottish poet of merit in the beginning of the 16th century, has been undertaken by some members of the Society of Antiquaries of Edinburgh."

That is the last we read of the subject in the correspondence between Paton and Gough, apart from the latter's expression of pleasure that a complete copy of the book had at last come to light. It can only be hoped that Paton was not once more denied what he had so long thought within his reach, and so often found just beyond it. It is impossible to say whether Paton ever realised that his book and the Satyre of the Three Estates were the same. Since quite recent writers have been under the same misapprehension about Lindsay's supposed "Satires" or "Interludes", it is not altogether surprising that Paton's mistake should have persisted so long. At the same time, it is odd that he should have said so frequently that the running title of his book was "Sir David Lindsay's Satires", when, in fact, that of the 1602 edition (the only early printed edition) is "S.D. Lind. Satyre". The most regrettable aspect of the whole story is that Price, the Librarian of the Bodleian, stated the facts correctly to Gough in 1772, but that the latter failed to understand the position, and so Paton never had the benefit of Price's information. The letter which Paton received from Prince, the Oxford bookseller, has not survived. Since it failed to satisfy him, we can only assume that it was not so clear as that of Price to Gough.

Six copies of the 1602 edition of the Satyre are now known to be extant, but none of them appears to be that possessed by Paton.¹

1. Lindsay's Works, ed. Hamer, op. cit. Vol. IV, pp. 70-72.

None is so defective as Paton's apparently was, to judge from his own descriptions of it, and from Cardonnel's statement that it began at page 17 and ended at page 148.¹ The history of the copy in the National Library of Scotland is not known, but it is virtually complete, apart from one "faked" page.²

Herbert did not refer to this book of Paton's in his edition of the Typographical Antiquities, since he did not carry his history of printing beyond the year 1600. But the book was no doubt of great interest to him.

7. The Gude and Godlie Ballatis.

Paton mentioned the Gude and Godlie Ballatis several times in his letters to Cough. In one dated 24th November 1787 he described his own copy;

Wedderburn seems to me to be the author of a Collection of Godly Poems &c. under this Title "Ane Compendious Booke of Godly and spiritual Songs, collectit out of sundrie partes of the Scripture, with sundrie of other Ballates changed out of prophaine Songes, for avoyding of Sinne and harlotrie, with augmentation of sundrie gude & godly Ballates, not contained in the first Edition. Newlie corrected & amended by the originall Copie - Edinburgh, printed by Andre Hart" - The year is cut off by the Bookbinder before the Book fell into my hands: I have a few leaves of the first Edition, both of which are very rare & I apprehend were printed

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1. See above, p. 170. Cf. Bishop Percy's annotations on Allan Ramsay's transcript of the Bannatyne MS.; "Paton wants from this" on page 47, and "Paton wants to this" (scored through) on page 50. (The Bannatyne Manuscript ed. W. Tod Ritchie, op. cit., Vol. I, p. xxvi.)
 2. Lindsay's Works, ed. Hamer, Vol. IV, p. 71.

before the 1600: my Copie wants only the last Leaf of the Contents or first Line of every Poem, called in the Book "The Tabill" the Letter W begins the Leaf wanting

Paton's copy was, in fact, Hart's edition of 1621. It realised £6:18/- at the sale of his books in 1809,¹ and when David Laing published his edition of the Godlie Ballatis in 1868 it was owned by the Rev. Thomas Corser of Manchester.² According to Laing, Paton's copy was, for a considerable time, the only one known.³ Yet, in the letter quoted above, Paton claimed also to possess "a few leaves of the first Edition". It is impossible to say what edition this was, or what he believed it to be. Three other editions have subsequently been brought to light. That printed by Robert Smyth at Edinburgh in 1600 was known to Sibbald,⁴ although he erroneously gave the date as 1599. An edition printed by John Ross for Henry Charteris in 1578 was used by Laing for the text of his reprint, and was the earliest edition known when Dickson and Edmond's Annals of Scottish Printing was published in 1890.⁵ An even earlier edition, dating from 1567, was discovered in time to be utilised for the Scottish Text Society volume of 1897,

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1. Sale catalogue.
 2. A Compendious Book of Psalms and Spiritual Songs, commonly known as "The Gude and Godlie Ballates". Reprinted from the edition of 1578. Edinburgh, 1868, p. 214.
 3. *Ibid.* Preface p. vi.
 4. James Sibbald, Chronicle of Scottish Poetry; from the thirteenth century to the union of the Crowns..... 4 vols., Edinburgh, 1802. Vol. III p. 238.
 5. pp. 338, 488.

edited by Professor A.F. Mitchell.¹ Mitchell mentions a fragment of a copy of the 1600 edition, which was owned by David Laing, and was then in the library of the University of St. Andrews.² It is just possible that this fragment was the "few leaves of the first Edition" that Paton possessed.

Herbert lists an edition printed by Hart in 1597, and describes the 1602 version as a reprint of it with additions.³ No edition of 1597 is known to-day, although bibliographers are agreed that there must have been other editions than those of which copies have survived. Laing writes that "1597" in Herbert may be an error for "1567", a suggestion that is rather curious because the actual edition of 1567 was apparently unknown when Laing made it.⁴ There is no evidence that Herbert's information on the point came from Paton.

Paton's copy of the Gude and Godlie Ballatis was used by Lord Hailes. From it was printed his Specimen of a book, intituled, Ane compendious booke of godly and spiritual songs.⁵ It was from a transcript of Paton's copy that the ballads were printed in John Graham Dalyell's Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century.⁶

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1. A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs commonly known as 'The Gude and Godlie Ballatis'... Edinburgh, 1897. pp. xxxiii, lxxx-lxxxii.
 2. Ibid. p. lxxxii. It has since been lost.
 3. Herbert, Typographical Antiquities, Vol. III, p. 1519. After the publication of Herbert's edition of Ames, Paton described his copy as "Andro Harts 2d Edition of the Godly Songs". Letter to Cough, 20th December 1791.
 4. Laing p. 214.
 5. Edinburgh, 1765.
 6. 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1801. Paton's help is acknowledged in the Preface.

8. Paton's assistance to George Chalmers.

Paton's interest in typography continued as active as ever after the completion of Herbert's work in 1790. Herbert's successor in the field of Scottish Typography was George Chalmers, and Paton's association with him was much closer than it had ever been with Herbert. A friendly, if somewhat intermittent, correspondence was carried on between Paton and Chalmers, whereas there was hardly any direct contact between him and Herbert.

Chalmers's name comes into our present discussion in three connections. He is associated with the next most important discovery regarding the early history of typography in Scotland, following that of the Chepman and Myllar tracts; he wrote a biography of Thomas Ruddiman, the bibliographer, printer, and keeper of the Advocates' Library;¹ and he left in manuscript a lengthy history of printing in Scotland.²

Chalmers has the credit of making widely known that a patent was granted in 1507 by James IV to Chepman and Myllar for the establishment of the first Scottish press.³ The discovery was made by William Robertson, keeper of the records at the General Register House, Edinburgh.⁴ Chalmers read an account of it before the

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1. The Life of Thomas Ruddiman, A.M. The Keeper, for almost Fifty Years, of the Library belonging to the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh: To which are subjoined new anecdotes of Buchanan. London, 1794.
 2. Historical Annals of Printing in Scotland. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 17.1.16.
 3. Dickson and Edmond, Annals of Scottish Printing, pp. 1-2.
 4. (1740-1803). See Dictionary of National Biography.

Society of Antiquaries of London in December, 1791,¹ and he also referred to it in his Life of Ruddiman.²

Paton appreciated the importance of the discovery as soon as it was made by Robertson at the beginning of 1791, and had already passed on the news to Gough and Herbert before Chalmers made it more generally known. On 14th March 1791 he wrote to Gough;

When I obtain a satisfactory account (of which am presently in hopes to obtain) of our Scottish Printing, prior to the year sent to Mr Herbert, you shall be served with it to be communicated to both Mr Nichols & Mr Herbert as you shall be pleased to gratifie them with, you may depend on this.

Writing again on 21st May 1791, he was rather more specific;

I am hopefull in a few Weeks hence to get an Extract from our publick Records about the Introduction of printing in this Place a year or two earlier than what I communicated to Mr Herbert, this shall be transmitted to you: this has only occurred to me by accident & deserves to be made publick for I judge it may fix the real time of this Art being first used here.

On 12th August 1791 he wrote further on the subject;

As I expect daylie to see Mr. Geo Chalmers here from London, enquiry shall be made of him, what use he is to make of the Extract from our General Register Office about the Introduction of Printing into this Country, if he should not satisfie me therein, I will endeavour to procure an Extract myself, think it may be of Service to Mr Herbert as it may be contained in a Quarto page or a Leaf at most but of this afterwards, when I see Mr Chalmers.

1. Life of Ruddiman, p. 80, footnote.

2. p. 80.

Writing again to Cough on 16th April 1792, Paton stated;

Mr Herbert will see from Mr Chalmers a Copy of our Privy Council's Act, which seems to fix the earliest period of printing in Scotland, this I think he should print to be inserted in his Typographical Antiquities ...

Paton said much the same in another letter of 4th July 1792, and he suggested several times that the discovery ought to be described in an appendix to Herbert's edition of Ames, but no appendix was ever published.

In a letter of 16th June 1794 Paton asked Cough whether Chalmers had communicated his discoveries to the Antiquarian Society, and whether this would be printed in the Archaeologia.¹ Cough replied that he did not know that it had been delivered to the Society or given to Herbert.

Paton's concern with Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman was a rather more active one. Chalmers first announced to Paton that he was engaged on this work in a letter of 1st July 1790;

You must have known him, and must know much about him, and his studies, and his press, and his disputes with Logan, Love, Man &c. Pray did Ruddiman edit the Epistolae Regum Scotorum: &c in Ædibus T. Ruddimani 1722-24? Or can one get a list of the several books which Ruddiman edited from his first to his last?

On 9th March 1791 Chalmers addressed to Paton a number of specific queries regarding George Logan,² one of Ruddiman's chief opponents

1. It was not printed in the Archaeologia.

2. (1678-1755), minister of Trinity Church, Edinburgh 1732-55. (Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, Vol. I, pp. 133-4.)

in the controversy over George Buchanan, that resulted from Ruddiman's edition of Buchanan's works.¹ Chalmers had learned from William Thomson's introduction to Alexander Cunningham's History of Britain² that Paton had been intimately acquainted with Logan. Thomson quotes from a letter of Paton's in which he says that the Logans, father and son, "were both of them my personal and particular acquaintance".³ In his letter, Chalmers asked if Paton could ascertain from any books or papers of his father's the exact time when Ruddiman set up his press.

We have only one letter from Paton that includes material for the Life of Ruddiman. This is a very long one dated 24th December 1792. It has been preserved in Chalmers's manuscript collections for the Life of Ruddiman.⁴ But it is evident from Chalmers's acknowledgements that Paton had sent information about Ruddiman in earlier letters.⁵ The biographical details of Logan

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1. Opera omnia, ad optimorum codicum fidem summo studio recognita & castigata; nunc primum in unum collecta ... curante Thoma Ruddimanno, A.M. 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1715.
 2. The history of Great Britain: from the Revolution in 1688, to the accession of George the first. Translated from the Latin manuscript of Alexander Cunningham. To which is prefixed, an introduction, containing an account of the author and his writings, by William Thomson, LL.D. ... 2 vols., London, 1787.
 3. Ibid. p. xlii. Logan's son, George (1723-1754), was minister of Ormiston from 1751-1754. (Fasti, Vol. I, p. 342.)
 4. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 21.1.11-12.
 5. e.g. the opening words of Chalmers's letter to Paton of 8th October 1792, (National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV, ff. 103-4); "I am under great obligations to you, for the kind and instructive letter, which you had the goodness to write me on the 28 of last month".

given by Chalmers may have been provided by Paton,¹ as also the date 1715 for Ruddiman's commencement as a printer.²

On 10th May 1791 Chalmers wrote to Paton;

You would very much oblige me, if you would recollect and inform me of the persons who, with Mr Logan, Sir A. Denham, and professor Steuart, were engaged in collecting an Answer to Mr Ruddiman's Edition of Buchanan. And you would still further oblige me, if you would have the goodness to allow me the perusal of the rough Copy of the Answer, which was compiled, and which you have in the original English and Latin translations.³

Chalmers gives in the Life of Ruddiman the names of four of Ruddiman's opponents, in addition to the three named in the letter quoted above; James Anderson, and Professors Hamilton, Smith, and Macky (sic).⁴ He adds that Professor Adam Watt translated their lucubrations into Latin. Chalmers was indebted to Paton for the loan of the manuscripts of these critics' observations, which remained unpublished.⁵

Through Paton's good offices, Chalmers had the use of various manuscripts of Ruddiman's from Thomas Ruddiman, the grammarian's grand nephew.⁶ He expressed his warm appreciation of this in a letter to Paton of 11th December 1792.⁷ The manuscripts were

1. Life of Ruddiman, pp. 190-4.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

3. National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV, f. 101.

4. Life of Ruddiman, p. 75.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 75, footnote.

6. Thomas Ruddiman (1755-1825), printer. See G.H. Johnston, The Ruddimans in Scotland, Edinburgh, 1901, pp. 52-56.

7. National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV, ff. 105-6.

returned in January 1794,¹ along with those belonging to Paton, the work of the "associated critics", as Chalmers named Ruddiman's opponents.

Paton's long letter of 24th December 1792 refers to Ruddiman's grand nephew, and provides a great deal of information for the Life;

The MSS. are the Property of Mr Thomas Ruddiman Printer in this Place Grand Nephew to the good & great Grammarian, whose Life you're so attentively employed in to oblige the world with & hope will be accepted with due respectfull honour - - - -

Mr Ruddiman allows you to make what Extracts you may judge proper for your intended publication (as I formerly hinted) but not to be communicated to any Bookseller &c. that may design an edition of any the Classics &c. mentioned in the M.S. from my slight view of these notes I suspect them to be incompleat & only a few cursory ones, but submit that to your more carefull examination - Mr R will thankfully accept of your Donation of the Life o' his eminent Relation - It has escapt my Inquiry to be informed, whether there is a Portrait of so celebrated a Personage? this desires to accompany your Work by an Artist of ability in engraving.

The List of Persons connected with your Author must give you a large field for a variety of Anecdotes to which may be added (as I hope it has not past your notice) Mr John Love late Master of the Grammar School at Dalkeith near this place; ² in the earlier part of their lives they past many years in great Intimacy of Friendship & conjuntly (sic) published a Tract entitled "Grammatical Treatises &c." 8vo wherein (I think) Love criticizes Trotter's Grammar of the Latin Tongue & Mr R's respects another Article that does not occur to me at present as

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1. Chalmers to Paton, 10th January, 1794. National Library ADV. MS. 29.5.8., Vol. IV, f. 107.
 2. Life of Ruddiman, pp. 134-7, 224-6, 241.

this Pamphlet consists of two Parts, presume it must be well known to you ¹ - this social intercourse between them continued long while Love had a more distant Charge, from this, in superintending the Education of Youth, yet in the year 1749 was printed by Thos. Lumisden & Jo. Robertson in 8^{vo} consisting of about 100 pages "A Vindication of Mr George Buchanan, consisting of 2 parts 1. on his aspersions & c. on Camden 2. his ingratitude to Q. Mary & c." this was attributed when printed (I well remember) to Mr J. Love. - To which Mr Ruddiman made an Answer in the same year entituled "Animadversions on a late pamphlet & c. a Vindication of G. B. & c." consisting in 110 pages & they were of similar sentiments as Grammarians but adopted contrary opinions relative to Politics & c. - The Revd Mr Sage's Life was written by Mr Gillane ² who resided in the early part of his days in the Family of Lockhart of Carnwath as Chaplain & died Nonjurt Bisp of Edinburgh, he was somehow (but to me unknown) connected with my Father, which is needless to be noticed; One of his Sons John was my intimate from our earliest years of Infancy, an honest worthy young Man of a weakly constitution, unhappy he was prompted thro' the force of the principles tinctur'd from Childhood, joined the Rebels An. 1745 and died privately some where in Aberdeenshire before the Battle of Culloden.

Please to consult Vol. 1. fol. Catalog of Advocates Library Article Gillan for the rest of his

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1. Two Grammatical Treatises; viz. I. Animadversions on the Latin Grammar lately published by Mr Robert Trotter Schoolmaster at Drumfries (sic); By Mr John Love Schoolmaster at Dumbarton. II. A Dissertation upon the Way of teaching that Language; wherein the Objections raised against Mr. Ruddiman's and other such like Grammars, for their being too full and particular, are answered and confuted; And the vulgar Practice of teaching Latin by a Grammar writ in the same Language is justified and defended. Together with some critical Remarks on the new Latin Grammar composed by Mr John Clarke Schoolmaster at Hull, And on the Use he would have to be made of his literal Translations. By another Hand. (Thomas Ruddiman) Edinburgh, 1733.
 2. (John Gillan); The Life of the Reverend and Learned Mr. John Sage wherein (sic) also Some Account is given of his Writings, both Printed and in Manuscript; And Some Things are added, towards the clearing the Ancient Government of the Church of Scotland from the Mistakes of a late Author ... London, 1714. For Sage, see Life of Ruddiman, pp. 54-58; Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, Vol. III, p. 452.

Works¹ - Mr R. was curator to the Bish's Son John, - Sir James Dalrymple (sic) Author of the Historical Collections & c. 8^o deserves a place for your consideration, this is submitted.² - You cannot overlook the valuable Glossary of Rudn to our Scottish Edition of Gav. Douglas' Virgil fol.³ nor pass by the just Compliment paid him on that Work by the late learned & worthy Judge Lord Hailes in his Selection of our Scots' Poets from the Banantyne MS, printed 1770 in small 8^o ⁴ I was very well acquainted with Patk Anderson Esqr (Son of the Author of the Diplomata)⁵ & whose Children all now dead without any posterity ...

1. The entries under "Gillane (John)" in A Catalogue of the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh, Part the First, Edinburgh, 1742, p. 239, are, besides the Life of Sage, cited above; Remarks upon Sir James Dalrymple's historical collections; with an answer to the vindication of the ecclesiastical part of them, Edinburgh, 1714; and Vindication of the fundamental charter of Presbytery, from the exceptions of the Country-man in his letter to a Curate. Edinburgh, 1713. The former of these is not attributed to Gillan in the current catalogue of accessions to 1871. It was a reply to A Vindication of the Ecclesiastical Part of Sir James Dalrymple's Historical Collections; In Answer To A late Pamphlet, intituled, The Life of the Reverend Mr. John Sage, & c.,... Edinburgh, Printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, for David Scot, John Paton, and William Brown Booksellers Anno Dom. 1714.
2. Sir James Dalrymple. Collections concerning the Scottish History, Preceding the Death of King David the First, in the year 1153 ... Edinburgh, 1705.
3. Virgil's Aeneis, translated into Scottish verse by ... G. Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld. A new edition ... To which is added a large Glossary, explaining the difficult words ... 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1710.
4. Ancient Scottish Poems. Published from the MS. of George Bannatyne, MDLXVIII ... Edinburgh, 1770, p. ix. Cf. Life of Ruddiman, pp. 45-46.
5. James Anderson (1662-1728), author of Selectus diplomatum et numismatum Scotiae thesaurus ... , which was published posthumously, "auxit et locupletavit Thomas Ruddimannus, A.M. ", Edinburgh, 1739. Cf. Life of Ruddiman, pp. 150-158. Chalmers's treatment of Anderson is thus criticised by Thompson Cooper in the article on Anderson in the Dictionary of National Biography; "George Chalmers, it is true, insinuated that there was reason to question Anderson's honesty as a transcriber, but he failed to mention any specific instance. Such insinuations were a weakness of Chalmers when the facts of a case did not happen to agree with his own prejudices."

I regret much my slender ability of information as to these Gentlemen you mention, but in case any further particulars relative to any of that can be recollected by me, write me soon that an Answer as fully as can be procured shall be immediately returned.

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I wish that you had omitted any notice of me in your work as I am studious of passing the remainder of my days, which now cannot be many, but desire them in private & retired; yet shall be ready on every occasion to give you what pityfull Assistance I can

The Life of Ruddiman is dated 1794, but it probably appeared in December 1793, as Cough already had a copy early in January 1794.¹ Cough thought it a "very well written & interesting piece of biography".² Paton's praise was rather more reserved; "I have read Mr Chalmers' Book," he wrote to Cough on 8th March 1794, "what pity that no Index was added to that literary work, he has been at vast pains & great accuracy in the composition." Again, on 21st April 1794, he told Cough;

I am pleas'd with Mr Chalmers's Life of my old Friend Mr Ruddiman, there are some articles he has been misinformed, which if a second Edition takes place these may be corrected.

Four years later, however, he expressed his criticism much more forcibly;

this biography if a second Edition be intended ought to be corrected & some very futile passages expunged, which have been communicated to him: - as I do know were very false.³

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1. Letter to Paton, 7th January 1794.
 2. Ibid., 24th February 1794.
 3. Letter to Cough 14th April, 1798.

As Paton did not enlarge on this remark, it is impossible to say what passages he had in mind. He may have objected to Chalmers's severe treatment of Ruddiman's critics, especially Logan, who had been Paton's friend.¹ He may also have wished that some of the numerous digressions in the book had been omitted. Some, like that on the origin of newspapers,² are interesting in themselves, although they interrupt the narrative; but a few, such as the solemn account of Dr. Alexander Adam's attempts to substitute his own grammar³ for Ruddiman's Rudiments⁴ as the text book in the High School of Edinburgh, might have been spared.⁵

One of the appendices to the Life of Ruddiman is A Chronological List of News Papers, from the Epoch of the Civil Wars.⁶ It was no doubt with this in view that Chalmers addressed a number of questions regarding Edinburgh newspapers to Paton in a letter of 8th October

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1. Cf. also Chalmers's treatment of James Anderson, referred to above, p.188 note 5.
 2. pp. 102-122.
 3. The Principles of Latin and English Grammar, Edinburgh, 1772. In subsequent editions the title was changed to The Rudiments of Latin and English Grammar. In his Advertisement, Adam acknowledged that "The materials are collected from the best Grammarians, chiefly from Mr. Ruddiman and Dr. Lowth". (3rd edition, 1786, p.iii.)
 4. The Rudiments of the Latin Tongue, or A plain and easy Introduction to Latin Grammar Edinburgh, 1714.
 5. pp. 91-96. For the other side of the question see An Account of the Life and Character of Alexander Adam, LL.D. Rector of the High School of Edinburgh (by Alexander Henderson), Edinburgh, 1810, pp. 35-56. Henderson says of Chalmers; "This authour has evinced the most incredible industry in his antiquarian investigations; but, in speaking of human motives or conduct, he has expressed harsh sentiments in the most unseemly language", (p. 51, footnote).
 6. Appendix No. 6, pp. 404-442.

1792.¹ Paton sent him some notes on the subject, which he acknowledged on 11th December 1792.² It would be interesting to know how much of the information in the appendix came from Paton, but we do not have the notes.

In another appendix,³ Chalmers lists a number of books that were printed for Paton's father. One of these is a Herodian,⁴ which Chalmers mentioned to Paton in his letter of 9th March 1791;

I have just pick'd up, what I regard as a Curiosity, an Herodian, printed for your father,⁵ in 1724, by Thomas Ruddiman, in Latin and Greek.

Apart from his Life of Ruddiman, most of the work of Chalmers in the fields of bibliography and typography is embodied in his Historical Annals of Printing in Scotland, the bulk of which has never been published.⁶ "Mr Chalmers seems to take up a part of Mr Herbert's Work i.e. our Scottish Printers", wrote Paton to Gough on 20th December 1791, and on 2nd June 1792 Gough wrote, "Mr. Chalmers has some work on Printing in Scotland which he intends publishing".

The first detailed notice of this work is in a letter from Chalmers to Paton of 8th October 1792.⁷ He began by regretting that Paton's "Collections about the King's Printers in Scotland should

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1. National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV, ff. 103-4.
 2. Ibid., ff. 105-6.
 3. No. 8. A List of the Books, which were printed by Thomas Ruddiman. pp. 450-467. Cf. also p. 83.
 4. p. 453.
 5. National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV, f. 100.
 6. National Library Adv. MS. 17.1.16.
 7. National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV, ff. 103-4.

have fallen into obscurity". It is impossible to say what was the nature of these collections, and how they were lost. Chalmers went on;

I am the more anxious about this, because I am collecting materials, as fast as I can, for a work on Scots printing and printers. My collections on this head have already swelled to a great bulk, which is daily growing greater. I presume to think that the Titlepages of your Curious books would help me much. This work would begin with the introduction of printing into Scotland and end with the Foulis's of the present day. Your help shall be thankfully acknowledged.

Writing on 11th December 1792,¹ Chalmers thanked Paton for offering all the help he could with regard to the history of Scots printers and printing. There is little more in Paton's correspondence about the matter until 14th April 1798, when Paton wrote to Cough;

I think Mr. Geo. Chalmers does not appear to be hasty in obliging us with his History of our Scot's Printers as he purposed in his Life of our late learned Grammar(ian) Mr Thomas Ruddiman.

Again, on 27th March 1799, Paton wrote;

If Mr Chalmers purposes to oblige us with a History of our Scots Printers I think he should be alert in picking up many Books now unknown to us, which may be of Service to his elucidation of the Origin of that Art in this Country.

The last we hear of the project is from Cough, who wrote to Paton on 17th April 1799, "Mr Chalmers intends to make the History of Printing a part of a General History of Scotland". It would appear from this that he had once contemplated incorporating

1. National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV, ff. 105-6.

his typographical history in the Caledonia.¹

A small part of Chalmers's Historical Annals of Printing in Scotland has been published in the Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society, edited by the Rev. W.J. Couper.² It was intended to continue the work in subsequent issues of the Records, but this was not done. There are adversely critical notes on Couper's work by G.P. Johnston, secretary of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, in a manuscript volume in the National Library of Scotland.³ Dickson and Edmond made extensive use of Chalmers's manuscript.⁴ It was also worked through by H.C. Aldis.⁵ G.P. Johnston wrote that "It is difficult to imagine any subsequent gleaner finding much unrecorded".⁶ The opinion of Aldis was that "Chalmers is not trustworthy".⁷

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1. George Chalmers, Caledonia; or, an account, historical and topographic, of North Britain; from the most ancient to the present times; with a dictionary of places, chorographical & philological. 3 vols. London, 1807-24.
 2. Vol. VII, pp. 62-89.
 3. MS. 2518, ff. 150-159.
 4. Annals of Scottish Printing, p. 6.
 5. National Library MS. 2518, notes by G.P. Johnston.
 6. Ibid.
 7. Ibid.

9. John Nichols and Ged's Sallust.

Contact between Paton and John Nichols¹ was made chiefly through Gough, although there was some direct correspondence between them.² Paton's main service to Nichols in the typographical field was in connection with the famous edition of Sallust's Cataline Wars printed by William Ged in 1739,³ the first book to be successfully printed in Britain from stereotype plates.⁴

In 1778 Nichols printed A Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Founderies by Edward Rowe Mores. Mores refers to the Sallust, whose printer he calls "James Gadd", and he reproduces a page of it, printed from the original block.⁵ In an appendix to Mores's work⁶ Nichols comments;

P. 62. The account of Ged is less perfect than it might have been. I have a quarto half sheet, dated London, May 29, 1751, intituled "An Account of some of the Advantages of that Improvement in the Art of Printing, invented by William Ged, late Goldsmith in Edinburgh; with Proposals of a

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1. (1745-1826), author of the Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, and for many years editor and printer of the Gentleman's Magazine. (Dictionary of National Biography.)
 2. Letters from Nichols to Paton are in National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV; those from Paton to Nichols are in the volumes of his letters to Gough, Adv. MS. 29.5.7.
 3. C. Crispi Sallustii Belli Catilinaris et Jugurthinis Historiae. Edinburgi, Gulielmus Ged, Aurifaber Edinensis, non Typis mobilibus, ut vulgo fieri solet, sed Tabellis seu Laminis fuis, excudebat. MDCCXXXIX. Reprinted 1744.
 4. See J.S. Gibb, Notes on William Ged & The Invention of Stereotyping ... Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, Vol. I, Edinburgh, 1896.
 5. P. 13 of Ged's Sallust, reproduced on p. 62 of Mores's Dissertation.
 6. p. 97.

"Subscription for enabling his Son, James Ged, Printer, and now the only Possessor of this valuable Secret, to carry it into farther Execution, for the Good of the Publick, and the Benefit of his Family". By this account it appears that the plates for Sallust were completed by the elder Ged, and an edition actually printed at Edinburgh in 1736; and that in 1751 the son had all the father's tools, though considerably damaged by disuse. ¹

Paton referred to this in a letter to Cough of 27th May 1780;

I am ashamed at the unmerited favours conferr'd on me by Mr Nichols, beg you will return my sincere thanks to him wish to know how I could make any small retaliation for these favours done me, if a copy of Salustius printed by William Ged Goldsmith here as exprest in p. 97 (being the Appendix to) M(ores)'s English Typographical Founderies & Founders printed An. 1739 not An. 1736 possibly this may be an oversight in the compositor; this Book is now very scarce & only requested for the singularity of the Artist, the old Man (whom I well rember (sic)) bred his son James a Printer had his education in that line in one of the first rate & justly esteem'd printing offices here vizt Messrs Murray & Cochrane, with a view to teach his supposed improvement, who carried on the same scheme of London with other Partners as Mr Mores writes but misnominates the Son Gadd instead of Ged; of the family remain here two aged daughters from whom I may possibly get some hints of the exact Aera he i.e. the Father began this invention, or rather revived the first mode of printing: should Mr Nichols wish to be informed will attempt geting this Intelligence - I am assured that these plates are dispersed, amongst a number of hands & others lost, a specimen of some pages may remain

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1. James Ged's prospectus of 1751 is largely the same as his father's Proposals of 1736. (See the article by J.S. Gibb, cited above.) Of this latter document only one copy is now known. It is in the National Library of Scotland. It is a single sheet, printed on both sides, and headed; June 30 1736 Proposals For Printing by Subscription A correct Edition of C. Crispi Salustii Opera omnia quae extant, in a neat Pocket-Volume, from the most beautiful small Types done by Plates in the Manner lately invented by William Ged Goldsmith in Edinburgh. There is a facsimile in Vol. I of the Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, as an illustration to J.S. Gibb's article.

in the Lawyer's Library here:¹ the fac simile p. 62 by Mores is just.

Gough replied on 8th June 1780;

Mr Nichols will be much obliged to you for any further information on the article of yr Printers or Founders & will send his History of Printing² in the next parcel. The block in Mores p. 62 is not a facsimile but an original from the block itself since destroyd. Mr N. desires me to present you his most gratefull acknowledgements for yr Communications & offers.

On 15th June, Paton wrote that he was not at that time able to get an account of Ged, as his daughters were in the country, but that he would try to get it on their return. He was endeavouring to get a copy of the Sallust for Gough.

Paton wrote further on the subject in a letter to Gough of 27th July 1780;

Having this day got a sight of William Ged's Narrative of his Plate printing scheme, I take the liberty of inclosing it for your & Mr. Nichols' perusal, which may be curious to read, if he desires to be informed of any other particulars relating to that matter, these may be stated to me & I hope to get the proper solutions from his daughter, who knows every article relative to the affair; the first part was dictated by the old man some little time before his death, for the satisfaction of some of his relations, the other half & quarter sheet

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1. A complete copy is now in the National Library of Scotland, press-mark H.32.h.41. This was presented by Ged himself to the Society of Advocates, along with a stereotype plate of ten pages as used in printing. See the article by J.S. Gibb, cited above.
 2. The Origin of Printing: In Two Essays: I The Substance of Dr. Middleton's Dissertation on the Origin of Printing in England. II Mr Meerman's Account of the First Invention of the Art ... London: Printed for W. Bowyer and J. Nichols ... 1774.

is written by his daughter; who is desirous that both these may be returned to her again, which hope will be done at your Convenience ...

Gough informed Paton in a letter of 14th November 1780 that Nichols was printing the "communication of Ged", "as a suppt. to his Typography" (i.e. The Origin of Printing¹). Nichols himself wrote to Paton on 13th February 1781,² "... intend returning carefully the MS. of Ged, when I have taken off a few Copies of it in Print".

Nichols's Biographical Memoirs of William Ged³ appeared in 1781. The contents are summarised in a paragraph in the Advertisement;

The first part of the pamphlet is printed from a MS. dictated by the elder William Ged, some little time before his death, for the satisfaction of his relations. The second part was written by his daughter; to whose benefit the profits of this publication (if any shall arise) will faithfully be applied. The third part is literally copied from some Proposals published by James Ged in 1751, in a half sheet in 4to. The Narrative of Mr. Mores is annexed, to complete the subject.⁴

No mention is made of Paton's part in the matter. No doubt that

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1. op. cit.
 2. National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV, f. 92. The year is not on the letter, but it obviously belongs to 1781.
 3. Biographical Memoirs of William Ged; including a Particular Account of His Progress in the Art of Block-Printing. London, Printed by and for J. Nichols, MDCCLXXXI. It was reprinted at Newcastle in 1819 and 1891.
 4. Extracted from the Dissertation upon English Typographical Foundries and Founderies, pp. 58-62, footnotes.

is as he himself wished.

On 25th August 1781¹ Nichols wrote to Paton;

I trouble you inclosed with a few additional leaves to the origin of printing, both for your own copy and the Society. If Mr. Ced's daughter can sell more copies, she shall be welcome to them as long as I have any. I printed only 250 copies.

Paton continued to search for copies of Ced's Sallust for Nichols, and on 7th September 1782 he sent him two.²

Other typographical topics discussed by Paton and Nichols may be briefly mentioned. In the letter to Cough of 27th May 1780, from which the reference to Ced has already been quoted,³ Paton went on;

The subject confined this Author (Mores) to South Britain only, tho' he mentions my Countryman John Bain⁴, is still alive in Edinburgh carries on that Branch of Business with a large share of merit now alone: at first was in Compy with Professor Wilson of Glasgow University,⁵ upon breaking up of the Copartnership, his son joined him & afterwards disunited working separately & now young Bain may be gone to pot, but the

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1. National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV, f. 93; printed by Maidment, Letters from Thomas Percy ... and others, to George Paton, pp. 179-182.
 2. This letter is misplaced after the letter to Cough of 14th August 1783 in National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.7.
 3. p. 195, above.
 4. Mores's Dissertation, op. cit., p. 86. John Bain (d. 1790?) was born at St. Andrews. This reference to him by Paton is important, because it appears to be the only record of his being at Edinburgh. See Plomer, Bushnell and Dix, A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775, p. 371. In view of Paton's statement it seems likely that the John Bain, type-founder in Edinburgh, 1773-74, mentioned on p. 281 of the Dictionary, was the same man, and not his son.
 5. Alexander Wilson, who became Professor of Practical Astronomy at Glasgow University in 1760. Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers 1726-1775, p. 367.

Father still works - Mr Wilson I do believe made these elegant types for the Messrs Foulis¹ & other Printers there & some here, his son² is joined with him in that Branch, both eminent artists, the Father a nice observator - If specimens of both their Founderies may be desired I shall try to convey them to you; or any thing in my power for Mr Nichols' acceptance.

On 15th June 1780 Paton wrote to Cough; "Mr Bain has given me some Specimens of his Types, these are to have a place in next parcel to you for Mr Nichols' acceptance". Writing to Nichols on 23rd April 1781, Paton told him that he was to send him a specimen of Watson's³ types, and a copy of his History of Printing⁴ "if to be got". Nichols answered on 27th April⁵ that he had Watson's book, and asked, "Have you an Antiquarian Printer at Edinburgh, to inquire into the Honour of his Profession?" Paton's reply⁶ was;

I am sorry to acquaint you that at present I know of none who possess the smallest turn of mind, for such disquisitions, or would give themselves any trouble on that subject: nay have been denied any

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1. Robert and Andrew Foulis, the famous Glasgow printers. See *ibid.* pp. 307-8.
 2. Patrick Wilson (1743-1811), who succeeded to his father's chair at Glasgow. See D.N.B. article on Alexander Wilson.
 3. James Watson, the younger (d.1722). See J.S. Gibb, James Watson, Printer: Notes of his Life and Work. With a hand-list of books and pamphlets printed by him 1697-1722; Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, Vol. I, 1896; and H.R. Plomer, A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725. Bibliographical Society, London, 1922, pp. 303-4.
 4. *op. cit.*
 5. In a note added to Cough's letter to Paton of the same date, Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.6.
 6. Letter of 27th June 1781.

particulars from Dr Wilson for your information relative to the Letter-founding, which amaz'd me; being referr'd to that Article in the new Edition Chambers' Dictionary just now reprinting with you. ¹

In a letter to Nichols of 25th February 1782 Paton wrote;

I ought to have informed you that there was an old Clergyman Mr Peter Rae at Kirkconnel Presbetry of Penpont County of Dumfries whose mechanical turn was remarkable, he cut punches & matrixes & cast some Founts of Letters, besides made a Printing Press; with these he probably printed at first some small religious Tracts at his own Manse, the materials afterwards being removed to Dumfries the head Town of the County, at which place was printed in a small Quarto the first Edition of His history of the Rebellion 1715;² which was it in my possession you should be welcome to it, but the first copy I can pick up will purchase it for your acceptance (Mr Andw Miller's edition of the Book in 8vo ³ has supplite (sic = supplanted?) the former Edition, this I have) that you may be possessed of a Book written & printed by an Author's materials (tho' not elegant yet singular) all made by himself except the Paper⁴

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1. Ephraim Chambers; Cyclopaedia; ... With the supplement and modern improvements, incorporated in one alphabet, by A. Rees. 4 vols., plus one vol. of plates, London, 1778-88.
 2. Peter Rae, History of the Rebellion in the year 1715, Drumfries (sic), 1718.
 3. History of the Rebellion ... The second edition, to which is added a collection of original letters and authentic papers London, 1746.
 4. Peter Rae (1671-1748) was minister of Kirkbride from 1703 until that parish was incorporated in Sanquhar in 1727; and minister of Kirkconnel from 1732 until his death (an assistant and successor being appointed in 1747). Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, Vol. II, pp. 319-320, 327. See William Stewart, The Rae Press at Kirkbride and Dumfries, Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, Vol. VI, 1906, pp. 107-115.

10. Robert and Andrew Foulis.

It is pleasant to note that Paton was acquainted with the most distinguished Scottish printers of the eighteenth century, Robert and Andrew Foulis of Glasgow.¹ One letter from Paton to the Foulis brothers, and a copy of another, have been preserved. The letter, dated 30th October 1771,² is a short one introducing two friends, a Mr. Stevenson³ and a Mr. Clifford from Holland, and requesting them to show the visitors "the Academy, the Library, the Paintings & the Roman Stones". Paton also asks them to send him with Mr. Stevenson "a Copy of Roman Inscriptions engraved some time ago in your City in 4to".

Gough met the Foulis brothers on his visit to Scotland, and early in his correspondence with Paton he referred to their delay in sending books that he had ordered.

Messrs Fs of Glasgow had a very valuable Greek manuscript on loan 25 years. I hope they will not withhold (sic) what they promised to sell me so long.

he wrote on 17th April 1772. Paton replied on 27th April;

On the 21st current Messrs Foulis wrote me "Mr Gough's Books shall be sent by Carron. One of them has been mislaid, which occasioned the delay". I have not mentioned to them the article of the Greek manuscript noticed in yours of 17th current. Does this MSS. (sic) belong to you or any of your Friends? If their Parcel does not come to you now let me hear from you & shall push their Dispatch.

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1. For Robert Foulis (1707-1776) and Andrew Foulis (1712-1775) see Dictionary of National Biography.
 2. Edinburgh University Laing MSS. II 81.
 3. Probably Andrew Stevenson, Depute Receiver of the Customs. See above, p. 44.

In a letter of 19th May 1772 Gough thanked Paton for writing to them on his behalf. "The affair of the Greek MS has been settled long ago," he explained; "I only mentioned it in proof of their tardiness & was afraid my order had been treated with the same neglect." It was not until December 1772 that the books were sent to Gough.¹ Paton's conclusion on the matter was; "I am glad at last that Messrs Foulis have at last (sic) condescended to perform their Promise, they are extremely lazy, but honest".²

Thomas Pennant wrote to Paton on 12th April 1773;³

Pray give me the history of the poetical Bible at Glasgow, & some capital quotations from it ... Oblige me with the history of Zachary Boyds Bible⁴ & some of the most capital verses also the verses or epitaph on the old woman who saw so many reigns.

On receiving this Paton jotted down the following draft letter;⁵

To Messrs Foulis (no date)
You will most particularly oblige me in serving me with a distinct account of Articles viz Mr Zach Boyd's poetical paraphras on the Bible, it's size, whether the complete genuine MSS written by himself is deposited in the University Liby

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1. See letters Gough to Paton, 6th June 1772, 11th September 1772, and 19th December 1772; Paton to Gough, 28th September 1772, 20th October 1772.
 2. Paton to Gough, 15th February 1773.
 3. National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I. f.30.
 4. The name "Zachary Boyd's Bible" arose from the erroneous tradition that he had written a poetical version of the whole Bible. He himself called his "poetical" versions of Bible stories, Sion's Flowers. For Boyd, (1585? - 1653), see Dictionary of National Biography.
 5. National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I. f.30a.

or if a transcript, where is the original reserved? What was the Reason of it's being placed in yr Liby & also the occasion of Mr Boyd's donating it to the University & did he give Orders for printing it & why was it not committed to the Press? did he enjoy an Estate, it's name, where does it lye in this Country, who now possesses it, of what Family did he arise, his History, with any private anecdotes of him? Is it possible to have a few capital Quotations & verses from the Original or Copy.

Solicit your Answer, Interest & good offices for this or acquaint to whom & by what means I must apply to obtain a Solution.¹

If the Foulis brothers were as lazy as Paton believed, it is unlikely that they welcomed such a formidable list of questions. No reply from them is known; nor, indeed, can we be certain that the letter of which the above is a draft or copy was ever sent. Pennant's interest in the subject had arisen from his having seen Boyd's manuscripts at Glasgow University in 1772. In A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides; MDCCLXXII² he prints a ludicrous extract from The Historie of Jonah.

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1. Many of the questions asked by Paton have been answered by Gabriel Neil in Biographical Sketch of the Rev. Mr. Zachary Boyd ... With ... a list of his ... works; and extracts from his unpublished writings ..., 1832, and in his introduction to Four Poems from "Zion's Flowers"; or, "Christian Poems for Spiritual Edification", by Mr. Zacharie Boyd, Minister of Chrystis Kirk, and evangel at the baronie of Glasgow. Printed from his manuscript in the library of the University of Glasgow..., 1855. Neil makes an earnest, if unconvincing, attempt to prove Boyd's effusions worth serious consideration as poetry.
 2. 1790 edition, Vol. I, pp. 156-7.

CHAPTER IV.PATON'S LITERARY INTERESTS.1. Paton's style.

It may be appropriate to open a review of Paton's literary interests with a reference to his own epistolary style. Sufficient quotations have already been given from his letters to indicate that very often his writing lacks formal correctness, and sometimes it is ungrammatical to the point of obscurity.¹ As a further illustration, the following sentence may be quoted;

the Copy of the Book will be put into some other Friends, here, their hands for further Intelligences & of them you may depend on being sent to you as soon as conveyed to me. ²

One gets the impression that Paton set down his thoughts just as they came to him, with little regard to grammar. His punctuation and capitalisation are also freakish, but that is not so unusual in eighteenth century letters. His spelling is not much more singular or less consistent than that of his correspondents.

Dr. William Cuming referred to Paton's style in the following terms in a letter to Gough;

What the Style of his Historical Narrative is I do not perfectly know but from that of his Epistolary Correspondence, which is deficient in grammatical Accuracy, I fancy it will require a careful Revision.³

1. See above, p. 87.

2. Letter to Gough, 30th January 1788.

3. Letter of 17th November 1786. Bodleian Library MS. 25525, f. 593.

Various remarks in his letters show that Paton himself was aware of the deficiencies in his style, and of the need for rewording information supplied by him for publication.¹ These faults may be partly due to insufficient attention to the subject at his school; but the main reason is ^{clearly} probably that he was much more concerned with the matter than the manner of what he wrote. He had no literary ambitions; his aim was solely to pass on information. When the extent of his correspondence, and the pressure of other concerns, are taken into account, it is not surprising that his letters show little evidence of revision or polish.

1. e.g., in a letter to Gough of 24th February 1778, Paton wrote; "I would observe to you that you will pardon my way of expressing myself in the MS. Additions (to Gough's Topography) which you are welcome to make what use of you please"; again, in a letter of 17th June 1779; " ... leave that article to your own choice & mode of expressing it as I chuse only to point out the real facts ... "

2. Published letters.

Only a small part of the Paton Correspondence has been published. Details are given in an appendix.¹ Since James Maidment was responsible for editing most of those hitherto printed, something may be said here of his work.

Maidment printed letters to Paton in three volumes, all published anonymously. Two of these have already been referred to;² the earliest remains to be mentioned. In 1828, with Robert Pitcairn, Maidment edited Reliquiae Scoticae, Scottish Remains, in prose and verse. From Original MSS. and scarce tracts: Edinburgh MDCCCXXVIII. This slim octavo volume, of which only fourteen copies were printed, consists of eighteen sections, each separately paged. The last three sections, amounting to ten pages in all, are devoted to letters to Paton from Lord Hailes, Principal Robertson, and John Pinkerton.

The Prefatory Notice concludes as follows;

It remains only to observe, that owing to the hurried way in which most of the pieces were printed, a few typographical errors have been permitted to escape. These are not numerous; and it is trusted that, in general, each article will be found a correct copy of the original.

However, deviations from the manuscript in the Paton letters are fairly numerous, and they cannot all be explained as typographical

1. Appendix I.

2. Letters from Joseph Ritson, Esq. to Mr. George Paton ... Edinburgh, 1829; and Letters from Thomas Percy, D.D. ... and others, to George Paton, Edinburgh, 1830.

errors. For instance, in the letter from Hailes of 9th December 1774¹, there is a list of the writer's acknowledged publications. The third of these, "Secret negotiations of Cecil with James vi," is omitted in the printed version, and in the sixth, where Hailes wrote merely "Smith's Discourses," this is expanded to "Smith's Discourses, with Poems and Essays, &c."

The third paragraph in Hailes's next letter, dated 17th January 1775², begins, "What you propose as to ye Maps (over "plans" deleted) &c in the Advocates Library". Maidment prints "plays" instead of "maps", and later in the same paragraph he gives "might be" where Hailes wrote "ought to be".

In the preface to the Letters of Joseph Ritson ...³ Maidment states,

the letters are printed, without variation, from the originals in the Advocates' Library. It is the more necessary to state this, as the adoption of the capital "I", so contrary to Ritson's usual practice, might induce a suspicion that liberties had been taken with the text.

The first sentence may be a true statement of Maidment's aims, but it is inaccurate as a description of his achievement.

Most of the variations from the manuscript in this volume are obviously due to inadvertence, but in the Letters of 1830, Maidment departs from the manuscript deliberately and without notice in

1. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I, f.2.

2. Ibid., f.3.

3. p. xv.

several places. Some of the changes were made for reasons of delicacy, others appear to be pointless.

In an undated letter,¹ David Herd wrote to Paton;

If you are in possession of the printed play (S D Lind. Sat.)² what do you think of sending him³ a sight of it - and let him pick out the bawdy for himself.

Maidment altered this to "what he wants himself".⁴ Again, on 23rd December 1788⁵, Herd wrote;

In the Geneva Edition of the Bible immediately preceding K James's, the 1st Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians the 6th Chapter & 9th verse is the word B - - r which we were searching for in the wrong place.

Maidment omitted Herd's indication of what the word they were looking for was.⁶

Maidment deserves gratitude for his recognition of the interest and importance of Paton's letters, and for his publications of selections from them; but his texts do not satisfy the standards of modern scholarship.

Maidment considered that the correspondence between Paton and Gough, as well as the letters of Hailes, Pennant and Chalmers were

1. National Library of Scotland. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 38.
2. i.e. Sir David Lindsay's Satyre. See above, pp. 154-178.
3. Andrew Plummer.
4. Letters, 1830, p. 110.
5. National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 20.
6. Letters, 1830, p. 87.

"infinitely more interesting and important in every respect" than those which he had published.¹ About 1840 W. Turnbull, secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, issued proposals for an intended edition of the Gough - Paton correspondence, but this was abandoned because of lack of support.²

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1. Letters, 1830, Prefatory Notice, p. xi.
 2. Notes and Queries, second series, Vol. X, pp. 249, 509; Wilson, Memorials of Edinburgh ... Vol. I, p. 164.

3. Publications by Paton

Paton has been credited with two publications; the edition of Urquhart of Cromarty's Tracts printed for Charles Herriott, bookseller, Edinburgh, in 1774,¹ and the index to Elliot and Cadell's edition of the History of Scotland by Lindsay of Pitcottie and his continuator, published in 1778.²

The first of these attributions can easily be dismissed. The address To the Reader, signed "G.P."³ is reprinted from Παντοχρονολογιον or, a peculiar Promptuary of Time published at London in 1652, and the author makes it clear that he is writing during Sir Thomas Urquhart's lifetime. The title-page of the 1774 edition professes that it includes the Promptuary but it does not in fact do so. The Advertisement that precedes the address To The Reader in the 1774 Tracts⁴ is not signed. The British Museum Catalogue attributes the editorship of both the 1652 Promptuary and the 1774 Tracts to George Paton! It would appear that we are here dealing with a seventeenth century English namesake of the Scottish antiquary. Maidment suggested that Herd may have been the editor of the 1774 Tracts.⁵

While there is no internal evidence of Paton's responsibility

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1. Tracts of the Learned and Celebrated Antiquarian Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty Edinburgh, 1774.
 2. Robert Lindsay of Pitcottie, The History of Scotland from 21 February, 1436, to March, 1565 ... To which is added a continuation, by another hand, till August, 1604. Third edition, Edinburgh, 1778.
 3. pp. vii-xi.
 4. pp. iii-iv.
 5. Letters, 1829, p. xv. See also Hecht, Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts, p. 70.

for the index to Pitsoottie's History, there is no reason to suspect that the common attribution of it to him is wrong. He was friendly with Elliot, the publisher, until 1787.¹

The index is a most creditable piece of work. It fully justifies the claim on the title page that it is "a Compleat Index, Historical, Chronological, Genealogical and Biographical". It is most detailed and comprehensive, and extends to fifty-five pages, while the text of the book itself, exclusive of introductory matter, occupies 367 pages.

Maidment wrote that there seemed "good reason to suppose" that Paton "partly, if not wholly, edited the first edition (in one vol.) of the Collection of Scottish Ballads usually ascribed to David Herd".² This has been repeated in the Dictionary of National Biography. As Hecht pointed out,³ this belief arose from a misunderstanding of Thomas Percy's. Paton sent him a copy of the book as soon as it was published (anonymously), and Percy showed in his acknowledgement that he assumed Paton to be the editor.⁴ In his reply, Paton made it clear that he was not the editor.⁵ Another paragraph in this letter is significant, as it states his attitude towards publication;

1. See above, p. 39.

2. Letters, 1829, pp. xiv-xv.

3. Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts, p. 9.

4. Letter of 9th February 1769. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I, f. 56.

5. Letter of 10th June 1769. British Museum Add. MS. 32.332.

I have no inclination, nor will the attention to the duty in the business of the revenue permit me to be concerned much in any publications any further than by a transient amusement after the fatigues of the office.

At least four letters in the Gentleman's Magazine may be regarded as publications by Paton, although even here the proviso must be made that they have almost certainly been revised or completely rewritten by John Nichols, the editor, or by Gough.

Two of these letters deal with coins discovered in the burial place of the lairds of Brodie at Lyke in Morayshire.¹ Another is an account of the ebbing and flowing of Loch Tay, received by Paton at fourth hand from one Mr. McLagan, surgeon in ordinary in the family of Breadalbane.² By far the most interesting is that on the poet, Dr. James Grainger.³

Another letter signed "G.P." is on a subject so remote from Paton's usual interests that it cannot be assigned to him in the absence of definite evidence. This is an extract from a letter from Colonel Robert Hunter, Governor of New York, to Mr. Secretary St. John, introduced as follows;

Mr Urban,

The following extract abounds with so much good sense, that I think it deserves a place in your Miscellany, and therefore I send it for insertion.

Yours^s &c. G.P. ⁴

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1. Vol. LIII, 1783, p. 728, and Vol. LIV, 1784, p. 258.
 2. Vol. LVI, 1786, p. 368.
 3. Vol. LXXI, 1791, p. 614.
 4. Vol. LV, 1785, p. 425.

The letter on Grainger is the most interesting, not only on account of its subject-matter, but because it is based on part of a letter to Gough, and we can compare what Paton actually wrote with the version printed by Nichols.

The following is the passage on Grainger in Paton's letter to Gough of 26th June 1791;

I think the 2d Vol. of Maitland's History of Scotland¹ was compiled from what Materials he had left by Dr James Grainger my old intimate acquaintance who died, I think, in Barbadoes some years after that he had printed his Tibullus Lat. Engl. 2 Vol. 12^o 2 and his Poem on the Sugar Cane,³ he was a very excellent humanist, served several years as Surgeon of a marching Regiment & then sold out. - It is very certain that Wm. Maitland composed the 1st Vol. of that Work: & Mr And. Miller Bookseller engaged the Doctor to complete the Book.

The Gentleman's Magazine version is as follows;

Mr Urban,

Edinburgh, June 20.

I think the second volume of Maitland's History of Scotland was compiled from what materials he had left by Dr. James Grainger, my old and intimate acquaintance, who died at Antigua, Dec 24, 1767,⁴ having published a translation of Tibullus, 1759, 12 mo, 2 vols; a Letter to Dr. Smollett on his supposed criticism on it in the Critical Review, 1759⁵ (see vol. XXIX.

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1. William Maitland, The History and Antiquities of Scotland from the earliest account to the death of James I ... and from that period to the accession of James VI to the Crown of England, 1603, by another hand. 2 vols., London, 1757.
 2. A Poetical Translation of the Elegies of Tibullus, and of the poems of Sulpicia, with the original text, and notes ... by J. Grainger 2 vols., London, 1759.
 3. The Sugar-Cane: a poem, in four books; with notes. London, 1764.
 4. Grainger died, in fact, at St. Christopher on 16th December 1766.
 5. A letter to T. Smollett, M.D., occasioned by his criticism upon a late translation of Tibullus. London, 1759.

81-83)¹; the Sugar-Cane, a poem, 1764, 4 to; and *Historia Febris intermittentis Annorum 1746*, 7, 8, 1757.² He was a very excellent humourist, served several years as a surgeon of a marching regiment, and then sold out. It is very certain that William Maitland composed the first volume of that work, and Mr. Andrew Millar engaged the Doctor to complete the book.

Yours, &c. G.P.

It is clear from a comparison of the two versions, that the paragraph in Paton's letter to Gough has been substantially emended and amplified, and put into the form of a letter to "Mr Urban", probably by "Mr. Urban" himself, i.e. Nichols. The unfortunate transformation of Grainger from a "humanist" to a "humourist" was no doubt accidental. It is the only alteration that Paton himself would deplore.

It is reasonable to suppose that Paton's other letters were similarly, though perhaps not so drastically, revised before publication. The second one on the coin discoveries³ begins, "Since I communicated the Scotch coin in vol. LIII. p. 728 ..." Paton is by no means likely to have written "Scotch". More than once he expressed to Gough his dislike of that form of the adjective.⁴

Apart from the letters published above his initials, Paton's influence may be present in many of the references to Scottish matters in the Gentleman's Magazine. It is often impossible to be certain of this, because the occurrence of the same subject in a letter from

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1. Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. XXIX, 1759, p. 81; Quotation from Grainger's *Tibullus*. pp. 83-4; Review of Grainger's Letter to Smollet.
 2. Historia febris anomalae Batavae annorum 1746, 47, 48 ... Accedunt monita siphylitica. 2 parts, Edinburgh, 1753.
 3. *op. cit.*
 4. See below, pp. 265, 282-3.

Paton to Gough is not in itself sufficient evidence. One example may be quoted, however, where it would appear reasonable to trace a connection. In a review of the first volume of the Transactions of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland¹, the critic, who may well have been Gough, wrote, "we learn that their meetings and hour of meeting are by no means regular". This may be compared with what has been quoted on the subject from Paton's letters, in a previous chapter.²

The reviewer went on;

We understand the topographical papers inserted in this collection were supposed to be drawn up in too minute a detail for Sir John Sinclair's "Statistical Account";³ which, being confined chiefly to commerce, agriculture, and population, could not afford room to other matters without abridging them.

The above paragraph seems to have been suggested by the following passage in Paton's letter to Gough of 4th July 1792;

The two Parochial Accounts in the Scottish Antiquary Transactions⁴ are executed upon a more extensive plan (than) the Statiscal (sic) Accounts, the Abridgement whereof has given umbrage to several of the Clergy here, as Sir J. Sinclair's Compiler &c has greatly castrated their Communications I will not adventure to criticize on the present confined Plan which is adopted (sic) only to one line of intelligence, which ought to have been subjected to no contractions &c.

1. Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LXII, 1792, pp. 828-30.

2. See above, p. 102.

3. The Statistical Account of Scotland. Drawn up from the Communications of the Ministers of the Different Parishes. By Sir John Sinclair, Bart. 20 Vols., Edinburgh, 1791-8.

4. Transactions of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland. Vol. I Edinburgh, 1792. The two accounts referred to are Account of the Parish of Haddington by the Rev. Dr. George Barclay of Middleton, (pp. 40-121) and Account of the Parish of Uphall by Sir James Stewart Denham, (pp. 129-155).

4. Cunningham's History of Great Britain.

In 1787 there appeared a translation of Alexander Cunningham's Latin History of Great Britain, with an introduction by William Thomson LL.D.¹ Paton is mentioned several times in the introduction. Paton had no direct contact with Thomson, his information being given through Alexander Brown, the Advocates' librarian, and the Earl of Buchan. Thomson quotes a letter from Paton to Brown, the manuscript of which is not now known to exist. There is in existence a letter from Paton to Buchan on the subject, to be quoted below.

Thomson's introduction is mainly concerned with proving that Alexander Cunningham, the historian, was the same man as Alexander Cunningham, the editor of the works of Horace; an identification that has since been decisively rejected.² Extracts from the introduction will show what Thomson owed to Paton. The first reference to the letter is in the following passage;³

That the editor of Horace was the same Alexander Cunningham with our Historian ... is confirmed by a letter from Alexander Brown, Esq. principal librarian to the Scotch advocates dated at Edinburgh, May 18, 1786.

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1. The History of Great Britain: From The Revolution in 1688, to the Accession of George the First. Translated from the Latin Manuscript of Alexander Cunningham, Esq. Minister from George I, to the Republic of Venice. To which is prefixed, An Introduction, containing an Account of the Author and his Writings, by William Thomson LL.D. 2 vols., London 1787. William Thomson (1746-1817), see Dictionary of National Biography.
 2. See articles in Dictionary of National Biography on Alexander Cunningham (1655? - 1730) and Alexander Cunningham (1654-1737). The former was the editor of an edition of Horace published in 1721; the latter was the historian.
 3. pp. xviii - xxix.

" ... This Mr Cunningham was uncle to Mr. Logan, one of the ministers of this city, between whom, and my much honoured and very learned friend Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, the controversy about the jure divino ship was long and keenly agitated. That Mr Cunningham was tutor to John duke of Argyle, I learn from Mr. Paton of the customhouse here. This anecdote he had both from his father and from Mr. Logan; and it may, on that account, be depended on." ¹

A little further on,² Thomson wrote;

Mr Paton, of the customhouse at Leith,³ mentioned in the foregoing extract of a letter from Mr. Brown, and from whom lord Buchan received a copy of the first edition of Vandewater's Horace,⁴ which Mr Cunningham always carried about with him, and on which he wrote with his own hand many notes and observations, in a letter dated May 31, 1786, writes, "That the notes and various readings, written on the margin of that copy of Horace, and interlined by Mr. Cunningham, are illegible to him, and to many others, although at the time when they were written they might be very intelligible to the writer". Mr Paton, in that letter, adds, "that as this copy of Horace is given back to the earl of Buchan, who is presently in the country, he cannot borrow it to compare the specimen accompanying Dr. Thomson's letter, which specimen contains various hand-writings, some of which, to the best of his remembrance, have a similitude to some of the addresses, &c. on the waste leaves of this small copy of Horace, but will not positively affirm the similitude, as both were

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1. It was Alexander Cunningham, the editor of Horace, who was uncle of George Logan, minister of Trinity Church (second charge), Edinburgh. (Pastis Ecclesiae Scoticae Vol. I, p. 131, Vol. III, p. 25). But it was Alexander Cunningham, the historian, who was tutor to Lord Lorn, afterwards Duke of Argyll (Dictionary of National Biography).
 2. pp. xxxii - xxxiii.
 3. In a letter to Gough of 25th August 1794, Paton wrote; "Mr Thomson is a Stranger to me & if the publisher of Cunningham's late History, thro' Ld Buchan I do not admire his accuracy, as he has committed an egregious misinformation about me, one place contradicting it in another". This must be the mistake Paton meant. It is difficult to see why he was so indignant about it.
 4. Q. Horatius Flaccus. Accedunt J. Rutgersii Lectiones Venusinae. (edited by P. Burmannus.) Printed by F. Halma and G. van de Water. Traject(1) Batav(or)um, 1699.

not compared together at the same time." It is necessary here to observe, that in the specimen sent to Mr. Brown, there were three different hands, one, that of an amanuensis, which is remarkably fair, and the other two, one of them certainly, and the other probably, that of Mr. Cunningham So that when we reflect on what Mr. Paton says, of the unreadableness of the notes on Vandewater's Horace by Cunningham, we shall be fully satisfied that it was the old hand in the specimen, that is, our author's, between which and that of the notes, Mr. Paton, to the best of his remembrance, thinks there is a similitude.

At this point it will be appropriate to quote Paton's letter to the Earl of Buchan on the subject, dated 2nd June 1786,¹

My Lord,

Having received the Honor of your Lordship's Letter of 24 Ultimo, I did agreeable to request transmit the contents on Thursday, thereafter, the Saturday following Mr Brown of the Advocates' Library called on me and shewed another Letter, with a second specimen of the MS, which was pretty much interlined as Van de Water's Edition of Horace, that leaf furnished different Handwritings & to the best of my faint Remembrance (not having the Horace to compare therewith) did resemble some of the writings on that book now your Lordship's, but by no means could positively affirm them to be the same, Mr Brown was of a similar opinion; Dr Thomson's Letter to him repeated much the same with more additional Questions about Horace Cuninghame (sic), to most of which I did furnish Mr Brown with Repli(es) minutely as my Information or M(emo)ry could instruct me - One part (of) this second letter did not a little surprise, which affirmed that the Revd Dr Carlisle at Musselburgh,² insisted that Horace Cuninghame died in Mr. George Logan's house here; which does not agree with what both Father & Son Messrs. Logans (my particular acquaintances) have often long ago assured me that he died in Holland, where his large Law Collection of Books was sold by Auction or the like, the other portion of his Library

1. Edinburgh University Leing MSS. II 588.

2. Alexander Carlyle (1722-1805), minister of Inveresk.

(amongst which was the Copy of Horace I gave your Lordship) was transmitted to Scotland & remained long in his nephew Mr. Logan('s) possession untill his death or disposal of his Collection of Books; am very sorry that trivial articles of that kin(d) should be offered to embarrass Inquiries.

How Dr. Thomson was led to request if or how I was connected or stood in relation to this Mr. Cunningham is unknown to me; but my Reply, I knew & never was told of any such connection: indeed my Mother has often mentioned she was related to the Enterken Family; & her predecessors to Murray of Blackbarony, the Hamiltons of Bardue or Cadzow etc.

If any article worthy of Communication offers, It is my fixed Resolution (as time may permit) to inform your Lordship thereof.

I beg leave to mention that having occasion to write Dr. Cuming at Dorchester last week, I mentioned this of Dr. Thomson's earnestness to learn any thing particularly about Mr Cunningham (sic) as he ¹ was born, educated & resided most or all his days here until his settlement in England & being an adept Critic in Roman & Greek Literature, he possibly might know some particulars of this learned personage before his quitting Edinburgh, so requested his writing Dr. Thomson under Mr. Dempster's Cover everything he knew of him.

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The above letter was shown to Thomson by Buchan, for several points from it are utilised in the introduction.

(Cunningham) the critic (wrote Thomson on p. xli) bequeathed a small estate in Airesshire ... to his nephew Mr. Logan The earl of Hyndford has been informed that he also bequeathed to Mr Logan his library; but Mr. Paton, who seems to have been very minutely informed of different particulars relating to Mr Cunningham, says, as we have seen, that his immense library, with the exception already specified, was sold by auction in Holland.

1. i.e. Cuming.

Thomson went on to refer to the disagreement between Paton and Alexander Carlyle about the place of "Horace" Cunningham's death.¹ It has subsequently been shown that Paton was right.² There appears to be no confirmation of Paton's statement that Cunningham's law books were disposed of in Holland, and that the rest of his library was bequeathed to Logan. The Dictionary of National Biography³ claims "Crito's" letter in the Scots Magazine⁴ as its authority for the statement that the library was brought to Scotland, and dispersed there. In fact, "Crito" says nothing about the disposal of the library.

1. pp. xli - xlii.

2. See letter by "Crito" of St. Andrews, Scots Magazine, October 1804, pp. 731-3.

3. Article on Cunningham, the editor of Horace.

4. Cited above, note 2.

5. Three other literary matters.

The present section will deal briefly with three varied matters which occupied Paton's attention at different times, as illustrations of the width of his literary interests. The first is a publication that he assisted; the second an article for which he provided the material; and the third a project in which he showed some interest.

John Graham Dalyell's Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century¹ was published in 1801. The preface acknowledges Paton's help in allowing a transcript to be made from his rare early copy of the Gude and Godlie Ballatis.² Paton's assistance to Dalyell was not confined to that work, however. A letter written by the latter to Paton on 3rd January 1797³ shows that Dalyell solicited - and no doubt received - Paton's advice on an earlier publication, the Fragments of Scottish History.⁴ The letter runs;

May I request you to peruse the enclosed manuscript and may I ask you if you think it will do me any dishonour to present it to the world - Honour at my early age⁵ I am not entitled to expect - There are some original parts I know, these are perhaps of little value and the whole is but a collection of Fragments - I know you will

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1. 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1801.
 2. See above, pp. 178-9.
 3. National Library of Scotland Adv. MSS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 124.
 4. 4 parts, Edinburgh, 1798.
 5. He was then twenty-two. See Dictionary of National Biography, Sir John Graham Dalyell (1775-1851), antiquary and naturalist.

be candid enough to give a sincere opinion, & I will not take offense should you say the whole is nonsense. But if you think it may be of any end as an introduction or preface to the MS. & the two historical pieces we proposed to print I will make some additions & corrections & subjoin a few more original papers.

One of the items in the Fragments of Scottish History was "The Diary of Robert Birrell, burgess of Edinburgh from 1532 to 1608". This was printed from Paton's manuscript.¹ It is pleasant to record that, towards the end of his life, Paton extended help and encouragement to a young scholar more than fifty years his junior.²

An article by Gilbert Stuart, for which the basic material was supplied by Paton, appeared in the Edinburgh Magazine for August 1774. Ostensibly an appreciation of George Drummond, a former Lord Provost of Edinburgh, it was, in effect, a thinly veiled attack on his successors. Paton provided the biographical information; he was not, of course, responsible for the use made of it by Stuart. Paton's assistance was requested by William

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1. Paton states this in a letter to Gough of 17th February 1800, and it is confirmed by a manuscript note by Archibald Constable in the copy of this book in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library. This copy was presented by Constable to I.T. Gibson Craig, Esq. The note, dated March 1824, includes the following; "This work may be said to be the commencement of a series of publications on Scottish History and Antiquities (sic) - of the Diary of Robert Birrell. There is more than one MS. copy in the Advocates Library. The one chiefly used in this belonged to Mr George Paton of the Customs a perusal of which suggested the publication of this volume". See above, pp. 50, 115-116.
 2. Dalryell acknowledges Paton's help in lending him books in the preface to the Fragments, p. iv footnote.

Smellie,¹ whose letter, dated 9th August 1774,² makes the purpose of the article quite plain;

I ask an immense favour. A character of the late Geo. Drummond is to be given next No. Anecdotes are greatly wanted, and no man knows so many as Mr. Paton. You need not take the trouble of making a composition. Just say, at such a time he did or said such a thing.

Observe, that the character will contain many negatives; As, he did not do this or that. So that this affords an opportunity of pointing out in the strongest manner any act of mismanagement, littleness, dishonesty, or oppression that has occurred since Drummond left the stage. A hint is sufficient. Every thing that is bad in others will make a feather in Drummond's cap. - This day or to-morrow, I beg you'll spend half an hour in communicating knowledge to the ignorant.

As a result of a suggestion from Dr. William Cuming, Paton in 1776 gave serious thought to the project of a dictionary of the Scots language, and endeavoured to interest Bishop Percy in it.

In his first letter to Paton, dated 27th March 1776,³ Cuming wrote that he had long wished for such a dictionary, and suggested that a society should be formed to produce it. On 6th July⁴ he returned to the topic;

I shall be very happy to hear that a plan is concerted & generally adopted & approved of for the compiling a Scots Dictionary, and I cheerfully give my Suffrage, for electing the ingenious & respectable Ld Hailes as President of the Society ...⁵

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1. (1740-1795), printer, naturalist and antiquary.
 2. National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 19.
 3. National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II ff. 44-6.
 4. Ibid., f. 47.
 5. See also letters Cuming to Paton 14th September 1776, 19th December 1776. Ibid., ff. 48-9.

On the same day, Cuming wrote to Richard Cough in similar terms.¹ Cough informed Paton that Cuming wished to induce him "to collect & publish a good Scottish glossary". He added; "I intimated that I beleived (sic) the Scottish Coinage & Diplomatic History wer(e) uppermost in yr thoughts".²

Paton's interest was greater than Cough believed, however. This is revealed by his taking up the matter in a letter to Percy of 13th May 1776;³

Dr. Cuming of Borchester is extremely anxious that a Dictionary of our Scots language should be set about

I heartily wish to fall in with one to arrange properly your most excellent Glossaries, intermixing these of Gawin Douglas, Ray, Ld Hailes & Ca & Ca & fairly transcribed to which may be added many local words, when thus collected, I might procure a printer to make an Impression of an hundred Copies to dispress (sic) properly amongst the carefull & Ingenious here in our various shires & elsewhere for their varieties, after which the different Explanations &c might be collected & if possible the Etymologies also. I will rejoice in having your countenance in this, with what directions you would be pleased to communicate to further such a Scheme. I shall most cheerfully contribute & when once disengaged from a piece of business, which will occupy all this Summer, I will do all in my power to forward this plan under your auspicious regulations.

Paton thus considered the question with his usual thoroughness and wholehearted enthusiasm. But this evoked no response, and the scheme came to nothing. As usual, Paton was prepared to work hard in background, but he was not willing to take the responsibility of initiating the venture independently.

1. Bodleian Library MS. 25525, f. 405.

2. Cough to Paton, 30th May 1776.

3. British Museum Add. MSS. 32.332.

6. Paton as scholar and critic.

Paton did not write any formal literary criticism. But his letters contain many observations that show shrewd critical insight on a wide variety of topics. His remarks are often acute and penetrating; his judgements are forthright, but they are always tempered with charity. Paton's high standards of accurate scholarship were comparable with those of Joseph Ritson,¹ but, unlike the latter, he did not indulge in invective against those who failed to come up to them.

An early example of Paton's criticism is his comment on Lord Hailes's selection from the Gude and Godly Ballads²;

had I published it I would have omitted no words nor lines or even any of the Poems, which his Lordship has done, but of that no matter at present.³

Hailes's work was a considerable advance on that of ^{Alan Ramsay} Bishop Percy in its faithfulness to the originals. Paton here shows himself to be one of the very few who, like Ritson, demanded nothing less than complete accuracy.

Yet, twenty-two years later, Paton must have praised Hailes's work as an editor to Ritson, for the latter replied on 8th January

1. See below, pp. 243-5.

2. A Specimen of a Book, intituled, Ane compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs, collectit out of sundrie partes of the Scripture, with sundrie of other ballates changed out of prophane Sanges, for avoyding of sinne and harlotrie ... Edinburgh, 1765.

3. Letter to Gough, 3rd October 1771.

1793;¹

You must cease to consider Lord Hailes as a most faithful publisher; as I, who have collated many of his articles with the Bannatyne MS. know the contrary to my cost.

Paton may have compared Hailes's work favourably with that of Allan Ramsay, as he had done in a letter to Cough fifteen years before;²

Sir David Dalrymple Lord Hailes made the selection & published these Poems in 1770 from this MS. now gifted by E. Hyndford to the Advocates' Library, out of which Allan Ramsay long before pickt out a Number of these Poems inserted in his Ever Green 2 Vol. small 12^o but did not pay that faithfull justice to his Authors, having often interpolated words, lines and even stanzas of his own composition, this mangling a poet was unpardonable in this publisher altho' he did not want merit in his way ...

Paton's comment on the appearance of the first volume of Hailes's Annals of Scotland³ was;

In Ld Hailes's Book you will find several articles relative to the Monasteries of Scotland, wish indeed his Lordship had been a little more diffuse on that subject but he labours all along to be concise & authentick ...⁴

On Ruddiman's edition of Gavin Douglas's Aeneid⁵ Paton had this

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1. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I f. 96. The letter is erroneously dated "1792" by Ritson.
 2. 2nd May 1778.
 3. Annals of Scotland; from the accession of Malcolm III, surnamed Canmore, to that of Robert I. Edinburgh, 1776.
 4. Letter to Cough, 8th January 1776.
 5. Virgil's Aeneis, translated into Scottish verse by ... G. Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld. A new edition ... To which is added a large Glossary, explaining the difficult words (by Thomas Ruddiman) ... And to the whole is prefix'd an account of the author's life and writings. 2 parts, Edinburgh, 1740.

to say; ¹

... there are but two Editions of (the Aeneid) your English one in 4to & our Scot's in folio with Mr Ruddiman's Glossary subjoined to this letter, indeed this cannot be approved of greatly for it's correctness at the Press, but valuable for the critical grammatical rules of that learned Gentleman; Mr Robert Freebairn's rather too hasty neglect of his Corrector has neither done justice to the good old Bishop Douglas of Dunkeld nor to his worthy Friend Mr Ruddiman, it is superficially executed as to paper, type, correctness &c. but is now become scarce.

The following was Paton's opinion of Professor Robert Henry, and his life-work, the History of Great Britain; ²

Dr Henry is a laborious compiler, his style is harsh altho' his facts may be for most part truly copied, great Judgement with a masterly knowledge is requisite for the selection he has so universally dipt into, where few or none can positively affirm that certainty can be gained. ³

On Kippis's Biographia Britannica ⁴, Paton wrote; ⁵

The Work of Mr Kippis seems to be too extensive an Undertaking for a single Person unless assisted by a Society his generous labours claim due encouragement from the publick, I shall rest at present contented with the former Edition of the Biographia Britannica the 2d Volume whereof may chance to my lot after this, if I do not get the defect any how supplied from this new Edition, communications well instructed ought to be hand d the Compiler as undoubtedly these will be acceptable.

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1. Letter to Gough, 21st September 1779.
 2. The History of Great Britain, from the first invasion of it by the Romans under Julius Caesar ... 6 vols., London 1771-93.
 3. Letter to Gough, 16th March 1778.
 4. Biographia Britannica ... Second edition, with corrections, enlargements and the addition of new lives, by A. Kippis ... 5 vols., London 1778-93.
 5. Letter to Gough, 2nd May 1778.

Paton's interest in history extended to such erudite works as compilations of ancient charters. The following scholarly criticism is from a letter to Gough of 9th July 1772;

I have not as yet had time to examine Mr Astle's *Chartae Antiquae*,¹ which appears to be only an Index of the Indorsations of these Charters without noting the Contents, as severals here were in great Hopes of being obliged with, Ex. Gr. By whom granted - to whom - of what Lands &c. - in what Parish, County &Ca. - where signed - before such witnesses whose names ought to have been narrated - and if any Seal remained appended or Tag. This would (have) been very curious, but as it is, the Book will serve as a Line of Direction where such Remains of Curiosity and Antiquity are to be met with.

Four years later² Paton made similar remarks on Sir Joseph Ayloffe's Calendars of the Ancient Charters,³

... lament the particular discription of these old papers &c. is so short, as the publisher might (have) given a little more minute discovery of them, where, by whom & before what witnesses these Charters were signed noting the year & day if such are mentioned with mentioning the subject granted by the Donor &c. as probably from these some light might have been thrown upon Inquiries ascertaining old names of places, which we are now at a very great loss to recover: both in the Roman & old British Languages.

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1. Rotuli Parliamentorum; ut et petitiones et placita in Parlamento ... (collected and arranged by R. Blyke, P. Morant, T. Astle and J. Topham; ed. J. Strachey) 6 vols., London, 1757-77.
 2. Letter to Gough, 8th January 1776.
 3. Calendars of the ancient charters, and of the Welch and Scottish rolls, now remaining in the Tower of London ... London, 1772. (The work was originally published anonymously; the same edition with a new title-page giving the editor's name appeared in 1774.)

Paton's soundness of judgement is revealed in the following reference¹ to Captain Cook²;

It is very proper that his own Account of the Voyage should be exhibited to the public without the interpolations or dressings of others, a native genuine narration of facts will ever be preferred to the latter ...

It was inevitable that the great public interest in Cook's voyages, and the emotions aroused by his death, should lead to the publication of many accounts of varying degrees of authenticity. The first of a large number of compilations appeared in 1784.³

Paton was not deceived by the literary forgeries of his time;

Ossian and Rowley's Poems, I join you, appear to be pretty much on a level with regard to their Antiquity upon the Score of MSS. not being produced to prove their reality, this was always my private sentiment ...⁴

As Paton's topographical interests will be discussed in the next chapter, only one instance need be given here of his criticism of a work in that field. On 24th June 1785 he wrote to Gough;

... the first No. of Mr Cordiner's Remarkable Ruins &Ca.⁵ are come to hand, the Plates are neatly executed, agree with you that he is too short in his Descriptions of Places, a more accurate expressive

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1. In a letter to Gough of 6th January 1781.
 2. James Cook (1728-1779), the circumnavigator.
 3. A Compendious History of Captain Cook's first and second Voyages ... London, 1784.
 4. Letter to Gough, 25th February 1782.
 5. Charles Cordiner, Remarkable Ruins and Romantic Prospects of North Britain; with Ancient Monuments and Singular Subjects of Natural History. The engravings by P. Mazell. 2 vols., London, 1788-95.

account with the Bearings & Distances from the capital Towns in the County where each place lies ought to have been mentioned ...

He referred again to the same work in a letter of 24th July 1790;

I've often regretted myself the curt way (Cordiner) uses in his explanation, fitted only for an inhabitant of the Spot or neighbourhood & not suited to the information of a stranger ...

Paton retained his scholarly interests and critical faculties until a year or two before the end of his life. It is fitting that the latest observation worth quoting in this section should be on so important a work as Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border;¹

Mr Scot, Sheriff of Roxburgh the Publisher of the Border Songs &c. might have made more use of Ridpath's Border History² than he does as this Book is in estimation here for accurate information.³

1. 3 vols., Kelso, 1802-3.

2. George Ridpath, minister of Stithill; The Border History of England and Scotland, deduced from the earliest times to the Union of the two Crowns ... Revised and published by ... P. Ridpath. London, 1776.

3. Letter to Gough, 27th March 1802.

7. The Paton - Percy correspondence.

The most important part of Paton's correspondence on literary topics is the exchange of letters with Thomas Percy between 1768 and 1779.¹ The first edition of the Reliques of Ancient English Poetry had appeared in 1765,² and the correspondence with Paton began when Percy's enthusiasm for the ballads was at its height. It appears from his early letters to Paton that Percy was contemplating a second collection similar to the Reliques. This has been pointed out in an article by Mr V.H. Ogburn.³

There is no authority, however, for Mr. Ogburn's categorical statement that this collection was to be entitled Ancient English and Scottish Poems. His conclusion is;

The Paton letters now become more understandable, for this new collection was the originating motive for that correspondence. This collection was also obviously the more important from Percy's point of view.

1. Letters from Paton to Percy are in British Museum Add. MSS. 32.332, and in the library of Harvard University, Percy MSS. Those from Percy to Paton are in National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I. This correspondence is shortly to be published in the Percy Letters series, edited by Prof. A.F. Falconer, who kindly allowed me the use of his transcripts of the Paton-Percy letters. Most of the Percy-Paton letters have been printed by Maidment, Letters from Thomas Percy ... and others, to George Paton, Edinburgh, 1830.
2. Reliques of Ancient English Poetry. 3 vols., London, 1765.
3. Thomas Percy's unfinished Collection, Ancient English and Scottish Poems; H.L.H. - A Journal of English Literary History III, 1936, p. 183. The article is marred by the author's confusion of Herd and Hurd. In one place he writes "Hurd" where he means "Paton".

This is to make the object of the correspondence much too specific and limited. How the letters would be less "understandable" without this purpose in view is difficult to see. Far from having the definite intention of producing a new collection when the correspondence began, Percy merely regarded it vaguely as a possibility;

Should I print any more Volumes of Ancient Poetry, you may certainly depend both upon a Copy of the Book, & of my acknowledgements in the Preface for the obliging Assistance you are so good as to afford me, both in picking up scarce things for my perusal & in favouring me with such Illustrations as occur to you.

he wrote to Paton on 12th June 1768.¹

It was not until a letter of 22nd August 1774² that Percy was more specific;

As in 3 or 4 Years I intend to publish a Volume or Two More of old English & Scottish Poems³ in the manner of my Reliques of Ancient Eng. Poetry....

By the time that the "three or four years" had elapsed, Percy's enthusiasm for ballads had somewhat waned, and his preferment to the deanery of Carlisle left him without the time to compile the intended volumes, even had his inclination remained as strong. On 27th November 1778⁴ he wrote to Paton;

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1. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I f. 52. Maidment wrongly dates this letter "Jan. 12.1769". (op. cit. p. 5).
 2. Ibid. f. 78.
 3. This is presumably the source of Mr Ogburn's title for Percy's intended work. The context shows that the inference is quite unjustified.
 4. National Library Adv. MS.29.5.8. Vol. I. f. 93.

With regard to the Reliques of Auct Poetry, I have a large fund of materials which when my Son has compleated his Studies at the University, he may if he likes it, distribute into one or more additional Volumes: but I myself shall hardly find a Vacancy now from more serious persuits, to carry them forward myself: I find not quite the same relish for those little amusing literary sallies, as I did 15 or 16 years ago when the former Vols were digested.

With the death of his son at Marseilles in 1783, the task of succeeding him as editor of the Reliques fell instead upon Percy's nephew.¹

One of the most valuable letters in the correspondence is that of 9th February 1769,² which contains Percy's constructive and useful criticisms of the first edition of David Herd's Ancient and Modern Scots Songs.³ This book had been sent by Paton on publication, and, since it was anonymous, Percy mistakenly assumed that Paton himself was the editor. Percy suggested that the songs might have been accompanied by notes, of which he specifies four kinds;

1. To mention (where it can be done) the Authors of the several Songs or Ballads ...
2. To explain the History or Story referred to in some of the Historical Ballads...
3. To inform us in South-Britain, where the particular Scene or Place lies, that is mentioned in some of the Pastoral Songs ...
4. Miscellaneous; either explanatory, or Digressive: particularly to illustrate any Allusions to the old Manners, Customs, Opinions, or Idioms of the ancient Scotch Nation: these are now wearing out so fast, that if not preserved in such publications as these, they will be utterly unknown to posterity.

1. Thomas Percy (1768-1808).

2. National Library of Scotland. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I. f. 56.

3. The Ancient and Modern Scots Songs, heroic ballads, &c. now first collected into one body ... Edinburgh, 1769.

In a letter of 17th October 1772¹ Paton informed Percy that the "Collector & Publisher of the Collection of Scots Songs"

has now got together such a number as will make up another Volume, but the Share of Business that he is engaged in will not admit of the Care of publishing it, so requested me to write you if you would do it, that I should get the Manuscript from him and transmit as you shall be pleased to instruct me: which when reviewed what necessary Information &c should be communicated I shall be very glad to have your Sentiments on this Subject when most convenient.

Percy's reply was:

If the Publisher of the Collection of Scots Songs would send up by some safe hand his Collections for the 2d Vol. for my inspection & perusal, I will see what can be done²

The manuscript collections were not sent at this time, however; perhaps Herd did not think Percy's reply very enthusiastic. On 7th September 1773³ Paton wrote rather obscurely;

Having seen the Collector of the Scot's Songs, last day he declined sending you the materials for a Second Volume as these already inserted in the Volume have too much of Novelty, very imperfect &c. that he would seem to have dropt his intention of publishing any more at this time unless his success is more engaging afterwards in picking up Materials.

By the following year, Herd and his publisher John Wotherspoon were planning a new edition of the collection in two volumes.⁴

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1. Harvard Percy MSS. 8 and 9.
 2. Letter of 27th October 1772; National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I f. 64.
 3. British Museum Add MSS. 32.332.
 4. See letters of Paton to Percy 26th July 1774, and the undated letter immediately preceding it; British Museum Add. MSS. 32.332.

At last Paton obtained the manuscript to send to Percy, and the latter wrote in acknowledging it on 22nd August 1774;¹

I have looked over the MS. Collection of Scottish Songs, and find most of them are fragments too mutilated & imperfect to afford much pleasure to a reader in their present state, & yet most of them contain charming hints, which might give occasion to very beautiful songs, if supplied & filled up, in the manner that old broken fragments of antique statues have been repaired & compleated by modern Masters. I think I could fill up the breaches of some of them myself, & by waiting a little one might possibly recover more perfect copies of some of the others: In the meantime it would be pity to delay the publication of the 2d Vol. of Scottish Songs, till these discoveries are made: I wish you would persuade the Editor to collect all that are tolerably perfect, in this or any other Collection, I would furnish him myself with a good number of old Scots Songs & Poems all perfect and compleat which have never yet been printed, & which I myself transcribed from an old Manuscript at Cambridge which was compiled by old Sr Richard Maitland

Percy went on to say that he would insert some of the fragments in the additional volume or volumes of the Reliques that he intended to publish in three or four years, if the editor would allow him transcribe them and fill up the deficiencies of some of them; in return, the editor might reprint any that suited his subject from Percy's book.

In his reply, dated 29th August 1774,² Paton named Herd for the first time as the collector of the songs. On the same day Herd's printer, Wotherspoon, wrote to Paton;³

1. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I f. 78.

2. British Museum Add. MSS. 32.332.

3. Ibid.

My friend Mr. Herd obliged me with a sight of Dr. Percy's letter to you respecting the Scottish Songs &c. which I now return. - Be pleased to inform that gentleman, that we cheerfully consent to his making the use he proposes of our M.S. vol. by extracting such fragments as he thinks proper to adopt into his plan ... With equal frankness we will accept the offer the Dr is so good as to make us of extracts from Maitland's M.S. ...

We are grateful to Dr Percy for his permission to avail ourselves of his intended addition to the Reliques, in case we should think of publishing a 3d vol. of Scots Songs ...

On 25th March 1775¹ Paton wrote to Percy;

I take the liberty ... of informing you that the Collector of the Scots Songs &c. sent you last Winter is desirous to have your Sentiments of the Volume; your Opinion of them with Advice how to arrange & what Remarks may be necessary will be most acceptable, as he has some thoughts during this present Vacation to set about reprinting the former Volume, which is entirely sold off & out of print to which he would incline the addition of this second Collection & make another volume ...

Paton wrote more urgently on the same matter on 21st July; ²

I beg leave to inform you that Mr. Witherspoon ... applied to me t'other day soliciting your favourable Return of the M.S.S. Volume of Songs sent you last year, when he would be most singularly obliged for Communications of Sir Richard Maitland's Scots Songs or any others you will be kind enough as ornament the intended Publication with, as the Editors seem now resolved to begin & print off an Impression of these Poetical Pieces, this Autumn during the Recess of our Law Courts.

A letter written by Witherspoon to Percy six days later³ courteously but firmly requested the return of the manuscript. Percy dispatched

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1. Ibid.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.

it to Paton before receiving Motherspoon's letter however. In the letter which announced that he had sent it back,¹ Percy stated that he had only glanced his eye cursorily over it,

without having had time (from my other avocations) to make the least use of the contents. I hope now in the course of next Winter to prepare a 4th Volume of Reliques for the Press, & when I have selected some of Maitland's Poems for my own Work, I shall see what I can spare for your friend's Publication.

Paton's reply is in a letter dated 7th August 1775;²

Your benevolent attention to the proposed plan of reprinting the Scots Songs, with the generous hopes of gaining such a Treasure of Maitland's share from you gives the Publisher spirit, who desires me to present his most thankfull acknowledgements of Gratitude ...

The gratitude seems excessive, considering the greatness of Percy's promises and the smallness of his performance.³

Paton's eagerness to assist Percy in every possible way is reflected throughout the correspondence. As soon as he received an enquiry from Percy about the poems of Robertson of Struan,⁴ Paton replied;⁵

1. 28th July 1775; National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I. f. 83.

2. British Museum Add. MSS. 32.332.

3. Cf. Hecht, Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts, op. cit., pp. 27-8.

4. Alexander Robertson (1670?-1749), thirteenth baron of Struan. His poems were published under the title of Poems on Various Subjects and Occasions, Edinburgh, (1751). Percy's query about Robertson is in a letter of 20th August 1773, National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I. f. 68.

5. Letter of 23rd August 1773. British Museum Add. MSS. 32.332.

You may look for Strowan Robertson's Poems by the Newcastle Carrier or Waggon this or next Week, their Merit is not very eminent, tho' now scarce but will provide you.

On 27th August 1777¹ Paton sent Percy a copy of a Norn Ballad that George Low, minister of Birsay,² had taken down from the recitation of an old farmer in Foula. Percy showed considerable interest in this ballad, as can be seen from his reply of two days later;³

The Language is unknown to me: & as I find from your account that it is equally so to Mr Low, who wrote it down from the mouth of the Reciter, I think it a great Pity, that he did not write down a Translation of it (which should have been as literal as possible) from the mouth of the old Orkney Farmer, who gave it him from memory. - However tho' he be dead & tho' none of his countrymen can speak the Norn familiarly, probably some old Persons may be found, who can understand it when repeated. After all if Mr Low shd publish any Account of the Orkneys, I hope he will not fail to print this Song, which is perhaps the only specimen now extant of the Poetry of those Islands.

In a letter of 20th June 1777⁴ Paton gave a very full account

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1. British Museum Add. MSS. 32.332.
 2. See below, pp. 350-352.
 3. National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I. f. 90.
 4. British Museum Add. MSS. 32.332.

of the Rev. John Witherspoon¹, in response to a request in Percy's letter of 22nd May² for a copy of a sermon of Witherspoon's that had just been published.³

Paton's services to Percy in connection with the latter's borrowing of the Bannatyne Manuscript have not, perhaps, received adequate recognition, although extracts from Percy's letters on the subject have been printed in the Scottish Text Society edition.⁴ Lord Hyndford, who had presented the manuscript to the Advocates' Library, obtained the loan of it for Percy. Percy wrote to Paton on 9th January 1773⁵ that John Davidson was to send it to him, but it was, in fact, Paton who sent it.⁶ Again, it was Paton who first

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1. Paton erroneously calls him "James Witherspoon". John Witherspoon (1723-1794) was minister of the Laigh Kirk, Paisley from 1757 to 1768, when he became President of Princeton College, New Jersey. He was one of the signatories of the American Declaration of Independence. The standard authority on him is V.L. Collins, President Witherspoon: A Biography, 2 vols., Princeton, 1925. Much additional light has been thrown on the negotiations which resulted in his acceptance of the call to Princeton, by the publication of the little that survives of his correspondence in L.H. Butterfield's John Witherspoon Comes to America. A Documentary Account Based Largely on New Materials. Princeton, 1953. It is not surprising that Paton had little sympathy with Witherspoon or appreciation of his greatness. He called him a "Trumpeter of Rebellion".
 2. National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I. f. 88.
 3. The Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men: A Sermon, Preached at Princeton, on the 17th of May 1776 ... by John Witherspoon D.D. ... Edinburgh, 1777.
 4. The Bannatyne Manuscript Writtin in Tyme of Pest 1568 by George Bannatyne ed. W. Tod Ritchie, Vol. I, Edinburgh, 1934, pp. lxxxix - xcvii.
 5. National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I. f. 65.
 6. On 7th May 1773; British Museum Add. MSS. 32.332.

suggested that the period of the loan might be extended,¹ and who transmitted Percy's letter on the subject to Alexander Brown, the Keeper of the Advocates' Library.² Without any request from Percy, Paton obtained a further indefinite extension for him in March, 1774;

I have now the Pleasure to inform you that the Librarian of the Faculty of Advocates indulges your retaining the M.S.S., till your own Convenience permits you either to bring it North with you to Alnwick Castle, (where you purpose to be this Summer or Autumn) or from thence transmit it to this Place as best suites your Choice of Safety; it gives me Joy to be any how accessory to Procure your Wish ...³

Percy had the manuscript for just over two years,⁴ from June 1773 to July 1775.

Percy showed appreciation of Paton's many favours, but it cannot be said that he fully reciprocated them. His letters display a regrettable tendency to make promises that he was unable to fulfil. Writing on 17th October 1772⁵, Paton asked,

Be so good as inform whether, The Northumberland Household Book ⁶is (to) be sold & where to be got, I am extremely anxious to see it.

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1. Letters of 23rd August, 7th September 1773; *ibid.*
 2. 23rd October 1773; printed by Maidment, Letters from Thomas Percy.. to George Paton, p. 34, and quoted from there in the S.T.S. edition of the Bannatyne Manuscript, cited above, p. xci. This letter is not in Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Paton stated in his reply (26th October 1773 - British Museum Add. MSS. 32.332) that he had presented the letter to Brown.
 3. This letter is undated, but it is placed in Add. MSS. 32.332 after that of 1st March 1774, and Percy's letter of 24th March (Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I f.72) is clearly a reply to it.
 4. Not "about a year" as stated by Mr. Ogburn in the article previously cited.
 5. Harvard Percy MSS. 8 and 9.
 6. H.A. Percy, Fifth Earl of Northumberland, The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of H.A. Percy .. at his Castles of Wressill and Bokinfield in ... Yorkshire .. (Edited by Thomas Percy) 1770.

Percy replied on 27th October;¹

I wish it was in my power to give you a Copy of the Northumbd Household Book, as they will not be sold: but it is not as yet in my power: His grace printed few & the 3 or 4, wch he allowed me to send to Edinburgh, were chiefly to such as he had some particular reason of his own for sending them to. Shd it hereafter be in my power, I shall be happy to place a Copy in the hands of a Gentn to whom I am so much obliged for similar favours.

In a letter of 19th September 1773 Percy said that he would not rest until he obtained a present of the Household Book for Paton.

On 21st July 1774² Percy wrote;

I flatter myself I shall be able to accompany it (the Bannatyne Manuscript) with a Copy of the Household Book, for your own acceptance, but this entre nous: for his Grace has so few left, & so many Applications from his Friends, that it is difficult to procure one: so that altho' I have long wished to obtain one for you, till now I have not been able to succeed.

Paton never received the book from Percy, however. He did eventually succeed in obtaining a defective copy, as the following note,³ written twenty-five years afterwards to Dr. Robert Anderson, shows;

Geo Paton's copy of the "Northumberland Household Book" was purchased by him, at the private Sale of the Revd. Mr. Redpath's library in the Shire of Roxburgh: - but unseen by me untill the Sale was done, this Copy wants

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1. National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I. f. 64.
 2. National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I. f. 75.
 3. National Library MS. 1001 f. 61.

1. The Title page
2. (Dedication & Preface) if these were ever printed.
4. (sic) Dr Percy's notes at the end of the Book.
If these defects could be procured he would very much esteem the favour besides the Gratuity for these sheets to compleat the Book.
17 Septr. 1799.

The above is in Paton's handwriting. On the back, Anderson has added the following;

This note was sent by Mr George Paton to Dr. Anderson last year, to be communicated to the Bishop of Dromore, for his advice & assistance in completing "the Houshold Book", but happened to be mislaid. It is now transmitted to his Lordship, with Mr Paton's respectful compliments.
21 June 1800.

It seems unlikely that the note ever, in fact, reached Percy, since it came to the National Library of Scotland from Anderson's papers.¹

1. Pencil note on the manuscript.

8. Joseph Ritson.

The correspondence between Paton and Ritson¹ was not extensive, and we have only one side of it - six letters from Ritson to Paton, the first dated 15th November 1792, and the last 21st July 1795.²

Paton's relations with Ritson seem to have been uniformly cordial, no small achievement in view of Ritson's temperament. This was probably due to the fact that the two men shared the same scholarly principles, however much they differed in character and disposition.

Ritson's letters to Paton contain many interesting observations on literary topics, expressed with his usual incisiveness. His high esteem for Paton as a scholar is evident throughout. The letter of 8th January 1793³ contains the following sentence;

I am sorry to find that business should press so hard upon you at a time of life which should be devoted to ease and indulgence, and the more so as it deprives the public of all benefit from the exertion of those talents & that knowledge of men & books of which they have had so tantalizing a specimen.

Such testimony is valuable, coming from one who was little disposed to

1. The authoritative life of Ritson (1752-1803) is B.H. Bronson, Joseph Ritson Scholar-at-Arms, 2 vols., California, 1938. There are only a few incidental references to Paton in this work, and in an earlier full-length study, H.A. Burd, Joseph Ritson A Critical Biography, University of Illinois Studies in Languages and Literature, Vol. II, 1916, pp. 339-558.
2. The manuscripts are in National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I. ff. 95-100. They have been printed in Letters from Joseph Ritson, Esq. to Mr. George Paton ... (ed. J. Maidment) Edinburgh, 1829, and in The Letters of Joseph Ritson, Esq. edited chiefly from originals in the possession of his nephew ... 2 vols., London, 1833.
3. Ritson dated this letter "1792", but this is clearly an error.

flatter, and whose motto, as he stated in another letter, was Magis amica (sic) veritas.¹

Ritson was familiar with Paton's contributions to Herbert's edition of the Typographical Antiquities.² In his letter of 19th January 1795, he concluded a paragraph on the authorship of the Good and Godly Ballads and the Complaynt of Scotlande with the remark,

But I perceive, on dipping into the new edition of Ames's History of printing, that you have already handled this matter with your usual accuracy & research.

The following comment on George Chalmers, in the same letter, is characteristic of Ritson;

I am very much afraid that Mr. Chalmers undertakes so many literary adventures at once, he will never be able to achieve them either with satisfaction to his judgement or with safety to his health.

Probably the most important result of Paton's correspondence with Ritson was the exchange of information on ballads between Ritson and David Herd. In the letter of 19th January 1795 the former wrote;

I shall be highly gratified with a perusal of the fragments of Scottish Songs collected by Mr. Herd ... I feel myself much indebted & obliged both to Mr. Herd & yourself for this proof of your attention & liberality.

On 30th January 1795³ Herd wrote to Paton;

(I) send you inclos'd the last Old Song to be forwarded with the former parcell to Mr. Ritson.

1. 19th January 1795.

2. See above, pp. 122-153.

3. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III, f. 28.

By his last Letter to you I see he is anxious for these. I do not altogether approve of this method of long hanging up a Gentleman upon the tenterhooks of expectation for a few fragments as it is enhancing their value more than he may afterwards think them worth. - I do not want any of them to be returned to me. he is extremely welcom to make what use he pleases of them. and if any thing further in that line falls in my way afterwards I shall give it to you to be transmitted.

Ritson did value the "few fragments", as his acknowledgement in his letter to Paton of 19th May 1795 shows;

You will both accept yourself, & have the goodness to present to Mr. Herd, my sincerest acknowledgements for his very valuable collection of Scottish ballads, many of which are particularly curious, & such as I had never before seen or heard of. As this gentleman is peculiarly conversant with the subject, I have taken the liberty, on the other side, to submit to his perusal a list of Scottish Songs which I have hitherto been unable to meet with some of which he will probably recollect, & be able to say where they are to be found.

The list, which precedes the letter, amounts to 122 titles. It was printed in the Scots Magazine for January 1802.¹

Ritson's last letter to Paton ends on a striking valedictory note; "Adieu, my dear Sir: May you live a thousand years!"

The cessation of the correspondence was probably due to Ritson's declining health. Six years later, however, in 1801, he was able to visit Scotland.² It would be pleasant to think that he met Paton then, but there is no evidence that he did.

1. pp. 9 - 11.

2. See Bronson, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 249-253.

9. David Herd and John Pinkerton.

As has been indicated in a previous chapter,¹ Paton and Herd were lifelong friends. The letters from Herd² are somewhat disappointing as a record of their literary interests. They consist mainly of passing references to books which they borrowed from each other, or enquiries as to whether Paton had a particular book or could obtain it. Probably Herd and Paton met so often that, in general, they had no need to go into detail in their letters.

Their mutual interest in ballads is reflected in the first letter from Herd that has been preserved;³

I inclose you an old Ballad which I got upwards of 2 years ago from one William Bell who had pick'd it up in Annandale it was all on detached scraps of paper wrote down by himself at different times as he met with those who remembered anything of it part of these he had lost & some of the remainder were illegible being chaff'd in his pocket.

The verses I arranged & mark'd some notes & shewd them to Mr Wotherspoon when he was publishing the last Edition of the Scots Ballads. but he thought it too imperfect & not of sufficient merit for having a place in the collection - I should wish your opinion whether anything of the antique remains hidden in it - for it has been confoundedly modernised in the taking down. I did not attempt any alteration in the spelling:- perhaps you may find a better method of classing the verses - you may shew it to any of your Acquaintances who are curious in these matters - but as it is the only Copy I would not wish it to be lost.

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1. Chapter I, p. 59.
 2. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II. ff. 17-41. Most of them have been printed by Maidment in Letters from Thomas Percy ... and others, to George Paton, Edinburgh, 1830. The friendship between Paton and Herd is discussed in the introduction to Hecht's Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts ... Edinburgh, 1904.
 3. 7th July 1778.

The above passage, incidentally, suggests that Wotherspoon was more than just the printer of the collection of Scots songs and ballads¹ usually credited to Herd. Herd himself would seem to have regarded him in the light of co-editor.

Typical of the requests in Herd's letters is the following from that of 2nd July 1789;

I will be much obliged to you if you could lay your hands upon Kingesmill Longs Translation of the Argenis² as my copy wants the title & last leaf. I wish to complete it before binding it up.

Pray have you Lo(rd)³ Hailes's Remarks on the History of Scotland⁴ - and his enquiry into the 2d Causes assigned by Gibbon for the progress of Christianity.⁵ I could wish to see the Remarks.

The longest letter from Herd to Paton that has been preserved, that of 27th August 1792, deals with antiquarian rather than literary topics. It is evidently the result of a discussion between the two friends about the water mills on the Water of Leith, and in it Herd goes on to consider the general question of the origin of water mills in Scotland.

In a letter dated only "Saturday Morng 19 Janry", but

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1. op. cit.
 2. Barclay his Argenis: or, the Loves of Poliarchus and Argenis: faithfully translated out of Latine into English, by Kingesmill Long. London, 1625.
 3. MS. has "Lo" and a vertical stroke.
 4. Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, Remarks on the History of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1773.
 5. An Inquiry into the Secondary Causes which Mr. Gibbon has assigned for the Rapid Growth of Christianity, Edinburgh, 1786,
 6. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III. f. 34.

which clearly belongs to 1788, Herd wrote;

Inclos'd is a farrago which Mr Paton will easily see is meant to be transmitted by him to be communicated to Pinkerton, as part only of a Letter of Queries sent to Mr Paton by his Friend (sic) in Edinbr. This probably may bring on a correspondence with Pinkerton wherein no doubt there will be questions in return for Information by which it may be learnt what he is about and what Old Authors he intends first to publish.

This "farrago"¹ did indeed bring on a correspondence with Pinkerton, albeit a brief one. Paton lost no time in forwarding Herd's observations to Pinkerton. He enclosed them with a letter of 23rd January 1788,² in which he stated;

Mr David Hird having sent me the inclosed Paper desired me to convey the same to you for your consideration & reply as most convenient, if address for him at Mr John Russels' Clerk to the Signet Argyle's Square here, it will reache him: he is the Publisher of the Collection of Scottish Ballats 2 Vol 12^o printed by Witherspoon & Martin some years ago, which is certainly known to you, probably (as this 1st Edition is now almost sold off) he may reprint it again with more additions.

It looks as if Paton had misunderstood Herd's intention. He had overlooked the implication in Herd's letter that he was not to name him as the writer of the observations. The obvious interpretation of what Herd wrote is that his notes might start a correspondence

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1. Maidment evidently believed that f. 35 which begins "A Collection of all the Poems wrote by that famous & learned Poet Alexander Pennecuik ..." was the "farrago" referred to in the previous letter, because he prints it immediately after without assigning it a separate number. (Letters from Thomas Percy ... and others... pp. 104-7). This is clearly a separate letter, however. The "farrago" is in the Pinkerton MSS., as explained below.
 2. National Library of Scotland MS. 1709 ff. 34-5.

between Pinkerton and Paton; but Paton seems to have taken it that Herd himself wished to open a correspondence with Pinkerton.

Herd's notes, headed "To Mr Geo Paton for Mr Pinkerton", have been preserved in the Pinkerton manuscripts. They have been separated from Paton's covering letter.¹ They begin with a series of rather bluntly expressed criticisms on Pinkerton's Ancient Scottish Poems.² This is followed by some observations intended to assist Pinkerton, including some interesting comparisons between the "godly ballads" and their secular archetypes, to show "what haveock and mangling Mr Wedderburn made among the Old Ballants (sic)". The critical part of Herd's notes is as follows;

For what reason, do you judge, has Mr Pinkerton excluded from his List of Scottish Poets - Meston & Nicol?

Professor William Meston's Tales of Mother Grim & his Knight of the Kirk & Ca. have been often published. the last Edition of his whole Works I believe is that printed by Walter Ruddiman 1767.³

Alexander Nicol Schoolmaster, has about 20 Songs in the Scottish Dialogue to Old Times with a 4 Canto of Christs kirk on the Green & a variety of other Poems that last Edition printed Edinbr 1766.⁴

- An Elegent Edition of Nicol properly aranged

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1. The notes are in MS. 1711, ff. 9-10.
 2. Ancient Scottish Poems, never before in print. But now published from the MS. Collections of Sir Richard Maitland, of Lethington... With large notes, and a Glossary. 2 vols., London, 1786.
 3. The Poetical Works of the Ingenious and Learned W. Meston. 6th edition, Edinburgh, 1767.
 4. Poems on Several Subjects, both comical and serious ... 2 parts, Edinburgh, 1766.

& many of the indifferent pieces Expunged neatly printed by the Martins never saw the light, having perish'd in the flames of the Apollo 17 (sic). ¹

It is somewhat odd that Mr Pinkerton bred in North Britain with a taste for Scots Poetry should never have met with Ajax the Journal ² nor any other poems in the Buchan dialogue, these have been often reprinted since they were composed about 1740.

Why does Mr Pinkerton say that the Town of Bervie a Royal Burgh, is a word unknown? vide pa 315 refer'd to in pa 538. ³

In one of Dunbars Poems he complains that the Queen's wardrop keeper refused him a Doublet which she had ordered for him. this was the name of a common piece of dress at that time: it is printed joblet alth' a fac simile at the end has it rightly doublet this is an unlucky proof of Mr P's accuracy. ⁴

Some pieces of Poetry by Scots authors may yet cast up whose merit may intitle them to be afterwards added to Mr P's List.

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Pinkerton replied to Paton on 31st March 1788; ⁵

I am favoured with yours inclosing Mr Herd's remarks for which i thank you and him.

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1. The Apollo Press was the Edinburgh printing firm of Gilbert Martin and John Wotherspoon. See Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers 1726-1775, op. cit., pp. 330, 369. I can find no reference to the destruction of this press by fire.
 2. Ajax his speech to the Grecian Knabbs, from Ovid's Metam. lib. XIII. Considerate duces: et, vulgi stante corona, etc., attempted in broad Buchans. To which are added a journal to Portsmouth, and a shop-bill, in the same dialect; with a key. By R... F..., Gent. (Robert Forbes). (Maidment's Scottish Ballads and Songs 1, p. 215.) Glasgow, 1755. An edition was published at Edinburgh in 1754. (Halkett and Laing, Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature.)
 3. "Bervie" is included in the list of "words not understood" on Vol. II p. 538.
 4. This refers to the second line of the poem, Upon James Doig, Kepar of the Queen's Wardrep. Herd had overlooked Pinkerton's note (Vol. II p. 408) explaining that joblet was a typographical error.
 5. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV, f. 122.

Different literary matters so much occupy my time that i cannot enter into correspondence with Mr Herd but i shall give you a few hints. Meston and nicol i omitted as i did many others because beneath notice. Mr H's wonder that i never saw Ajax &c puts me in mind of the shepherd who wondered where the English traveller was born who did not know a village in Galloway. His supposing that Bervie p. 319 is our Bervie is risible. It is coupled with Antwerp. Elliot in his Bibliotheca London 1545 voce Britannia mentions "Antwarpe or Berrow". Mr H's remark on my doublet and joblet might have been spared as it is answered by my note on this passage. That he should speak of accuracy is amazing for his 2 vols. teem with inaccuracies and ignorance. They who speak of the errors of others should think of their own and of the scripture "take first the beam out of thine own eye". I have many ignorant letters of remarks from Scotland for an ignorant man is very fond of appearing wise by correcting his neighbours. But had i remarked upon works of the writers i could have shewn ten errors in theirs' for one of mine. Learned men pass slight errors as matters incident to humanity and dwell on the real merit or demerit of a work. So much for Mr H. whose remarks only confirm the opinion i formed from his two vols that he is an illiterate and injudicious compiler.

At the end of this letter, Paton made the following notes;

At my time of Life, I think it very improper for me to interfere or enter the Lists, so submit it to yourselves in ending what differences may pass between you and Mr Herd: only your (?) Acknowledgements in the Notes on your Maitland's Poems have in general given too liberal an opportunity of Censure.

Paton's reply no doubt contained the above observation. It produced the following retort from Pinkerton, dated 8th April 1788;¹

1. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 123.

Your last to me is of so singular and uncommon a kind that i must humbly beg leave to decline your correspondence in future. When i take the trouble to read or write letters it is in hopes of amusement and instruction. That even this may contribute a little to yours i must tell you that the insolence of office tho perhaps used in custom-house correspondence can never be admitted into literary. I blame you for your informing at random various people here of i know not what nameless errors in my works which struck you and nobody else. Do not go to deny this for i have seen the letters to three various persons here, one of them a bookseller. Are you so much a stranger to literature and common propriety as not to know that to speak of errors without condescending on any, and to third persons, is to be a declared enemy; while to point out faults to an author is to be his best friend? Are you so much a stranger to the character of your own topographical catalogue of title pages¹ so noted for dullness and inaccuracy as to sett up for a judge of literature in which your name is unknown? Can even the dotage of age excuse arrogance joined with ignorance? But i spare you.

Your conduct is surreptitiously getting from me a copy of Lindsay's portrait for the Morison edition of our poets i pass: as i do your ungentlemanlike behaviour in getting Mr Cough to require Lindsay's Satire from me while my receipt stands to Mr McKenzie so that i am still lyable for the book.

I was willing to pass over all these improprieties as i hate to quarrel with people: but as your last convinces me that you have too much self importance to be a literary correspondent of mine and i have more of such correspondence even with real literati than i care for, i must for the 1-st time subscribe myself, Sir

Your most obed. sevt.

J. Pinkerton

1. i.e. Richard Cough's British Topography to which Paton contributed. See Chapter V below.

It is not necessary to defend Paton against Pinkerton's attack. The kindness and generosity of Paton's disposition are amply attested by his actions and his letters. It is impossible to accept Pinkerton's accusations of meanness and underhand hostility, especially when the latter's quarrelsome temperament is so well known. The most interesting accusation - and the most damaging one if it were true - is that of Paton's having surreptitiously obtained from Pinkerton a copy of a portrait of Lindsay for "the Morison edition of our poets".

The following note by Paton is preserved in the Pinkerton manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland.¹ It has obviously been passed on to Pinkerton by the recipient, whose identity is uncertain, but it is very likely that it was Adam de Cardonnell;

Memorandum.

P.S. Mr Pinkerton "Maitland's Scot. Poems" p. CIV in the Article of Scottish Poets, that he is possessed of a Copy of his Poems imprentit in Paris 1558 wherein is a full-length Portrait of Sir David Lindsay,² if this be the fact, (as I doubt not the veracity of the assertion) pray, Will Mr Pinkerton be so very indulgent as gratifie one with a Facsimile of this Portrait, which can be easily & exactly copied or traced from the Book on Cambric or Banking Post paper? This would be most acceptable & know will be a high feast for Earl Buchan & more so to me: try if this can be gained?

26 June 1787

morning

G.P.

1. MS. 1709, f. 30.

2. Pinkerton, Ancient Scottish Poems, op. cit., Vol. I., p. civ.

It may be gathered from his angry letter, already quoted, that Pinkerton supplied Paton with the facsimile.

Now, no edition of Sir David Lindsay's works was ever published by the Morisons of Perth.¹ It is fortunate that the original paper cover is preserved on one of the copies of the works of Gavin Douglas printed by them,² in the National Library of Scotland.³ On the inside of the cover is an advertisement headed; "Particulars of the Plan of Morison's Edition of the Scottish Poets". The following are extracts from the "plan";

- I. It is proposed that this Edition shall contain a complete Sett of the Works of the celebrated Scottish Poets, worthy preservation, from king James I to Ferguson and Bruce, which will probably require Seven Volumes.

- III. There will be at least two Elegant Prints to every volume Designed and Engraved by the first Artists of the day, and from 144 to 200 pages of Letter Press.

The following valuable Portraits are proposed to be given in the course of this work

Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, from a remarkably scarce print, published 1558, of which it is thought, there are not more than five or six copies preserved.

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1. Robert Morison the elder (1722-91); Robert Morison the younger (1764-1853); James Morison (1762-1809). See Plomer, Bushnell, and Dix, Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, op. cit., pp. 336-8.
 2. Select Works of Gavin Douglass, Bishop of Dunkeeld ... Perth: Printed by R. Morison, Junr. For R. Morison & Son, Booksellers... 1787.
 3. Press-mark 5.757 (40). The outside cover is inscribed "Morison's Edition. The Scottish Poets. Volume Second".

This advertisement, which may, of course, have appeared on the covers of other productions of the Morison press, or have been printed separately, was no doubt the basis of Pinkerton's charge. But the portrait may not have been passed on directly to the Morisons by Paton. As is indicated by Paton's "memorandum", quoted above, he intended the Earl of Buchan to receive a copy also, and it may have been Buchan who gave it to the Morisons. At the most, Paton may have been injudicious in the matter, betrayed by his generous nature into giving away copies of the portrait. But there is no reason to believe that he deliberately tricked Pinkerton. If he had intended when he wrote the "memorandum" to pass on the portrait to the Morisons, he would have stated his purpose frankly. Whether or not Pinkerton's displeasure was in any way responsible for the failure of the Morison edition of Lindsay's works to appear, must remain a subject for speculation.

Only one other of Pinkerton's complaints is worth even a passing mention. Reference has been made previously to the fact that Gough obtained Paton's copy of Lindsay's Satyre back from Pinkerton at Paton's request.¹ It must surely have been merely for the sake of an additional casus belli that Pinkerton raised this as a grievance.

1. See above, p. 171.

10. John Callander of Craigforth

The letters from John Callander of Craigforth¹ stand a little apart from Paton's other correspondence on literary topics. Callander was a learned recluse, who took little part in the exchange of ideas and information in which most of Paton's correspondents were engaged. He was a man of great but unbalanced intellect, incapable of discriminating between the relevant and the irrelevant, and obsessed with his own fantastic notions of etymology. He has been accused, not unjustly, of plagiarism;² but he was probably unconscious of the extent to which he borrowed from the work of others, convinced as he was, of the foolishness and ignorance of those who had preceded him in his chosen field of etymology.

Sixteen letters from Callander to Paton have been preserved, all written in 1781, and all printed, with a fair degree of accuracy, by Maidment.³ The first letter that survives⁴ was clearly not the beginning of their friendship, for in it Callander asked;

Pray what length has Mr Low⁵ got in his work. I shall be happy to learn that any loose hints I sent you for his use, were acceptable.

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1. (d.1789). Callander was an advocate by profession, but he devoted most of his time to antiquarian studies. (Dictionary of National Biography.)
 2. See *ibid.*
 3. Letters from Thomas Percy, D.D. ... John Callander of Craigforth, Esq. David Hurd, and others, to George Paton. Edinburgh, 1830; pp. 111-148. The manuscripts are National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.3.8. ff. 20-35.
 4. 12th March, 1781.
 5. George Low, minister of Birsay, Orkney. See below, pp. 337-389.

The most important fact that emerges from Callander's letters is that Paton rendered considerable assistance in the preparation and publication of Callander's edition of The Gaberlunzie Man and Christ's Kirk on the Green.¹ Paton was responsible for seeing the work through the press.

The immediate occasion of Callander's letter of 12th March 1781 was his desire to borrow for a second time Paton's copy of "Bishop Gibson's edition of the Kirk on the Green".² His purpose, as he revealed in his next letter,³ was "to print from it 2 or 3 Stanzas of the Kirk on the Green, which Allan Ramsay has omitted in his blundering Collection, called The Ever-green".⁴ Callander stated in his first letter that in the preface to his own edition, he had "endeavoured to place the origin and Etymology of our Language in a new point of View",

1. Two Ancient Scottish Poems; The Gaberlunzie-Man, and Christ's Kirk on the Green. With Notes and Observations. by John Callander, Esq. of Craigforth. Edinburgh, 1782. An earlier edition of the first poem has sometimes wrongly been attributed to Callander; The Gaberlunzieman An Old Scotch Ballad with Explanatory Notes. Goettingen, printed by John Christian Dieterich. 1775. The National Library of Scotland possesses three copies of this book, press-marks L.C. 3082, Ry.IV.h.26., and H.29.e.7. These are ascribed in the catalogue respectively to Callander, Matthias C. Sprengel, and Kenneth Ferguson. Callander's Introduction obviously owes something to that of his predecessor.
2. Polemo-Middinia. Carmen Macaronicum. Autore Gulielmo Drumundo, Scoto-Britanno. Accedit Jacobi id nominis Quinti, Regis Scotorum, Cantilena Rustica Vulgo Inscripto Christ's Kirk on the Green. Recensuit, Notisque illustravit E.G. (Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London.) Oxford, 1694.
3. 17th March 1781.
4. The Ever Green, Being A Collection of Scots Poems, Wrote by the Ingenious before 1600 ... 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1724. Chrysts-Kirk of (sic) the Grene is the first poem in the collection. Callander's version has 25 stanzas, Ramsay's 22, and Gibson's 24. Callander's stanzas XII, XXII and XXIV are taken from Gibson, being omitted by Ramsay. Ramsay's and Callander's stanza VIII is not in Gibson. Callander has followed Ramsay, not Gibson, in the order of the verses.

and that he hoped that Paton would give him his thoughts upon it, when he presented him with a copy.

Callander's letter of 17th March 1781 begins;

I have no words to thank you properly for the valuable Communications I received from your Letter of the 14th, the stile and humanity of which, truly bespeak you to be a real Lover of Science, and I shall look upon the fortunate necessity, which obliged me to apply to you, as a very lucky incident in my life.

Another letter, written on 23rd March, shows how much Callander was indebted to Paton for advice;

I must beg leave to refer entirely to you what form or size my little Publication should come abroad in, only I must inform you that I am quite of your opinion, that the Notes ought to be under the text, and not at the End of the Book for the very good reasons you have assigned.

Paton's advice on this last point was no doubt sound in general. But Callander's notes are so extensive that the text of the poems is buried in a mass of commentary. No page has more than five lines of text; many have none at all, because of an accumulation of notes carried forward from the previous page.

Subsequent letters show the increasing responsibility that Paton was assuming in regard to the publication. On 28th March 1781 Callander wrote,

I beg you'll order the Printer to stick to Ramsays text in the Kirk on the Green, as it preserves the old Scots Spelling better than Gibsons.

and again on 3rd April;

I hope you have had a Conversation with my Printer,¹ and given him your orders relative to the Size, and manner of the Publication. The Addenda are to be inserted at the end of my Notes, by themselves. The Preface to the Gaberlunzie Man was sent a fortnight ago to Edinburgh, and I wonder what prevents Mr Robertson from printing it in the mean time. I earnestly beg you will set him to work upon it, as before he is done with it, the whole Notes which are now transcribing will be with him.

In an undated letter² that must have been written soon afterwards, Callander told Paton;

Mr Robertson has wrote me to know if you would be so kind, as look over the Proofs of my Commentary, as he says his work is much retarded by sending the Proofs backwards and forwards to me. As no body is better fitted than my most worthy friend Mr. Paton for the office, might I presume to beg of you to do it. The Task is so disagreeable, but yet so necessary, that I must beg you to lay the one against the other. I know Robertson thinks it of importance to his Sale, to have the Book printed, and sent to London before Parliament rises. Pray take compassion of a poor Author, and his Bookseller ...

Paton evidently agreed to undertake the task, for on 28th April

1784 Callander wrote;

I am favoured with yours of yesterday, & cannot enough thank you for the care you are taking of my little Publication. The corrections you have made upon it are perfectly just and I beg you will order the Spelling of the whole in the true, and ancient Orthography, as Gude for Good

1. John Robertson, printer and publisher in Edinburgh, c. 1760-90. See Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, op. cit., p. 348.

2. Adv. MS. 29.3.8. f. 34.

Scho for She, gow for you, and the like.
 As you seem diffident of your own knowledge of the Northern Dialects, I judge there will be a necessity for sending the sheets to me, as I have no friend in Edinburgh to undertake this most necessary part of the work, and errors here, would make the whole unintelligible. But before the sheets come hither I beg they may undergo your Revisal.

The following passage occurs in Callander's letter of 7th

May;

I only trouble you with my warmest thanks for your kind attention to the Press. Your corrections are quite just and I beg you will always follow your own Corrections in future, without giving yourself the trouble, to write them out to me.

In his letter of 29th May, Callander again~~st~~ thanked Paton, adding

Indeed I missed your hand in last Proof sent me, where they had blundered sadly in the orthography for want of your correcting Pen.

There is little more on the subject in Callander's letters.

In the last one, dated 3rd December 1781, he wrote;

My best thanks are due to you Dr Sir, for your Corrections on the Kirk on the Green. Finding all the Editions of the text very faulty in orthography, I wrote out a new copy as correctly as I possibly could, and have sent it to Mr Robertson, to print from, which I hope will somewhat lessen your Labor, for which I never can enough thank you.

CHAPTER V.TOPOGRAPHY.1. Paton's Contributions to Gough's British Topography.

Richard Gough's Anecdotes of British Topography, or an Historical Account of what has been done for illustrating the Topographical Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland was published in 1768, in one quarto volume. Three years later, Gough became acquainted with Paton when on a visit to Edinburgh, and a correspondence ensued on Gough's return to the south. It was not long before Gough was contemplating a new edition of this work, and it was natural that he should turn to Paton for help in extending and improving that part of it which dealt with Scotland. We shall here attempt to give some account of that help. It enabled Gough, as he himself put it in the British Topography of 1780,¹ "to nearly double the article of Scottish topography".²

Paton showed considerable eagerness to be of assistance. Indeed, the initiative seems to have come from him. As early as 13th February 1774, he wrote to Gough:

In a short time hence you shall have a few notes & Corrections (most humbly offer'd) on your Anecdotes relating to this Country.³

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1. The second edition of the work was entitled British Topography, or an Historical Account of what has been done for illustrating the Topographical Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland (2 Vols., London, 1780). Hereafter we shall refer to the two editions as the Anecdotes and the Topography respectively.
 2. Topography, Vol. II p. 554.
 3. Letters from Gough to Paton are in National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.6, and from Paton to Gough in Adv. MS. 29.5.7, with one exception noted below, p. 278.

Again, on 31st October 1774, Paton wrote;

When your Topographical Inquiries are received, I shall be ready to serve you with any Informations relating to this Country that may be wanted, you may command a Copy in MSS. of an Advertisement printed at the Time of Sir Robert Sibbald's Sale of his MSS. if you judge it worthy of your Notice.¹

In a letter of 8th October 1775, in reply to a query of Paton's,²

Cough announced;

I am reprinting my Topography: but it will be some time before I get so forward as Scotland: so there will be suffist time to glean for it & all communications from you will be acceptable.

A quotation from a letter written by Paton on 19th and 20th October 1775 shows the zeal with which he set about obtaining topographical information for Cough, and also indicates the method that he proposed to employ;

I've not been so lucky as to have your Anecdotes &c. by me to consult for it a Gentleman having requested a Loan to furnish me with some of his remarks on this Country for your Additions, which I hope to make as full as possible since you allow me so much time: should be pleased was it convenient that you could furnish me with these few sheets relating to Scotland with the additions, which I would interleave with clean paper here, whereon the Articles furnished you mi. ht be wrote & would be more commodious for your perusal, but this is submitted as you shall judge most eligible, for I do not desire that a Copy of the Book be rendered imperfect, only these might be pickt out from the waste sheet of the Impression - It gives me pleasure to hear you are again intending to gives (sic) us

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1. Paton's manuscript copy of this advertisement is now in the Bodleian Library. See below, p.273.
 2. In a letter of 21st September 1775.

a new Edition: forgive me Dear Sir if I would propose an Improvement for this second Edition, by giving a Local Index, which many here do earnestly wish & should fondly hope (altho' it must occasion you much Labour) would be of universal benefit & accelerate the Consultation.

Gough immediately sent Paton a complete copy of the Anecdotes and wrote;

it is for you to pull to pieces as much as you please: do not spare it: & at yr leisure by & by I shall be glad to receive yr Insertions ...

A local Index I had intended & am glad of every hint that tends to make this 2d Edition what I much wish it correct & complete. ¹

Before proceeding to consider Paton's specific contributions to the Topography, we shall make some general observations on his approach to the subject, as revealed in the Gough-Paton correspondence.

In his eagerness that Gough's work should be as complete and as useful as possible, Paton suggested several additional topics. Sometimes he appears to have wished to extend its scope beyond what even a liberal interpretation of its title would justify. On 11th January 1777, for instance, he enquired;

Please inform me if any notice should be taken of any proposed Schemes or Hints for the Improvement of Literature whether Elements of Language, University Education &c. also of the Arts, Manufactures &c. as several such are often inserted in the monthly publications.

To this Gough replied on 28th January;

If you ask about the hints relative to Arts, Manufactures, Literature &c. for the British

1. Letter of 21st October 1775.

Topography I do not think they make a part of it, except in very particular instances ... But this you will judge of from the former edition.

Another subject that Paton suggested might be included was the Scots Coinage,¹ but Gough answered;

If by an acct of the Scots Coinage you mean a list of coins not described before however this is beside the plan of Topography & not followed in that of England or Ireland. I would interweave anything you think conducive to illustrate the Antiquities of yr Country,²

and Paton admitted;

I own candidly that the Scot's Coinage does not so properly belong to the department of our Topography ...³

A further suggestion was made by Paton in a letter of 17th June 1779;

I entirely submit to your own choice whether it may be proper to mention another Article vizt that of our Scots African Company & Trade to the Indies, all the original Books &c. belonging to it are lodged in the Advocates Library⁴

Gough's reply was;

The Scoti(sh settlement ?) at Darien wd be as foreign to the purpose of the Topography as the Topography of America at large is to that of

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1. Letter of 24th February 1778. (Part of this letter is misplaced in Nat. Lib. MS. 29.5.7. Vol. I, coming between letters of 26th March and 2nd May 1778. The last page, bearing the date, is in the correct place.)
 2. Letter of 4th March 1778.
 3. Letter of 16th March 1778.
 4. The Darien Papers, kept in the "Darien Press" in the Laigh Parliament Hall, National Library of Scotland. Most have been published in Papers Relating to the Ships and Voyages of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies 1696-1707 ed. G.P. Insh, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1924.

G.B. - tho' it might be a curious employment to collect the Topography of our fine Western Empire - before we lose it. ¹

Among the more practical pieces of advice given by Paton to Cough, was his request that the word "Scotch" be avoided. On 24th February 1778 he wrote;

be pleased to avoid the word Scotch, as Mr Johnson has given this a very different explanation & meaning; you have justly exprest yourself by writing Scottish. ²

Not only did Paton himself contribute extensive notes for the Scottish part of the Topography, but he also endeavoured to enlist the help of others in Scotland who were interested in this subject. In this he was not very successful, however, as he had to confess when he wrote to Cough on 16th March 1778;

In general must express the disappointment met with from Correspondents in different parts of this Country as well as here in leaving my inquiries overlookt by many & little assistance afforded ...

Among those who did help were Lord Hailes, and Thomas Philipe, who wrote to Cough on 4th June 1779;

Mr Paton showed me a Proof sheet of the Scots Topography - I shall be glad to see the rest as early as possible, as I may possibly recollect some things, that may escape the Diligence of your valuable Correspondent. ³

Paton's work in connection with the Topography may be divided

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1. Letter of 25th June 1779.
 2. See also pp.282-3,326below. Johnson's Dictionary gives; "To Scotch v.a. To cut with shallow incisions"; "Scotch, n.f. (from the verb) A slight cut, a shallow incision". (A Dictionary of the English Language ... by Samuel Johnson, A.M. 2 vols., London, 1755. Vol. II.)
 3. This letter is in the collection of Paton's letters to Cough, National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.7, the last letter in the first volume.

into three stages. The first is from about 1774 until the middle of 1779, when Paton was supplying Gough with additions to the Scottish material in the Anecdotes. The second stage is from April 1779 until the publication of the Topography in the middle of 1780, during which time Paton was receiving the proof sheets of that part of the new edition which dealt with Scotland, and was returning them to Gough with detailed additions and corrections. The third stage is after the publication of the Topography, when Paton continued to send additional material for a possible third edition.

Gough's own copy of the Topography, with manuscript notes, bound in four volumes instead of the usual two, is preserved in the Bodleian Library.¹ This is described in the catalogue as Gough's British Topography with MSS. notes for a third edition, but, in fact, these volumes contain much manuscript material that was incorporated in the second edition, including notes by Paton. All the material connected with Paton is contained in the fourth volume. This volume contains some of the original proof sheets of the Topography with alterations by him, most of which were accepted. It is therefore of considerable importance for a study of Paton's contributions.

Gough's Topography is essentially a bibliography of topographical works, the term being interpreted widely, to include not only maps, charts and engravings, but also works of natural

1. MS. 28065.

history, and even political history. Indeed, far from being confined to topography in the strict sense, it covers almost every aspect of geography, and sometimes strays beyond what can legitimately be embraced even by that comprehensive science. The bibliographical nature of the work is made clear by the sub-title of both editions; An Historical Account of what has been done for illustrating the Topographical Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland. It was not an attempt to cover new ground, but aimed at bringing together and summarising what had already been achieved in this field.

Paton's letters reveal an extensive knowledge of topographical works on almost every Scottish county, and he brought to Gough's notice not only published but manuscript material. His contributions at each of the three stages named above will now be considered in some detail.

Among the earliest notes sent by Paton, as additions to the Anecdotes, were accounts of the Scottish map-makers and surveyors, comprising both biographical information, and details of the work carried out by them. These notes are contained in letters of 12th, 19th - 20th and 24th October, 4th, 9th and 23rd November, 1775. The geographers dealt with are Alexander and William Aberdeen, Adair, Ainslie, Armstrong, Bryce, Donald, Dorret, Edgar, Elliot, Elphinston,

Laurie, Ross, Foy, Slezer, Stobie, Taylor, Trail and Watson.¹ Except in the case of Slezer, Gough did not print the biographical data. He was content to give a catalogue of their productions with some critical comment.² Slezer's Theatrum Scotiae is dealt with in the short section on Views.³ In a footnote,⁴ Gough gives some of the biographical material supplied by Paton, and ends;

His case, of which Mr. Paton has favoured me with a copy at large without date, states, after he had been confined 13 years, his demand on government at 2347 l.

This copy of Slezer's Stated Case is preserved in the Bodleian Library volume referred to previously.⁵ It fills nearly three quarto pages,

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1. For all these except Donald, Elliot, Slezer and Trail see The Early Maps of Scotland with an account of the Ordnance Survey. By a Committee of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, 2nd edition, Edinburgh, 1936. For Adair and Slezer see H.R.G. Inglis, John Adair: an early Map-maker and His work, Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol. LXXIV, pp. 60-66; and H.M. Paton, Two Scottish Literary Ventures of the Early Eighteenth Century, Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, Vol. II, Edinburgh, 1938-45, pp. 423-31. George Paton stated that John Adair was born at Leith in 1666 and died there in 1716. Modern authorities state that his date of birth is unknown (cf. Inglis, op. cit., and D.N.B.). The Early Maps of Scotland, op. cit. p. 33, gives 1719 as the year of his death. Some of Paton's statements about the geographers, whether accurate or not, seem never to have appeared in print. He wrote that John Laurie conducted a private class in the elements of mathematics at Edinburgh; Charles Foss had been manager of George, Lord Ross's estate at Hawkhead; William Edgar was "the only person here anno 1745 that the D. of Cumberland judged proper for his Service, carried him to the North Country, where he died of Fatigue".
 2. See the section on Maps, Topography II, pp. 579-602.
 3. Ibid., pp. 603-5.
 4. Ibid., pp. 603-4.
 5. MS. 28065, Vol. IV.

written on both sides in Paton's smallest handwriting. It is marked "abridged" by Gough, and headed by Paton;

The Stated Case of Capt John Slezzer Commander of the Artillery Company of North Britain, & formerly likewise Surveyor of Her Majesty's Magazines there, humbly representing what remains due to him by the Publick.

Paton spared no effort to learn more about the Scottish geographers. He got in touch with one of John Adair's daughters, and hoped to find out from her more about her father and his work. But she was unwilling to help, unless she was well paid for it, and Paton was forced to desist.¹ He applied personally to John Ainslie and Alexander Bryce for details of their work.²

Although Gough printed very little of the biographical information about the Scottish map-makers obtained by Paton, he did make considerable use of his notes about their work, and he sometimes reproduced what Paton wrote almost word for word. An illustration of how closely Gough sometimes followed Paton is the criticism of the work of Mostyn John Armstrong, which resulted in angry letters to both Paton and Gough from Armstrong.³ In a letter of 19th November 1778 Paton wrote;

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1. See letter of Paton to James Cummyng, 4th December 1795. (Edinburgh University Laing MSS. II 453.)
 2. See letters to Gough of 9th and 23rd November 1775; letter Ainslie to Paton, 13th November 1779 (National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.3.8. f. 62).
 3. Both dated 19th May 1782. The letter to Paton is in National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.3.8. f. 47, and a copy by Gough of the letter to himself in Adv. MS. 29.5.6. Both are printed by Maidment, Letters, 1829, pp. viii - xi.

As to Armstrong's Scots Atlas, it does not appear to be much value here, his pretension to actual Surveys are entirely chimerical, neither did he ever perform such but copied from others, ingrafting mistakes &c. of his own ... Armstrong's has certainly been designed for the sole benefit of the Engraver & his own private advantage without the smallest regard to the good or exact information of the publick ...

In the Topography¹ Gough put it thus;

Armstrong's "Scots Atlas" is little valued: his pretension to actual survey is entirely chimerical: he copied others, ingrafting mistakes of his own ... Armstrong has attended to his own and the engraver's profit more than that of the public or their information.

Paton's early contributions included corrections to the Anecdotes on points of detail. A long paragraph on the subject in a letter to Gough of 7th December 1775 begins;

Please to correct this word Preface p. xviii l 3 Rothway r. Rothemay and a particular Gentleman a Friend of mine who resided many years at Rome on reading your Preface to the Anecdotes &c. page xxi l 3 from the bottom "The pyramid of Cestices &c." thinks you may have been misinformed about the building of this Pyramid ...

It should be mentioned at this point that notes by Paton which are placed between the letters to Gough of 7th October and 15th October 1779 in the National Library volume² should, in fact, come about four years earlier. They are notes on various detailed points to which the page references have been added by Gough, and these refer to the Anecdotes, not the Topography. These notes belong, therefore, to the same period as the letter quoted above.

Paton was particularly careful to inform Gough of any manuscript

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1. II p. 588. The index wrongly gives the reference as p. 587.
 2. Adv. MS. 29.5.7.

collections known to him which had a bearing on Scottish topography. As he had access to the Advocates' Library he was able to send details of relevant manuscripts there, such as the collections of Father Richard Augustine Hay¹ and of Walter Macfarlane.² Paton sent Gough transcripts of the contents of two volumes of Hay's manuscripts on 4th November 1775, and on 29th December he wrote;

might it not be satisfying to you that in case you do take notice of this MSS. belonging to the Faculty of Advocates that it be done only in general: as undoubtedly a separate catalogue of all their MSS. is intended to be published afterwards & it may be thought prejudic(i)al to their Scheme to particularize any Collection so minutely as these I had extracted from two Volumes. this I humbly submit to your own prudence & better judgement.

Accordingly, Gough did not specify the contents of Hay's three folio volumes, but directed his readers to the Advocates' Library catalogue;

What chartularies are preserved in this library may be found in their catalogue ... as also the general contents of the three folio MS. volumes, transcribed by father Richard Hay, of Drumboote

Gough shows that he recognised the importance of Hay's manuscripts, however, by devoting some fourteen pages to other volumes in the

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1. Richard Augustine Hay (1661-1736?). His manuscripts, now in the National Library of Scotland, are;
 - (1) Father Hay's Note book Adv. MS. Hist 73. 32.6.2.
 - (2) Scotia Sacra Adv. MS. Hist 72. 34.1.9.
 - (3) Diplomatum Veterum Collectio 3 Vols. Adv. MS. Hist 155. 34.1.10.
 - (4) "Manuscript Papers" chiefly in the handwriting of Father Hay. 2 vols. Adv. MS. 159. 35.4.16.
 2. For particulars of Macfarlane's Collections, see Geographical Collections relating to Scotland made by Walter Macfarlane ... ed. Sir Arthur Mitchell, Scottish History Society, 3 vols. Edinburgh, 1906-8, Preface pp. vii - viii.
 3. Topography II p. 610-611.

collection,¹ and another five pages added later.²

Another task undertaken by Paton was the extraction of items of any topographical interest from the Scots Magazine and other Scottish periodicals. On 17th August 1776 he wrote;

Let me know if any particular Scot's Magazine may be wanted ... I've gone thro' the most of this Collection & selected the heads of what judged comes within your Circle of Topography relating to this Country noticed in this publication which will make part of the notes intended for your account of Scotland.

and again on 8th November 1776;

be assured how soon I have finished the Weekly Magazine Extracts ... these shall be as minutely arranged under their proper departments, when I will insert them in the Anecdotes as hinted in my former letter.

A year later these notes were ready for despatch to Gough, for Paton wrote on 29th December 1777;

I beg leave to acquaint you also that the notes from our different Magazines published here shall be transmitted as these occurred to me in looking over these annually that you may insert or reject what seems most agreeable to yourself.

The extent of Gough's use of this material is indicated by the number of references in his index to the Edinburgh Magazine and the Scots Magazine.³ To take only one instance, on p. 669 of Volume II of the Topography we find;

Proposals for an hospital for poor and foundlings.
Scots Mag. I p. 42, 1739; and 1762, p. 361.

1. Ibid. p. 611-624.

2. Ibid. p. 737-741.

3. These references are, rather oddly, in the Index of Names, and not in the general Index to Vol II.

On the same page there is also a reference to the Edinburgh Magazine.

By far the most important of Paton's contributions during what we have termed the first stage, when he was supplying additions and corrections to the Anecdotes, is contained in five quarto pages of notes in his own hand, written on both sides. These notes, in the Bodleian Library copy of the Topography already mentioned, are detailed comments on the Anecdotes, and they are most significant as evidence of the extent of the help afforded by Paton.¹

They begin with a quotation from an advertisement of the sale of Sir Robert Sibbald's library.² It is headed "Edinburgh, Tuesday 19 March, 1723", and states that the sale is to be held on 9th April. But according to the article on Sibbald in the Dictionary of National Biography, the library was sold on 5th February 1723.

Paton's heading for the remainder of these notes is "Some Remarks &Ca. on Anecdotes of British Topography &c.". We shall select a number of these notes to illustrate the variety and the detailed nature of Paton's observations, and point out where they are utilised in the Topography.

1. These sheets are not bound in their correct order in the volume. The following is the correct order, indicated by the first words on the recto of each page. The figure in brackets represents the actual order in which the pages are bound;

<u>Page 1</u>	Advertisement <u>Edinburgh, Tuesday 19 March, 1723</u>	(4)
<u>Page 2</u>	probably is perished	(5)
<u>Page 3</u>	Mr Murdoch Mackenzie's Survey of Orkney	(2)
<u>Page 4</u>	This volume consists of 640 pages in double columns	(1)
<u>Page 5</u>	"An Itinerary written by Fynes Moryson	(3)

2. See above, p. 262.

The first note is of particular interest because it refers to a statement in the part of the Anecdotes dealing with Wales.

It shows that Paton had read the rest of the work with as much care as he had studied the Scottish part, and that he had a keen eye for points that he could amplify or amend. Gough wrote that Edward Lhuyd, the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, had left in manuscript a Scottish or Irish-English Dictionary by David Malcolme, a minister of the Church of Scotland. Paton's note is as follows;

p 586 l 2¹ Mr David Malcolme &c. he was Minister of Dudiston, at the S.E. foot of Arthur's Seat near Edinburgh, it formerly belonged to Duke of Argyle now the property of E. Abercorn: it is very remarkable Mr Malcolme was not a native of the Highlands, but acquired his Knowledge of the Barse, Irish &c. languages from study & application, he never published more than a Collection of Letters under the Title of an "Essay on the Antiquities &c. Edinb. 1738 in 8^o vide West's Catalogue p. 237 No. 4616 which Book is now exceeding rare; if requisite & if Mr Gough has a Copy, the Initials to whom these Letters were occasionally adress shall be transmitted, with some short Account of these Gentlemen, so far as can be traced. It is a great pity that Mr Malcolme met with no suitable encouragement to prosecute his Plan, as no more was ever printed but the Specimen annexd to these Letters. His knowledge was singular never failing in the Barse topographical Etimologies of Places, altho' he never viewed them but told that some were nigh a Hill, by a Loch, Wood, Water &c. & this was often tried by the late celebrated Macfarlane to his amazement.

This information appears as a footnote to the Topography². It is interesting to compare the wording and to recognise those phrases of Paton's that remain;

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1. Paton's page references are, of course, to the Anecdotes.
 2. II p. 487 note c.

He was minister of Duddistone, at the S.E. foot of Arthur's seat, near Edinburgh. It is very remarkable that he was not a native of the Highlands, but acquired his knowledge of the Erse, Irish, and other languages, by study and application; and was so surprizingly exact in the Erse etymolgy (sic) of places' names, that without seeing the places he could tell their situation to be near a hill, loch, wood, water, &c. as was often tried by the late celebrated Macfarlane to his amazement. Mr. Malcolme published only a collection of letters under the title of "An essay on the antiquities, &c. Edinb. 1738" 8vo. ¹

Another note of Paton's is on Buchanan's History of Scotland; ²

p. 625 l 15 Geo Buchanan &c. the last Edinburgh Edit. of this History printed by John Paton 1727 contains an Index most usefull for understanding the names of Places &c. in this Historians works & was composed by Mr Findlater who was one of the Masters of the Grammar School here, who corrected this work & is allowed to be one of the most correct small Editions of Buchanan's History in the original, this Index contains some Topographical Accounts of Scotland.

A Mapp of Scotland for a 12^o Edition of Buchanan's Historia was engraved by J. Clark at the Expence of Geo Mosman Bookseller here my Grandfather & being retouched served to accompany my Father's Edition mentioned above.

This material is used on p. 564 of the second volume of the Topography.

Another note refers to Gough's section on Natural History;

p. 636 since Mr James Sutherland's Catalogue, Mr Preston, who had the Charge of the Physical Garden here printed a Catalogue in a small 12^o the year I've forgotten. Dr Charles Alston a very eminent fine Gentleman was elected Botanical Professor he printed several Tracts on Botany & other medical Subjects

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1. For David Malcolm, minister of Duddingston, see Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Vol. I p. 19.
 2. Originally written in Latin, the first edition being Rerum Scoticarum Historia ... Edinburgh, 1582.

his Catalogue was often reprinted for the Use of his Students, but as this Branch of Science is founded on a more enlarged plan by the Royal Bounty the accurate Dr John Hope his Successor has great merit from his attention, knowledge & care of these Gardens, which is arrived now to a very eminent degree of Culture such an exhibition of plants, Trees &c. &c. is not to be met with; this Gentleman's application & benevolent disposition is held in real & just Estimation & rather less than it deserves. He probably may some time afterwards oblige the world with his Flora Scotica: but some such is expected from the Revd Mr John Lightfoot of Uxbridge the amiable fellow Traveller & Companion of Mr Pennant during his last Tour & Voyage here. Dr Hope's Dispensary is laid out in the Linnæan Order.

Our Natural History will acquire many acquisitions & discoveries from the industry & observations of the Revd Mr Geo Low Mintr of Birsay in Orkney 1

Gough made use of the above on p. 632 of the Topography, Vol. II.

By the time it was published, Lightfoot's Flora Scotica² had appeared, so that Gough altered Paton's last sentence to read;

We might have expected from him (Dr. Hope) a Flora Scotica, had it not been anticipated by "Flora Scotica ... By John Lightfoot, A.M. rector of Gotham ...

Our final example shows Paton in an unusually vehement mood;

p 653 l 1 Arthur's Oon &c. this now nonexistent venerable monument of Antiquity not indeed destroyed by a "Sacrilegious farmer" but by the savage gothic order of the proprietor Sir Michael Bruce whose memory stinks tho' yet alive for this barbarous conduct; in order to prevent visitors,

1. See below, pp. 361-3.

2. John Lightfoot, Flora Scotica, or a systematic arrangement, in the Linnæan method of the native plants of Scotland and the Hebrides. 2 vols., London, 1777.

whom his narrow disposition grudged to see or entertain. - Sir James Clerk of Pennycuik in Midlothian about 6 computed Scots miles from Edinburgh has built an exact model of the size of the Original on the top of his Office houses there it serves as a Pidgeon house, but does not answer the purpose so well as the opening at the Top attracts great winds. - Q. Can a Titlepage be got for Dr Stuckley's Account of Arthur's Oon & Rom. Wall 4to ?

Gough has written "There never were any" in reply to the last query. Naturally enough, he moderated Paton's denunciation of Sir Michael Bruce when he referred to this in the Topography.¹ He refers to Stukeley (in An Account of a Roman temple and other antiquities near Graham's dyke in Scotland, published in 1720)

pathetically lamenting its demolition a few years ago, when its sacrilegious proprietor, Sir Michael Bruce, in order to prevent the concourse of visitors to this curious monument, threw it down ... Sir James Clerk has built an exact model of it on the top of his offices for a pigeon-house at his seat at Pennycuik.

Paton returned to this subject in a letter to Gough of 5th October 1779. There he related a story about John Elphinston, which Gough did not print. It is perhaps worth quoting on account of its humour, which one may suspect Paton did not altogether appreciate;

Why?
Was he sober?

A Gentleman assures me of the following Anecdote relating to Arthur's Oon or Oven that "the late Engineer & Surveyor the Master of Elphinston made it a rule if within a few Miles of the Place to compell all the people he met to accompany him to the spot where the Building stood, there forming a Circle on their bare knees, he in the midst solemnly pronounced a heavy Malediction on Sir Michael Bruce.

We may conclude what we have to say about Paton's work on the

1. II p. 724.

Topography before the Scottish part reached the proof stage, by mentioning one out of a number of miscellaneous points dealt with in a letter to Gough of 13th February 1777. In this letter Paton supplied the Latin title-page of the sale catalogue of the books of Sir James and Sir Andrew Balfour, and pointed out that the year was wrongly printed 1669 instead of 1699. This appears in Gough's Natural History section.¹

Writing on 23rd April 1778, Gough thanked Paton for his assistance in the following terms;

I know not how to express my obligations to you for the pains you have taken with the Topography; which I will insert in their proper places & send the sheets to you as fast as I can.

Paton's reply was characteristically modest;

I submit any gleanings for your Topography to your humane Censure, many of which its fear'd may be unworthy your notice, if the sheets as proposed are sent me, they shall be as quickly returned as possible²

It should be mentioned, before considering the second stage of Paton's assistance with the Topography, that one complete letter from Paton to Gough, dated 31st October 1776, is preserved in the fourth volume of the Bodleian Library copy of the Topography. There does not seem to be any particular reason why Gough should have placed this one in his topographical collections, thus separating it from the rest of Paton's letters, many of which contain considerably more material for the Topography. The only passage of direct relevance to the subject

1. II p. 629.

2. Letter of 2nd May 1778.

in this letter is;

Inclosed you have Mr Ainsley's proposals for his Map of Clackmannan & Stirlingshire ¹ his great fidelity & exactness in executing the Map of Fife deserves encouragement to the present performance in this Country. - I hear also that there is a design of surveying Anous shire, ² & the designer is publishing a Plan & View of Dundee, a copy of which I shall send you when finished.

The second stage of Paton's work on Gough's Topography began in April 1779 when Gough started sending the proof sheets of the Scottish Topography for Paton's corrections and additions. On 7th April 1779 Gough wrote;

I waited so long before I wrote to you in hopes of inclosing some Scottish Topography ... If I can get a sheet or two into this Cover hope you will return it as soon as you can conveniently make yr Corrections ...

and on 19th April;

I inclose two sheets of the Scottish Topography for yr Correction. I have not had time to correct every error in the 2d Sheet nor indeed to make all the Insertions you sent me. But it is left to yr own discretion to make what alterations you see necessary: & will oblige me by returning them as soon as you can.

In general, Paton's procedure seems to have been, not to write his additions and corrections on the proof sheets, but to include them in his letters, or to send them on separate sheets along with his letters. Thus, most of these notes are to be found in the correspondence in the National Library of Scotland. Paton evidently retained the

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1. Referred to on p. 660, Topography Vol. II.
 2. Probably the last line on p. 693 is a reference to this; "William Crawford proposes a map of this county from actual survey".

proof sheets, for Gough wrote on 3rd November 1779,¹ "You need not trouble yrself to return the sheets - unless it be more convenient to yourself than to write out the Corrections". Some of the last proof sheets do have Paton's corrections written upon them, however. These are preserved in the fourth volume of the Bodleian Library copy of the Topography. Some of the marginal notes are recapitulated in a letter of 23rd March, 1780.²

We shall deal first with some of the detailed comments on the proof sheets, contained in the letters written by Paton to Gough during the period when these sheets were being sent to Edinburgh as they came off the press. It should be mentioned that the page references in these letters do not always correspond exactly with the pages in Volume II of the Topography as published, largely owing to the insertion of additional material supplied by Paton. Among the points raised by Paton in a letter of 30th April 1779 is the following;

There is one hint about Major Caulfield p. 571 that he made away with himself &c. this am not certain of, but probably you have good & better authority for this that (- than?) I know of, wherefor delete it or not as you hav(e) information, for I cannot ascertain the fact being never so far north in this Country.

Paton did not leave the matter there, however, In February 1780 he wrote to a friend, Alexander Watson at Inverness³ inquiring about

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1. This letter is misplaced in Nat. Lib. Adv. 29.5.6, being between letters of 30th July and 9th August 1779.
 2. See below, pp. 294-5.
 3. He told Gough that he had written to Watson in a letter of 5th February.

this man's death, and received a reply dated 6th March 1780. This letter he forwarded to Gough, and it is preserved in the Bodleian Library volume. Watson gave an account of Caufield's¹ death, which was a natural one. When he sent on the letter to Gough, on 18th March 1780, Paton wrote;

You will please receive my Friend Mr Watson's answer relative to Major Caufield's death on which you may truly rely, so it will be necessary to correct that article with regard to the hint given of being an unhappy end p. 574. which must be attributed to Burt only.

The result was that Gough cancelled his reference to Caufield in the Topography as published, although in the Index of Names his name (spelled Caufield) remains erroneously listed as appearing on p. 573.

The reference to Burt is in connection with Letters from a gentleman in the north of Scotland to his friend in London 2 vols. London, 1759;

This was written by one Burt, a sutler or contractor under general Wade, a poor illiterate hireling scribbler, who is reported to have afterwards hanged himself at his lodgings at Charing-cross.²

Watson had not been able to discover anything significant about Burt. Because of the alteration regardin/ Caufield, Gough had pp. 573-4 reprinted. It is almost certainly to this that Paton was referring when he wrote to Gough on 23rd March 1780;

I am very happy to peruse the two pages that you have got reprinted & hope by this time my last

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1. This is the spelling of the name used by Watson, and by Paton after receiving Watson's letter.
 2. Topography II p. 574.

confirming the truth of this alteration will be
in your hands ...

The proof sheet of pp. 573-4 was missing from Paton's set of proofs of the Scottish Topography when he wrote to Gough on 8th July 1780, and Gough sent this sheet to him on 17th July, along with a proof of pp. 739-40, which had also been omitted.¹ It is significant that a proof of pp. 573-4 follows those of pp. 742-752 in the Bodleian Library copy. It is therefore fairly certain that Paton had returned the original proof of pp. 573-4, as an exception to his usual procedure of retaining the sheet and writing his notes in his letters.² As already stated, he also returned the last proof sheets,³ i.e. pp. 742-752. Gough later sent fresh copies of these sheets in order that Paton's set of proofs of the Scottish Topography should be complete.⁴

A paragraph in a letter written on 1st May 1779 to Gough provides another interesting illustration of Paton's attention to detail;

I made a general observation that the Bp of Carlisle writes his name Nicolson not Nicholson, which probably Mr Nichols your printer may have altered in conformity or similarity to his Surname, so where you have had occasion to refer to that Prelate I have deleted the Letter (h), and instead of Scotch have changed it as his Title really bears Scottish hist. Library, & universally thro' this Country we write Scot's or

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1. Note added by Gough to Paton's letter of 8th July 1780.
 2. See above, p. 279.
 3. See above, p. 280.
 4. See letters of Paton to Gough, 23rd March and 8th July, 1780.

Scottish: which may be used unless where a prior author has used the way of spelling it Scotch. ¹ this is submitted to your own choice.

A query of Gough's regarding the definition of the Highlands² is answered at some length in Paton's letter of 1st May 1779. Paton suggests two possible ways of defining the Highlands;

What generally passes under the distinguishing Epithet Highlands here among the inhabitants of the low Country or Coast side &c. is that part of Scotland which is mountainous: another distinction is made between our people, who speake English they are usually ranked as low Country, & those who converse daylie in the Celtic or Erse are stiled Highlanders or Erse speakers ...

He goes on to list those counties where Gaelic - Erse as he calls it - is spoken, and adds;

I would humbly propose when you have occasion to describe or take notice of any County or Shire north or west of this Capital that the mountainous or west parts of the shires may be ranked amongst or under the general name of the Highland part of that County or Shire.

Another letter to Gough, dated 27th May 1779, contains several detailed notes on the Topography. We shall quote one example;

p. 587 The note subjoined to this, relates to Mr Lawson on the Widows of our Clergy's Fund, so must be plac(d) there, instead whereof you have a note from a friend about B. Keith, from which you may make what extract you please omitting the persons from or to whom adrest ...

The note on Lawson is evidently that which appears on p. 626 of volume

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1. Cf. above, p. 265, and below, p. 326.
 2. In a letter of 19th April 1779, and repeated 18th May 1779, before Gough had received Paton's letter of 1st May.

II as published.¹ The note on Bishop Keith is on p. 585. The friend from whom Paton obtained it was probably James Cunyng, since the latter's possession of Keith's manuscripts, and his intention of publishing a new edition of the History of the Scots Bishops, is referred to in it.

A more general criticism is offered by Paton in a letter of 31st May 1779;

I have lookt over the 3 half sheets inclosed, which wish to be more methodically arranged: as the whole paragraphs about the Advocates Library might be methodized into one ... 2

Gough's reply³ indicates his rather peculiar method of working;

I am extremely obliged to you for yr Attention to my sheets: I am ashamed to give you the double trouble of arranging the Paragraphs as well as making yr corrections & additions. But the truth is many of my insertions have been made so indistinctly in the Copy & yr former additions have come at so many different times that I have found it less trouble to give them in their rude state to the printer & sort them afterwards: & this will account for the like confusion in the sheets now sent.

Paton made another suggestion on the same lines later in the same letter;

Upon the whole I would be satisfied this Ecclesiastical part was again reviewed & arranged according to the Years when these articles were printed or published e.g. Spottiswood's Church History & Middleton's appendix should precede Dalrymple's Collections, Forbes on Tythes &c. the Scheme of Augmentation of

1. Note c.

2. This refers to note 1, pp. 610-611, in Vol. II as published.

3. 6th June 1779.

the Minister's Stipends, with the account of the Widows Fund being of a later date might colse (sic) this depart(ment) - But with submission I hint this arrangement, at any rate beg to be served with another proof copy for further correction before these be thrown off for publication. ¹

On 17th June 1779 Paton returned the proof sheets of Gough's section on Natural History, and stated;

I have added an article or two at the end of the Nat. History about the present state of our Scot's Museums as you have pictured out justly the perished & perishing state of Sir A. Balfour the Ashmolean Collections, ² so may be the fate of the modern, however it is not amiss to warn the present proprietor Collectors to take all duspains to prevent future dissipation of their daylie toil & expence, so leave that article to your own choice & mode of expressing it as I chuse only to point out the real facts

Gough has not printed anything of this nature at the end of his Natural History section; ³ but footnote b on p. 628 mentions a number of private natural history collections in existence at the time.

Apparently in this note Gough originally described Professor William Ogilvie of Aberdeen as "Dr. Ogilvie", for in a letter begun on 30th June and completed on 4th July 1779 Paton observes;

You will please be assured that Mr Wm Ogilvie professor at Aberdeen is not a Doctor, am told his modesty deppises such Titles in which others deck themselves.

On 5th July 1779 Paton sent a lengthy account of manuscripts in the possession of the heirs of Robert Miln, writer in Edinburgh,

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1. This refers to the Ecclesiastical Topography II p. 607-627. Paton's suggestions as to the re-arrangement of this section were adopted.
 2. II p. 616.
 3. II pp. 628-641.

containing ecclesiastical tax rolls and lists of religious houses. From his annotations on this letter, Cough seems originally to have intended to print this in extenso. But in the published work he merely mentions the existence of these manuscripts in a footnote.¹

The question of the correct names of the Scottish counties was one on which Cough sought Paton's help. On 16th July 1779 he wrote;

In yr last corrections you place Dryburgh & Kelso in Berwickshire. In my former edition I had put them in Roxburghshire. I suspect there is a confusion in arranging the shires & counties (if indeed they differ at all) in Scotland; for you say Angus & Forfarshire are the same but go under the latter denomination at present. This shd be cleared up.

Paton's reply is in a letter of 23rd - 24th July 1779;

The limits of our shires are not so perfectly known to me, but was led into placing Dryburgh in the Merse or Berwickshire at the request of one who pretended to know the country better than me, but find that he is mistaken as it is in Teviotdale a part of the shire of Roxburgh as Slezer in his Theatrum Scotiae has inserted it, whom I would rather chuse to follow for many reasons - Kelso is in Berwickshire.

If you please to arrange our Scot's Counties according to the Land Tax Bill or Cess Act of Parliament, which is generally printed most complete every first Session of Parliament ... it may answer your purpose of arranging them - many of our Counties go under different names e.g. Angus is the old name of the County of Forfar, which it now bears from the County Town Forfar as several others do, Perth, Air, Lanerk & Co. you'll find Slezer calls it always by Angus, which to this day in general we yet use the expression passing to or from Angus.shire but seldom to or from Forfar shire ...

1. p. 625, note a.

Paton refers to Timothy Pont's maps published by Bleau¹ as most accurately delineating the various districts. He commends also Ainslie's Fife,² Laurie's Environs of Edinburgh,³ all Adair's maps, Edgar's Tweeddale (sic),⁴ and Edward's Angus⁵. Armstrong's work he condemns as "vague & imaginary deceits falsely copied from others and that most erroneously".⁶

Paton returned to the subject of the Scottish shires in a letter of 14th August 1779, and provided further notes on various districts of Scotland. He also supplied comments on a variety of other topics. To take one example;

p 639 Arthur Johnston &c. N.B. Might not the part of (note r) relative to his poems be added to the foregoing Note as both regard Scotstarvet's Publication of the Deliciae poetarum Scotorum &c.⁷ - and the note about John Johnston of St Andrews

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1. Timothy Pont (1560?-1630?) who matriculated at St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, in 1579-80, and graduated M.A. in 1583-4. His maps were published in Bleau's Atlas, Vol. V, Amsterdam, 1668.
 2. There are two different maps of Fife and Kinross by Ainslie, one published in 1775 and the other in 1801. See Early Maps of Scotland, (cited above p. 268 note 1) p. 99.
 3. J. Laurie, Plan of Edinburgh and Places Adjacent. Engraved by A. Baillie, 1766. Reissued 1786, 1811. (Early Maps, p. 105)
 4. W. Edgar, Shire of Peebles or Tweeddale. Engraved by R. Cooper, 1741. (Early Maps, p. 110)
 5. Rev. R. Edward, Angusia, sive The Shire of Angus, 1678. (Early Maps, p. 92, where his name is wrongly given as Edwards.)
 6. Cf. above, pp. 269-270.
 7. Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum hujus aevi Illustrium (edited by Arthur Johnston) 2 vols, Amsterdam, 1637.

University¹ might be kept intire by itself:
 introducing e.g. Another of the same name vizt
 John Johnston &c.

Cough adopted the above suggestion, except that he begins the second note simply "John Johnston, of St. Andrew's (sic) ..." . These are notes s and t respectively on p. 640 of the second volume of the Topography, as published.

More points of detail are discussed by Paton in a letter of 26th August 1779. We shall quote, for a change; a suggestion which Cough did not accept;

p 659² l 9 An accurate & particular survey &c. you
 refer to the List of Pont's original Maps. Q.
 might not you alter it thus among the Collection of
 Pont's original draughts in the Advocates Library is
 an engraved Survey of this County by Adair, which is
 accompanied with a superior original draught &c. -
 this is submitted.

A further sheet of notes accompanied a letter of 21st - 23rd
 September 1779. The first of these is;

p 670 l 15 "Proposals for carrying on a certain
 publick work in the city &Ca. addressed to &c."
 this reply has been assigned to Sir D. Dalrymple,
 but as I cannot positively affirm it to be his
 work & probably the droll satyre couched in this
 might now give offence, I rather wish that his Lordship
 of Hailes should here be omitted or concealed here (sic).

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1. John Johnston (c. 1565-1611), professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in St. Mary's College, University of St. Andrews, from 1593 until his death. His Inscriptiones Historicae Regum Scotorum (Amsterdam, 1602) was reprinted in the Delitiae Posteraum Scotorum Vol. I, pp. 648-80; and his Heroes Scoti, *ibid.* pp. 680-99 (originally published as Heroes ex omnia historia Scotica, Leyden, 1603 (Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, Vol. VII p. 428)).
 2. This is on p. 660 in Vol. II as published.

This refers to the ironical reply to Sir Gilbert Elliot's Proposals for carrying on certain publick works in the City of Edinburgh.¹

In accordance with Paton's request, Gough has not named Hailes as the author.

Another of Paton's notes on this sheet is;

p 684 l 8. Sir Joh Dalrymple &c. ought this paragraph to follow the first paragraph ending are unable to bear in page 675.

In the published version, this paragraph duly appears on p. 675 as suggested by Paton.

Another suggestion of Paton's was also adopted;

p 692 l 10 John Smith Minr of Lesley &c. Q. would it be improper to insert here that Leslie Village was the Scene which occasioned that famous poem Christ's Kirk on the Green, part of which was composed by our Scot's King & the additions by our Poet Alan Ramsay.

On p. 690 of the second volume as published appears the following:

John Smith,² minister of Lesley, described that parish in Latin, as the minister of Skunie did his in English.³ This village was the scene of the famous poem, "Christ kirk on the Green", written part by King James, and part by Alan Ramsay.⁴

Further notes of a similar nature are contained in a letter of

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1. Elliot's pamphlet was published in Edinburgh in 1752. Hailes's satirical rejoinder was entitled Proposals for carrying on a certain Public Work in the City of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, 1753.
 2. Minister of Leslie, 1634-43; of Burntisland 1643-48; and of Trinity Church, Edinburgh (second charge), 1648-62. Died 1667. (Pastii ecclesiae Scoticae I 132, V 81, 109.)
 3. Perhaps Alexander Moncrieff, minister of Scoonie 1643-61. (Pastii V 117.) The Pastii does not refer to accounts of their parishes either by Smith or Moncrieff. Both Smith and Moncrieff were appointed commissioners for visiting the University of St. Andrews on 16th January 1649.
 4. Regarding Christ's Kirk on the Green, see above, pp.257-260. The latest edition of Ramsay's version is in The Works of Allan Ramsay, ed. Martin and Oliver, Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh 1945, Vol. I, pp. 57-82.

30th September 1779. For example;

p. 699 Kinross shire: Bleau in his Map "Fifae vice-comitatus or Sherriffdome of Fife" comprehends this County into it without any distinction; Sir R. Sibbald in his History of Fife & Kinross ¹ p. 105 says that this "was made a distinct shire from Fife, about the year 1426. At first it contained only the Paroches of Kinross, Orwell & Portmook; but had others annexed to it Anno 1685. see the Act for same in that & following page.

Gough's section on Kinross is very brief,² and does not make much use of the above note.

Some description must now be given of the proof sheets with Paton's annotations preserved in the Bodleian Library.³ These are proofs of the Additions and Corrections to the Scottish Topography,⁴ and also of pp. 573-4. On the proof of p. 574 there is a most interesting and amusing note by Paton. Gough refers to An account of some remarkable ancient ruins, lately discovered in the Highlands, and northern parts of Scotland ... by John Williams, mineral engineer, Edinburgh 1777.⁵ In the proof sheet Gough's note on this book reads as follows;

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1. The History, ancient and modern, of the Sherifffdoms of Fife and Kinross ... Edinburgh, 1710.
 2. Topography II, p. 698.
 3. See above, p. 280.
 4. There is an anomaly in the pagination of the Additions and Corrections, most of the pages having been printed after the section on Irish Topography which follows them. P. 737 is headed Additions and Corrections, but pp. 737-41 are occupied with what would more aptly be described as an appendix; an "Abstract of the second volume of Hay's Memoirs ...". The heading Additions and Corrections appears again, this time appropriately, at the top of p. 742. These notes occupy eleven pages, numbered 742-746 and 747^a-752^a. Then follows the Irish Topography, the text of which begins at p.749. This is preceded by a title-page, the recto with simply "Irish Topography" and the signature "Vol.II 5D", the verso blank. This accounts for pp. 747-8.
 5. See below, pp. 419-420.

An edition of this was first printed in quarto, but the author thinking his friend had taken too great liberties with his style, chose rather to let his own edition appear with all its Scotticisms on its head.

Paton has underlined "Scotticisms" and commented;

Q. with what propriety can Mr Williams' pamphlet be censured for Scotticisms as he is a Welsh man born but has resided several years in Scotland.

In the published version Gough substituted "grammatical inaccuracies" for "Scotticisms".

The proof sheets of the Additions and Corrections provide many instances of Paton's close attention to accuracy in minor points.

On p. 743, in an additional comment referring to p. 581 l 30, the proof has, "Tarvi is certainly designed for the town of Tarn". Paton has corrected the last word to Tain. On p. 589 l 25 Gough referred to "Sir Robert Gordon of Stralogh". On the proof of p. 743 he has "p. 589 l 25 r. Stralock". As a result of Paton's care, he finally achieved the correct spelling, Straloch, on p. 743 in the published version.

The following note by Paton appears on the proof sheet of p. 747;

CLACKMANNANSHIRE l 21 Add. Both these Surveyors being now otherwise provided for, have dropt every scheme of publishing any County Surveys or Maps.

Gough printed this as follows in the published version of p. 747⁷;

CLACKMANNANSHIRE) p 660 l 20 Messieurs Taylor and Skinner being now otherwise provided for have dropt every scheme of publishing surveys of counties.

The original printed version of an addition to p. 704 is pasted

on to proof p. 748. In the published book, the final version of this passage occurs on p. 750^r. The original version is as follows;

P 704 LINLITHGOSHIRE "History of the 27 Gods of Linlithgow, 1711." ¹ An ill-natured satire against the town council of Linlithgow, by one Kirkwood, master of the grammar school there. He had other ridiculous disputes with them and other persons, which were printed in the same measure. He was an excellent Latin scholar, and published a grammar of the language and other pieces; but his proud domineering temper involved him in frequent disputes.

Paton made the following alterations; "James" for "one Kirkwood"; "many" for "other ridiculous disputes"; "manner" for "in the same measure"; and "squables" for "frequent disputes". In his published version, Gough has accepted all but the last of these alterations.²

By October 1779, Paton had been through most of the proof sheets of the Scottish part of the Topography, except for the Additions and Corrections dealt with above. There are a few further notes, however, in a letter which he wrote to Gough on 15th October, e.g.

I have added a note to explain the word runridge as it may not be so clearly understood in England as here, leaving you to express it in your own words.

The note is to be found on p. 729 of the second volume of the

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1. James Kirkwood, The history of the twenty-seven gods of Linlithgow; being an exact and true account of a famous plea betwixt the town-council of the said burgh, and Mr. Kirkwood, schoolmaster there. Edinburgh, 1711. The following advertisement from the Edinburgh Evening Courant is quoted by Maidment, Reliquiae Scotticae, Edinburgh, 1828, Section 15, p.3; "The History of the twenty seven Gods of Linlithgow, (as they call themselves,) being the account of that famous plea betwixt the Town Council of that Burgh and Mr Kirkwood, is now printed and may be had at his house in the middle of the College Wynd, west side, or at the Exchange Coffee-house. Let those gentlemen who have paid a shilling, bring or send their receipts, to the said places, with the six shillings Scots therein mentioned, and they shall have the book. Others are to give two shillings sterling".
 2. The revised version is pasted on an interleaf facing p.704 in the Bodleian copy.

Topography. The sentence in the text is;

There was a proposal for exchanging the Runridge lands between Sir Laurence (Dundas) and other proprietors ...

The footnote explains "runridge" as "ridges that belong to different proprietors or tenants alternately in one field". The New English Dictionary describes this word as an anglicised form of "runrig".

It quotes only two examples of the form "runridge", the earlier being from Practical Agriculture by R.W. Dickson, published in 1805, a quarter of a century later than Gough's Topography.

When he wrote to Gough on 7th October 1779, Paton had asked for an opportunity to go over the whole of the Scottish Topography again. This Gough agreed to, but added; "Beg yr Additions & Corrections by the end of next month or early in December".¹ On 23rd October Paton wrote, "you may be assured of a speedy return with any corrections &c..!" He told Gough that Lord Hailes wished to look over the printed copy, and that he would show it to him if Gough agreed. Gough replied on 3rd November;²

I shall be much honored by any communicatns from Ld Hailes respecting it & will allow him & you or any other friend this whole month to look it over.

There was some delay, however, in sending the whole of the Scottish Topography for this further revision. It was to have been carried north by John Spottiswood, who was returning to Edinburgh from a visit

1. Gough to Paton, 15th October 1779.

2. See p.280 , footnote. 1.

to London. But on 18th November Gough wrote;

Mr Spotsiswood had not the Scottish Topography with him because Mr. Nichols notwithstanding my express directions declined giving it him till two or three sheets which had been kept back some time were workt off. I as in hopes however you will receive it in time ... I am obliged to you for offering an Index; but as I make that as every sheet is workt off I need not put you to that labor.¹

Eventually the sheets were transmitted to Paton by a Mrs Hamilton, and were received by him in January, 1780.²

It was some time before the sheets were returned to Gough.

In a letter which is dated at the beginning 4th February, and at the end 6th March 1780 (the first date is probably an error for 4th March)

Paton apologised for the delay and explained the reason;

a friend who wished to look it over soon after putting it into his hands fever'd & I could not till lately regain it.

They were eventually returned by the end of March. Gough acknowledged them in a letter of 30th March. In a letter of 23rd March Paton wrote that he had

lookt over & corrected as marked on the margins: but shall recapitulate these as quickly here as time will admit to prevent as few (sic) mistakes as I can.

The proof sheets that Paton states in the above letter he had "marked on the margins" are those of the Additions and Corrections to the Scottish Topography. A number of illustrations of Paton's corrections on these

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1. Paton had offered in a letter of 23rd October 1779 to make an index to the Scottish Topography.
 2. See letters Gough to Paton, 20th December 1779 and 4th January 1780, and Paton to Gough 31st January 1780.

sheets have been given above.¹ As we should expect, there is a certain amount of duplication of the marginal notes on the sheets, and the notes in the letter; for example, the correction of "Tarn" and "Stralock" to "Tain" and "Straloch". Paton evidently believed that his comments would be clearer in the letter than in the confined space on the proof sheets. Sometimes the reverse is the case, however. We may take an instance from the proof sheets of pp. 745-6. These are pages of Additions and Corrections referring back to the text a hundred pages or so earlier. In the proofs two of the additions had been misplaced. At the foot of p. 745 appeared a note pertaining to p. 645 of the text, whereas at the top of p. 746 there was a reference to p. 640 of the text. In pointing this out, Paton wrote opposite "ABERDEENSHIRE) p 645" on the proof of p. 745; "N.B. This ought to follow the 2d article of the next page", and on the proof of p. 746 opposite "p. 640"; "N.B. This ought to be inserted prior to the former article". These notes made the point perfectly clear; but his reference to the same thing in the letter of 23rd March 1779 would hardly be comprehensible if the proof sheets had not survived to show what he meant;

p. 745 I observe that the arrangement of the Aberdeenshire articles are not so regular as these in the following page should precede this at the bottom of this page & have marked them 1.2.3 &c.

This has duly been corrected on pp. 745-6 of the published volume.

In the same letter, of 23rd March 1780, Paton wrote;

1. See above, pp. 291-2.

Having now gone thro' the greater part of the Additions & corrections am hopefull no difficulty may occur to prevent these sheets to pass the Press ... be assured I shall ever be attentive not only to collect every intelligence, but all publications any how connected with your plan, all which shall be most chearfully communicated for any further enlargement of your valuable labours; Every British Subject should & ought to venerate the immense trouble you have bestowed on this work, I heartily wish you long life & health to enjoy the due tribute of praise for this work ...

When the whole work is published I beg you will note me down as a Subscriber & inform me of it's price ... as the Scot's part by me shall be devoted with the addition of some clean paper to jot down any new articles ...

Gough replied on 30th March;

I hope very soon to beg yr acceptance of a complete copy of the British Topography which you are pleased to entertain so flattering an opinion of & to the Scottish part of which you have so largely contributed.

Paton's copy of the Topography was despatched in June,¹ and he acknowledged it in a letter of 13th October.

In the introduction to the Scottish Topography², Gough warmly acknowledged Paton's help. Although it is understandable that Gough should desire publicly to recognise such material assistance as that rendered by Paton, this acknowledgement was contrary to the wish expressed more than once by the latter. Paton had written on 24th February 1778;³

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1. Letter of Gough to Paton, 8th June 1780.
 2. Topography II 554.
 3. See p. 264 note 1 above.

I would observe to you that you will pardon my way of expressing myself in the M.S. Additions, which you are welcome to make what use of you please, let them intirely be your own, omitting the least mention of me in the matter, this is humbly submitted.

and again on 30th April 1779;

I should rather chuse to be concealed if you please to delete my name, as all communicated is freely offer'd to be used as your own, so submit these hints as you incline.

Paton did not express any displeasure to Gough about the reference to himself in the Topography, but he probably complained to another correspondent, William Henderson, who wrote to Paton in a letter of 15th April 1780;

I cannot blame him for mentioning your name in that work, the assistance he received from you ought in Justice to be acknowledged, but perhaps he might have chose ~~(sic)~~ a better method of doing it than that which he has adopted. ¹

Henderson had evidently had a loan of Paton's set of the sheets of the Scottish Topography, and the opinion he expressed of the work, in the sentences immediately preceding the one just quoted, was rather unfavourable;

I am much obliged to you for the perusal of that work, which at the same time I confess does not altogether answer my expectation; the preface does Mr Gough no honour, it breathes sentiments void of Philanthropy but replete with illiberal prejudice, and consequential Pedantry, which would come very well from Dr Samuel Johnson, but I am sorry to find Mr Gough possessed of: for his

1. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.3.8. f. 17.

own Credit he ought to alter it yet, and even then, if he must pay a Compliment to his own Labours, he has ample room to do it, tho not at the expence of good nature: I wish you would give him a hint on that subject.

Henderson was not unjustified in his resentment at the somewhat contemptuous attitude towards Scots in general displayed by Gough in the introduction to the Scottish Topography.

Prudes in divinity, (wrote Gough) metaphysicians in philosophy, novices in philology, they aspire above the rust of antiquarian science. By principle averse to religious magnificence, the splendor of the earlier church moulders away unnoticed. Their artists, seeking fame in England, forgot what subjects they left behind them, which few of our countrymen had the hardiness to visit: and till Mr. Pennant with unremitting industry made his perambulation over this kingdom and its isles, we had as few subjects of the pencil or graver from the north side of the Tweed as if the marches were still infested by marauders. 1

Dr. William Cuming of Rochester was probably referring to the same matter when, having informed Paton that he had not yet seen the new edition of the Topography, he went on;

however prejudiced in Favour of the Author, I think I shall agree with you in Opinion in Regard to that part of it which you mention, he is an amiable, ingenious and learned Man, but every one has his Peculiarity of Sentiment. 2

1. Topography II p. 554.

2. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II f. 82. This letter is dated "Deer 2d 1783" but this must be an error for 1780. The letter is placed between one of 27th September 1783, and one of 6th December 1783, and the latter begins "My last Letter I think was dated the 27th of September ..." As early as 24th February 1780 (this letter is misplaced, being MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II ff. 84-85) Cuming wrote that he had "skimmed over" Gough's British Topography and found many typographical errors in the "Article of this County" (i.e. Dorset). Presumably this was the first volume only.

Another criticism that could be made against Gough is that sometimes he was unduly impatient for the return of proof sheets from Scotland. This impatience is expressed most strongly in a letter to Paton of 9th July 1779;

I thank you for yr Corrections in the last sheets: but I cd wish you were more expeditious in returning them as the Press waits loaded with a greater number of Sheets at a time on acct of our Correspondence.

... You will excuse my saying that the last sheets were detained longer than the corrections made in them seemed to justify.

Gough's desire that the publication of his work should not be delayed too long is understandable enough; but he does not appear always to have taken sufficient account of the fact that Paton's notes were the work of his limited leisure hours, and that others whom Paton consulted and who looked over the sheets were also busy men, with a multiplicity of other concerns.

After the publication of the Topography, Paton continued with the same enthusiasm to transmit to Gough any additional information on topographical subjects which came his way. This is what we have termed the "third stage" in Paton's services to Gough in this field.

Sometimes Gough noted points from Paton's letters in the margins or on the interleaves of his copy of the Topography, now in the Bodleian Library. For example, in a letter of 1st March 1781, Paton wrote;

Mr Ainslie is to set about a Survey of Gallowayshire, he has executed the Coast on a large plan which is engraved, this differs widely from Mackenzie's Charts of our Coast, Mr Ainslie was very careful in this Survey being called upon to perform it by our Board of Customs, shall endeavour to procure you a Copy of this large Map ...

Gough has copied this, in slightly condensed form, on the interleaf opposite p. 694, and noted as his source for the information, "G.P. Mar 1 1781".

In a letter from Paton to Gough dated 28th April 1783 we find;

... do believe a Survey of Perthshire is presently in hands by Stobie & Son, who did Roxburghshire ...

Opposite p. 710 in his copy Gough has written;

Stobie & Son are abt Perthshire. G.P. April 28 1783.

Again, on 1st June 1789 Paton wrote;

The Accounts lately communicated to me of the aged and now infirm Mr Spotswood of Spotswood as (sic) most unfavorable, which make me dread that he is in the last stage of Life, am not assured if he has fully compleated the arrangement of all his materials to perfete his Monasticon Soticum, these must be very numerous from the extensive period of a half a Century since he began earlier to collect for that purpose: it is thought by some here that if Death should soon prevent his finishing this Work, his Son at London will have the charge of that & probably printing it under his own Inspection there - This Gentleman was also engaged in another extensive Work a Law Dictionary (as I suppose) mostly for this Country ...

From the above Gough has extracted the following note, which appears opposite p. 608.

Mr Spotswood of Spotswood had prepared a large collectn of materials for a "Monasticon Scoticum" which he began 50 yrs ago, but his ill health prevented his finishing his design wch his son may possibly complete in London. 1 He had also been engaged in another extensive work, a Law Dicty mostly for Scotld but how far he proceeded is uncertain. G.P. June 1 89.

We shall give one further example of how Gough kept his copy of the Topography up-to-date with a view to a possible third edition. On p. 730 of the second volume Gough had stated that Paton had a copy of Thomas Gifford's Description of Zetland "which was presented to the earl of Morton when president of the Royal Society". This was corrected on p. 752²;

P. 730 l. 36 r. Mr. Paton has seen the copy, which was presented to the earl of Morton, &c. It is written and signed by Mr. Gifford, and still remains in the noble family library; but copies were given by the author to others, whereof Mr. Paton has a transcript.

In the Bodleian Library copy the above note is attached to the foot of p. 730, and the following added in manuscript by Gough;

which he recommended to Mr Nichols who printed it 1786 as No XXXVII of his Bibl. Topog. Britan. wt the map. 2

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1. An Account of all the Religious Houses that were in Scotland at the Time of the Reformation in Robert Keith's A Large New Catalogue of the Bishops of the several Sees Within the Kingdom of Scotland, Down to the Year 1688 ... Edinburgh, 1755, pp. 235-296, was by Spottiswood.
 2. Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, 8 vols. (with another two volumes entitled Miscellaneous Antiquities, in continuation of the Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica), edited by J. Nichols, assisted by Gough and others, London, 1780-1800. Regarding Gifford's Description of Zetland, see below, pp. 332-336.

2. Gough's Edition of Camden's "Britannia".

Gough's edition of William Camden's Britannia¹ ranks next in importance to his British Topography. Originally written in Latin, the Britannia went through six editions in its author's lifetime.² The first English translation was by Phileman Holland, first published in 1610,³ with a second edition in 1637⁴. The second translation was by Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London. It first appeared in 1695, in one folio volume.⁵ A second edition was published in 1722, in two folio volumes.⁶ This was reprinted in 1753 and again in 1772, on the last occasion with corrections by George Scott.

It might be felt that, by the end of the eighteenth century, Camden's work required to be completely rewritten, rather than merely republished with additions, however substantial. Gough, nonetheless, was determined to keep to the plan of the work as laid down by its

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1. Britannia; or, A Chorographical Description of the Flourishing Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Islands Adjacent; From the Earliest Antiquity. By William Camden. Translated from the Edition published by the author in MDCVII. Enlarged by the latest discoveries, by Richard Gough, F.A. & R. SS. 3 vols., London, 1789.
 2. Camden lived from 1551 to 1623. The first edition of the Britannia was; Britannia. Sive florentissimorum regnorum, Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et Insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate Chorographica descriptio. London, 1586.
 3. Britain, or, a Chorographically Description of the most flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland .. translated newly into English by Philemon Holland ... London, 1610.
 4. Ibid., beautified with mappes .. and enlarged. 2 parts, London, 1637.
 5. Camden's Britannia, newly translated into English with large additions and improvements ... London, 1695.
 6. Ibid. The second edition. Revised .. with large additions .. 2 vols. London, 1722.

original author. The method he adopted was to keep his new material entirely separate from Camden's text, inserting it in the form of "additions" after each section. Nowhere are the defects of this method so plain as in the part on Scotland. Camden's information on that country had been rather meagre. Little had been added to it by Gibson. Gough's additions to the Scottish part exceed the original in bulk, and tend to dwarf it. But, at the same time, Gough adheres to Camden's rather arbitrary arrangement of the counties and districts, retaining the archaic and sometimes incorrect names in his headings.¹ These faults were recognised and pointed out by Paton and the other Scottish antiquaries who were consulted.²

Gough's edition of the Britannia was first published, in three folio volumes, in 1789.³ A second edition, in four folio volumes, appeared in 1806.⁴ It has been stated that only the first volume of the 1789 edition was revised by Gough for that of 1806;⁵ but some alterations were made in the Scottish part. Three of them are referred to below.⁶ One at least of these, which concerns Paton, seems hardly likely to have been made by anyone but Gough himself.⁷

1. e.g. Teifidale, Loquhaber, Cathanes.

2. See below, pp. 313-315.

3. *op. cit.*

4. Title page as for the edition of 1789, except for the change of date, and the omission of "F.A. & R.S.S." after Gough's name.

5. e.g. by D.N.B. The British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books (Vol. XXXI, London, 1940) puts it more cautiously and more accurately - 'Vol. I only of this second edition was seen through the press by Gough' (my italics).

6. pp. 323-4.

7. p. 323 note 1.

Gough first told Paton of this great project in a letter of
7th May 1782;

In answer to your application to Mr Nichols about a new Edition of Camdens Britannia may I have the Vanity to announce myself to you as the Undertaker of that laborious task & to solicit yr Assistance & that of yr friends towards rendring the Acct of N. Britain as perfect as possible. To a translation intirely new are subjoined Additions including those of the former right rev. Editor from the best communications of dead & living Antiquaries in every county intirely distinct from the original account by Mr. Camden. The MS is completed as far as continual accession of fresh matter admits to the moment of putting it into the Press into which the additions follow it. A considerable portion is already printed forming one Volume in folio with Maps & Plates. We advance with all convenient speed & it is not intended to anticipate by single volumes nor by subscription but to offer the whole to the public at once. Scotland & Ireland with Wales & perhaps the N. pts of England will be comprised in a single Volume. Whatever communicatns come from yr parts should be written in regular order so as to refer at once distinctly to the original without fresh transcribing & every communication you are pleasd to obtain for this work will be attended to with all that regard its Authenticity or the Zeal of its authors to give the best desc(ription) of their country can demand.

Forgive me that I have not entrusted you with my secret sooner - if indeed the flattering assurances I have recd from my friends on this occasion have not already forced it from me & encouragd me to gone on (sic) with an arduous undertaking which was ten years in preparing for the press & was obscurely (as it schd seem) predicted in the Brit. Topy I 32. 1

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1. "Whatever materials Camden left, or others have collected, for a new edition, his book certainly deserves one, were it only to unite in one view the many discoveries since his time, and those which daily occur." Topography I 32. It is difficult to understand Gough's apparent surprise that it was not inferred from this sentence that he was engaged on an edition of Camden.

Seven days later Paton replied;

Of your great undertaking I do write you more particularly afterwards, may you enjoy health & every relishing assistance to forward your grand plan, you may rely on any thing can be got here to promote the execution of so noble a work.

On 27th May 1782 Paton wrote that he was

conscious that his inquiry (in Scotland) has been almost totally neglected since Sir Robert Sibbald's days, unless a few hints made to Wm Maitland,¹ but what became of the latter's I never could get any intelligence, neither have answers been made to me about the former's collections, wh I do suppose remain (in some hidden corner unnoticed & Co.) in the Advocate's Library² out of these Macfarlane's three Volumes were selected,³ but where they do now remain (since so great a Cloud of dissipation & Co. did bespred his Successors) is out of my ability to learn, but shall bestir myself shortly for that search

Gough told Paton in a letter of 7th June 1782;

You are the properest judge wt remains to be added to Camden or Gibson, or more modern accounts of Scotland, & you will as leisure & opportunity serve point out such particulars as may tend to improve the new Edition.

A considerable time elapsed, however, before the Scottish part of the work reached the proof stage.

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1. William Maitland, (1693?-1757), author of The History of Edinburgh from its Foundation to the present time ... Edinburgh, 1753.
 2. The extensive manuscript collections left by Sir Robert Sibbald (1641-1722) require forty-four entries in the catalogue of manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, now the National Library of Scotland.
 3. Walter Macfarlane's Geographical Collections relating to Scotland have been edited by Sir Arthur Mitchell. (Publications of the Scottish History Society Vols. LI - LIII Edinburgh: 1906-8.)

On 31st January 1785 Paton returned to the subject;

in the Hopes of serving you to the full extent of my Power shall be exerted, for which purpose permit me to request your earliest intimations what may be wanted that I may have time sufficient to procure all the satisfactory Answers to your most agreeable Queries, as it shall be my passionate endeavour to promote the success of your very extensive Undertaking in the new Edition of the Britannia.

A year later, on 12th January 1786, Gough stated;

It will not be long before I shall trouble you with Camden's Scotland to review.

At length, on 1st September 1786, Gough sent the first ten sheets to Paton, and an eleventh followed at the end of the same month.¹ Paton wrote to Gough on 2nd October that a friend had informed Lord Hailes of the plan to republish Camden;

his Lordship express his thoughts that the revisal, additions &Ca. of this work will require more time and examination, than I first thought of, it being absolutely proper that as few Errors be allowed to appear in the Book as possible: there are many typographical escapes besides a number of other misnomers of places, Families, &Ca. improperly inserted, wherefore sollicite your Excuse of not returning the sheets sent me for a considerable time hence, as Lord Hailes at present is on his Circuit Course & will not finish it for a week or two hence, on his Lordship's return will be sure to convey these sheets to him for his Lordship's corrections, through whose attention this work may be made more full & correct.

Gough replied on 15th October 1786;

1. Letter of Gough to Paton 28th - 30th September 1786.

I am much obliged to you & yr friend who suggested the submitting my Sheets to Lord Hailes whom I consider as the most eminently skilled in the Antiquities of Scotland & to whose Additions & Improvements I shall always pay due deference. If you think it advisable I shall write to him on the subject you will favour me with his Address. But perhaps the business may already be in good train. I cannot certainly but wish for every hint & assistance concerning a part of the kingdom so little investigated till of late years. But at same time you must allow me to hint that so many sheets of Letterpress are now standing at the press that it will not admit of a very long delay before some were returned were it only one or two at a time. You have now fourteen sheets.

and again on 22nd October;

After you have got the whole revised & corrected by the best judges (among whom I rank Ld Hailes foremost if he will condescend to undertake the task) the whole may be returned in a single parcel to Mr. Nichols

It was not long before Gough was expressing more emphatically his dissatisfaction at the delay in the return of the sheets. The impatience which he had shown before in regard to the Topography sheets¹ was now much greater.

Convinced as I am (he wrote on 13th November) that the delay of the Sheets of Camden arises solely from the desire of rendering them as correct as possible (of which kindness I cannot be too sensible) I cannot forbear solliciting the return of such sheets as have no immediate connection one with another

On 30th November 1786 Gough wrote;

1. See above, p 299.

I hope to find some return from y(ou by) this time at Mr. Nichols'. It is both inconvenient & expensive to keep so many sheets standing all at once not fewer than twenty two & what I will venture to say no press or presses but Mr Nichols cd undertake to perform. I shd think the sheet about the Courts of Justice cd not take so long time to correct & were only one or two at a time returned it wd be a riddance: for there are many more to come & if they take a proportionable time to look over the work will not be furnisht in two years or I must leave my friends on the other side of the Tweed to make their defence when the whole is publisht ...

Paton wrote to Nichols on 19th December 1786;¹

I hope Mr Gough will satisfie about the delay of returning the sheets of Camden, which will be hastened to you soon now.

and at the same time to Gough;

My late inability,² with the very slow & unsatisfactory returns from several hands has occasioned the disappointment but hope in a few successive Posts to serve you as offers: I own that I am unacquainted with the exact Topography of many of our Scottish Counties, which renders me the more scrupulous about your observations, that I want the assistance of residents there to obviate what is necessary beyond my cursory knowledge, it is with pain I consider that you have so rapidly caused print so many sheets at time, this prevents due return to be made you, besides it is not such an easy matter to describe each Shire, & that accurately, it is my humble opinion that you accurately consider the latest & most approved of Maps of each which will enable you to be exact in your descriptions of the situation &Ca. of

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1. This letter immediately precedes the letter of Paton to Gough of the same date, in Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.7.
 2. Paton had been suffering from "bodily disorders" that brought about "a flatness of spirits & disabilities of exertion". See above, p. 30.

places, Rivers &c. as to family histories these are greatly & properly ascertained from the latest Peerage, Baronage &c. Books & the daylie accounts of Successors: but upon the whole I do not hesitate to say you may be wearied out with this tardy work yet it is impossible to hurry on such a work, as misinformations or mistakes may happen that will not be so acceptable to yourself or the publick: all which ought to be avoided.

Ld Hailes has made some remarks on your sheets wish his Ldp had been more full, but complains of want of time &c. -

I intend sending what sheets I can get out of (t)he hands of friends in a Post or two hence & have intimated so to Mr Nichols, who will I hope pardon me, for the reasons assigned. - Be not disgusted at our Country, please call to mind you should regard your reputation in the work you've begun, to finish with ¹ as few escapes as possible.

Cough replied at equal length on 1st January 1787;

Am sorry you meet with so little satisfaction in the returns to Inquiries which are intended to obtain as correct an account of Scotland as possible. I do not see how the No of the sheets which I have printed can prevent due returns. It is impossible to separate the counties better & there are few places mentioned but what I imagined were of sufficient notoriety. It is no satisfaction to me to be referred to the best maps & books. I look to residents & living Antiquaries to confirm or correct both Maps & books. I thought it would have been easy to settle the first sheet which contains the account of the law courts & return it. If it is not returned by the next post I must absolutely print it off as it now stands, & tell the world that I cd not procure a correcter account from the Capital of N. Britain. I am not insensible to yr Concern that I shd support the reputation

1. "with" is accidentally repeated in the manuscript.

of Correctness. It is my first grand object: but how can that be done without the assistance of better judges who ought to know more of these matters than a stranger. And I really think four months is sufficient to revise & correct my sheets. Let me therefore intreat you to consider the delay both of the present & succeeding sheets & that if as much time is taken up with the remainder the work will not be finisht by this time 12 month. Had these been releast others might have been sent to other parts. It could not have taken more time to have compos'd an intire new Acct of Scotland than has been imployed to correct the old ones. I shall therefore hope you will represent this to the several friends into whose hands you have put the work & that they will return them to you to be forwarded in a post or two at furthest.

... I know yr Goodness will see that what I have said at the beginning applies not to you but to others who have undertaken to assist my work. I have not the smallest reason to complain of deficiency or delay on yr part ...

Paton had already sent back the sheet dealing with the Courts of Justice. It was despatched on 28th December 1786, and by 27th January 1787 all but one of the sheets hitherto sent had been returned.¹ These included some with comments by Lord Hailes, who on 3rd January wrote to Paton;

I have scrawled some remarks which I wish you may be able to read, but which I have no leisure to transcribe fair.

It passes my apprehension, how the proof sheets of a book should be transmitted to Scotland for any other corrections than typographical ones.²

The attitude of Paton and his friends in the matter appears to be more reasonable than that of Gough. It would have been

1. Letters of 20th and 27th January 1787.

2. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I f. 44.

better if Gough had informed Paton much earlier of the type of material on Scotland that he required. Any notes sent could then have been incorporated in the text before the proof sheets were printed off. But Gough preferred to adopt the somewhat eccentric method which, as has already been noted, he employed with the Topography;¹ the proof-sheets were printed in a deliberately imperfect state, and were intended to be revised considerably before publication; a method that inevitably meant haste, and placed a strain on the relations between Gough and his helpers. Gough's failure to appreciate that to look over a large number of sheets at once was an inconvenience to Paton and the other Scottish antiquaries is difficult to account for. Gough evidently told Dr. Cuming of the delay in receiving sheets back from Scotland, and Cuming sympathised with him in a letter of 8th January 1787;

I am very well disposed to make every reasonable allowance for our Friend at Edinburgh's official Engagements, but I can hardly find an Excuse for his keeping you so long on the Tenterhooks of Expectation, he ought at least to write to you to let you know the cause of the Delay²

In a subsequent letter, dated 26th March 1787, Cuming refers to the objection of Lords Buchan and Hailes to seeing so much of Gough's work at once, and takes Gough's side in the matter.³

Gough acknowledged the sheets returned by Paton, in a letter of 4th February 1787. With regard to one of Hailes's comments,

1. See above, p.284.

2. Bodleian Library MS. 25525 f. 598.

3. Ibid. f. 602.

he wrote,

I cd have wisht yt instead of saying a wrong date his ldp. wd have condescended to put in a right one.

He added that those sheets had come barely in time, and that he would not have thought that the number of sheets was an inconvenience.

On 5th April he wrote;

... all the sheets of Camden have been returned from you. As soon as they are put in order & workt off the remainder will (be) composed & sent to you. I hope they (w)ill not be detained so long as the foregoing & that in the remaining shires persons will be found of more leisure to dispatch them as well as to give full Information. Observe me this complaint by no means applies to you who have acquitted yrself with the utmost Punctuality; but have not found it in others. However to save delay I have made the best of the Communications & supplied the rest from printed Books.

Writing on 8th April, Paton assured him;

You may depend on my quickest despatch with the future sheets of Camden ...

On 16th April 1787 Gough sent off five more sheets and expressed the hope that they would not be detained "half nor a quarter so long as the former set". He continued;

On their reception & return will depend whether I shall hazard any more - as I really cannot afford time or leisure to detain the press so long. But in all this remember I acquit you.

In June Gough was again complaining about delay;

It is now near three months since I sent you sheets 5 ABCDEF of my work & from that time I have continued to forward to you the sheets to

5.0 exclusive,¹ without having received any return. I have four more ready for your inspection: but when I recollect that I have already been above twelvemonths in perfecting half the description of Scotland I am deterred from troubling you with any more & must venture into publick light in my own strength without answering for the Omissions or Negligence of the natives of the Country which I am describing.²

Paton replied on 25th June, apologising for the delay, but at the same time not hesitating to express his opinion of the shortcomings of the work;

I must acknowledge that the Sheets of Camden have been too long detained from you, but my earnest desire to procure you all the most enlarged accurate Intelligence that I could obtain induced me to transmit them to acquaintances in the several counties you have described, which retarded their return for the time you have indulged me - I must confess that in severals of these Sheets you have so interwoven places in different shires that do not properly belong to them, that I am at a very great Loss how to derange (sic) your Plan, particularly that of Fifeshire, Glamannan (sic) & Kinross shires: so beg of you to carefully look over these sheets again comparing with the Mapps of these Counties, particularly those done by Mr Ainslie for Fife & Kinross & Ca. at the same time sollicite your adopting Sir Robert Sibbald's regular Plan of describing the Town's & Ca. instead of passing one part over & in a paragraph or so afterwards returning to the neighbouring villages or Gentlemen's Villas, this seeming inaccuracy has really given occasion to many of my acquaintances to disrelish your method of arrangement, which my Dear Sir, you will please to alter and let every place be noticed in the Course of your Progress from South to North or from East to West as laid down in the Mapps, finishing one District of a

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1. The signature 5.A. occurs on Vol. III p. 365 (Stirlingshire) and 5.0. on p. 417 (Mernis).
 2. Letter of 15th June 1787.

Shire before you engage into another District: for this purpose I presume also to recommend to your attention John Adair's Map of Strathern as well as Stobie's large Survey of Perthshire, by these a connected and regular Account of the places you mention will be pleasant to every one who knows the Counties ... this I humbly submit to you, hoping you will excuse my freedom of advice; as you proceed northward thro' Angus, Merns & Co. be pleased to follow Douglas's Journeying amongst the Coast, which is very exact, & when you are to describe the interior parts of the Counties follow the same methods, which the Mapps will direct you - I wait only for the return of Argyleshire, (totally unknown to me) which I every day expect from the West Country in hopes of good enlargements.

... What hasty notes are added by me please to correct the Language to your own mind ...

Gough's answer on 12th July 1787 was as follows;

I agree with you that the arrangement of my description is not perfectly accurate but I found it very difficult to place the several towns & seats in the manner you mention which can best be done by people on the spot. I have followed Douglas' method wherever he travelled as far as was consistent with my division into Counties, & you must always bear in mind that as a republisher of Mr. Camden I must adhere to his plan.

Nothing is yet arrived & I am really out of all Patience, the Press being blockt up by no fewer than seventeen sheets waiting for corrections.

Paton again expressed his views on the matter in a letter of

23rd July;

Altho' you adhere to Camden's method, yet you have at this time a very large field & a more improved opportunity of displaying the ancient

as well as modern face of the Country as great have been the discoveries & improvements since his days, besides it is more agreeable to modern Readers to be served with an accurate connected chain of Description of places contiguous to one another.

By July 1787 all the sheets up till then sent to Paton had been returned. On 30th of that month Gough wrote;

am much obliged to you for yr assistance in the correction of them. As to yr friends they seem hardly to have thought them worth their notice.

At the end of 1787 further sheets, presumably those dealing with Dumfries-shire and neighbouring areas, were sent to Paton to be forwarded to Robert Riddell.¹ Riddell's corrections were received by Paton in January 1788,² and forwarded to Gough, who acknowledged them on 8th February.

Paton seems to have contributed little further to the Britannia, although on 18th February 1788 he wrote;

As to further Additions to Camden, I must sollicite your Indulgence untill next Month when a new Acquaintance has promised me his Assistance respecting a northern County, which he tells me has been overlookt, but can command no leisure at the time untill the Recess of our Session takes place the 12th of nixt month, soon after that Period he has purposed to communicate his Intelligence ...

But all Gough replied to this was;

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1. Letters of Paton to Gough, 24th November 1787 and 4th January 1788. Robert Riddell of Glenriddell (d. 1794), the antiquary and friend of Robert Burns.
 2. Letter of Paton to Gough, 24th January 1788.

I am sorry yr Correspondents persist in their uncommunicativeness: it convinces me they have never turned their thoughts to the Geography of their Country. ¹

In May, 1789 the work was nearing completion. On the 16th of that month, Gough wrote that he hoped to be able to offer a copy for Paton's acceptance before the month expired. He added;

I hope yr countrymen may be excited to mend my inaccurate accounts of their Country in the Britannia. I wish I may have done anything to provoke a spirit of enquiry in that way.

Paton expressed his agreement with this on 1st June 1789;

Heartily do I wish that your Edition of Camden may excite the Spirit you mention in this Country, it is hoped this may behappen (sic) altho' works of this nature require time & accurate researches.

The last part of the above sentence perhaps contains a hint that, in Paton's view, Gough would not have found Scotsmen so devoid of interest in the geography and antiquities of their country, had he been patient enough to allow them adequate time to investigate and to furnish material on the subject.

Paton acknowledged the copy of the Britannia presented to him by Gough, on 4th November 1789.

We shall now consider some of the detailed points on which Paton provided help or offered advice.

In his additions to Camden's section on the Courts of Justice, Gough made considerable use of Hugo Arnot's History of Edinburgh².

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1. Letter of 15th March 1788.
 2. Hugo Arnot, The History of Edinburgh, Edinburgh 1779.

In particular, he wrote as follows of the Lyon Court;

The office (of Lord Lyon) is of late become a sinecure, and the business executed by deputies in such a manner, that in a country where pedigree is the best ascertained of any in the world, the national record of armorial bearings, and memoirs concerning the respective families inserted along with them, are far from being the pure repository of truth, and there have been of late instances of genealogies inrolled, and arms and other marks of distinction bestowed in such a manner as to reflect ridicule on the science of heraldry. The truth is, that the Lyon court needs a reformation in all its parts. ¹

Paton submitted the proof of this section to James Cumayng for his comments. Cumayng, who, as Lyon clerk, was by no means disinterested in the matter, wrote as follows when returning the sheet to Paton on 17th September 1786;

The character given of the Lyon Office is false from beginning to end. It is copied from the envenomed Pen of Hugo Arnot who is totally ignorant of the transactions of that Office and in this manner has indulged his malice because he was refused an improper grant of arms some years ago. The Lord Lyon is on a different footing from Garter King of Arms. This last is the Deputy of the Earl Marischall or his Deputy but the Lyon is the Sovereigns immediate Surrogate by Patent under the great Seal and repeated Acts of Parliament constitute him the sole Judge in all matters relative to arms ... ²

Paton echoed the opinion of Cumayng when he wrote to Gough on 25th September 1786;

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1. Gough, Britannia, 1789 edition, Vol. III p. 292. The passage is quoted almost verbatim from Arnot, op. cit. p. 493.
 2. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 2).5.8. Vol. III f. 9.

You will find more satisfaction & certain display of our Courts in Dr Stuart's Constitutional Hist. of Scotland, ¹ then (sic) in Mr Arnot's work he is very prejudis'd, especialy at the Ld Lyon's Court, where he was thwarted in not receiving an Insignia of Arms to his Family & is totaly in error from beginning to the end ² ... Since my writing you about Mr Maitland's hist. of Edinburgh ³ he is more to be regarded for his Facts than Mr Arnot, altho' his style is very uncouth & in some Cases was credulous, yet when his Inquisitions were approved & successfull, he adhered strictly to Truth, while his Successor in the same line rather gave more Scope to Fancy & often Caprice than realities in his history of this Place.

Gough's reply to this was;

I copied from Mr. Arnot as the latest acct of Edinburgh & the State of Scotland. The reflex(tions) on the Lyon court are not peculiar to him. ⁴

and he made no alteration in his treatment of the subject.

Gough copied from Hector Boece's Chronicles of Scotland⁵

a legend that Perth, then called Berth or Bertha , occupied a different

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1. Gilbert Stuart, Observations Concerning the Public Law, and the Constitutional History of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1779.
 2. Hugo Arnot's paternal name was Pollock, but he adopted the name of Arnot on succeeding to the Estate of Balcormo in Fife. (William Anderson, The Scottish Nation, Edinburgh, 1860, Vol. I p. 158.) Probably he applied for the arms of the Arnot family, and was refused.
 3. William Maitland, The History of Edinburgh, from its Foundation to the present time ... Edinburgh, 1753. Regarding Maitland's History and Antiquities of Scotland 2 vols., London 1757, Gough had written, "He was self-conceited, credulous, knew little, and wrote worse". (Topography II p. 572.) Paton perhaps had this verdict in mind when he wrote in Maitland's favour in this letter. See p. 305 note 1 above.
 4. Letter of 28th - 30th September 1786.
 5. See Hector Boece, The Chronicles of Scotland Translated into Scots by John Bellenden. Scottish Text Society, Vol. II, ed. Batho and Husbands, Edinburgh, 1941, p. 215.

site from the present town prior to an inundation about 1210;

Hence (from Dunkeld) Tay proceeds by the vestiges of Berth a small ruined city, still remembering what mischief this river formerly did to it, when its violence laid waste the pastures, the corn-fields, and the labours of the husbandmen, carrying before it this little city with the infant son of its king and all the inhabitants. In place hereof king William built Perth in a more advantageous situation.¹

In a letter of 14th October 1786, Paton quoted observations which he had received on the subject from James Scott, minister of Perth;²

Camden & Gibson have adopted Boece's Fable about the Town of Perth, it would be a pity without passing animadversions upon it, again to publish it. The Account of the Inundation at Perth, An. 1210 given by Fordun & Jo. Major³ may be depended upon: all the other Circumstances mentioned by Boece & Buchanan are mere fable. The Town had the name of Perth, which is also the same name with Berth or Bertha, ages before and there is authentic Evidence of it's being situated where it now is prior to 1210: I⁴ have been examining the Town's Charter dated at Stirling 10 October 1210 & it contains not the smallest Intimation of any great Destruction, of changing the name, or of altering the situation: but amply confirms former Privileges enjoyed by the Town in the Time of K. David I & adds two new Privileges. The mistake about Berth & Perth arise(s) from not knowing that the B. and P. were used indiscriminately in the Gaelic Language:

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1. Gough, Britannia, 1789 edition, Vol. III p. 393.
 2. See above, p. 105.
 3. See A History of Great Britain ... compiled ... by John Major ... Translated from the original Latin and Edited with Notes by Archibald Constable, Edinburgh: Publications of the Scottish History Society, Vol. X, 1892, p. 169.
 4. i.e. Scott, from whom Paton is quoting.

& that there was no P. in the Gaelic Alphabet till it was introduced by St. Patrick. ¹

Gough did not make use of the above note.

Another piece of advice given by Paton which Gough apparently did not heed was that he should consult James Boswell about the western counties. ² According to Paton, Boswell had once intended a topographical account of that area, and had made collections for the purpose. ³

In a letter of 27th April 1787, Paton makes the following comment on Gough's additions to Camden's account of Fife;

... you rather reflect on the County of Fife's having no Trees, this is not really the Fact, it is true more plantations might be raised thro' the inland part, & indeed many are planted of late & in a promising state: am afraid the general Notion of there being little or no Trees in the Shire of Fife may have probably arisen from few or seldom plantations on the North Coast of River or Frith of Forth, it being arranged with a number of small Royal Burghs, Fishing Towns, villages with small harbours for the Coal Trade &c. that is carried on there with great Success, as also that Trees do not thrive so rapidly &c. on the Coast owing to the Sea spray which is very severe thereon by the North & East winds from the German Ocean, so I remember well between 30 and 40 years ago when on a visit to my old Friend the late Sir John Anstruther and others at Ely &c. many thousands of Trees were lately then & at that time planted at his & their Seats, which were greatly injured by this Spray &c.

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1. Scott refuted Boece's story in his description of Perth in Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. XVIII, pp. 499-505. This is quoted in Memorabilia of the City of Perth ... compiled from the best sources of information; chiefly from Mr Cant's Notes to the Muse's Threnodie of Adamsons Perth, 1806, pp. 61-70.
 2. Letters of 14th October 1786, 19th December 1786, 31st January 1787.
 3. Letter of 14th October 1786. See R.H. Carnie, Boswell's Projected History of Ayrshire, Notes and Queries, New Series, Vol. II No. 6, June 1955, pp. 250-1.

In this case, Gough has accepted Paton's correction, and it is interesting to compare the paragraph that he printed in the Britannia on the subject, with the passage quoted above from Paton's letter;

The whole county (Fife) is fine, broken into gentle risings, but it is not true that there are no trees. More plantations might certainly be raised through the inland parts, and many have been planted and are in a promising state. The general notion of there being few or no trees in this county may have arisen from the few plantations on the north coast of the river or Frith of Forth, it being arrayed with a number of small royal burghs, fishing towns, villages with small harbours for the coal trade, &c. that is carried on there with great success; not to mention that the sea spray blown on by the north and east winds from the German ocean, checks the growth of trees on this coast. About Ely, the seat of the late sir John Anstruther and others, 40 years ago were many thousand trees then and lately planted, which had suffered much from this circumstance. ¹

The observation about the lack of trees in Fife was copied by Gough from Pennant, like much else in the Britannia.² As Lord Hailes commented to Paton;

The author seems to have transcribed much from our friend Mr Pennant, who related things just as he heard them, & never took time to obtain proper emendations of numberless mistakes. ³

Another suggestion that was adopted by Gough was made by Paton in a letter of 16th July 1787;

... wish you would take more particular notice of the Carse of Gowry Vide Adair's Map of Strathern

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1. Gough, Britannia, 1789 edition, Vol. III p. 373.
 2. Cf. Thomas Pennant, A Tour in Scotland; MDCCLXIX, Third edition, Warrington 1774, p. 67; "The country, as far as Kinross, is very fine, consisting of gentle risings; ... but few trees, except about a gentleman's seat, called Blair ... "
 3. Letter of 3rd January 1787. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I f.44.

this lies between Perth & Dundee & is the most highly cultivated Spot in Britain most whereof is farm'd at between three pounds & lower p. Acre which is a high praemium for ordinary Tinnelage ¹ and doubt if you can boast of such in England: this also is a field of much former military Exploits i.e. the Errol family resided here, & still a small village on the Banks of Tay bear(s) to this day the Name.

Gough made use of this hint in the following passage;

The Carse of Gowrie stretches along the north side of the Tay between Perth and Dundee, and for richness of soil is inferior to no part of North Britain ... Some of the farms let at between 2 and 3£ an acre. This also was the field of the military exploits of the Errol family who resided here, and still a small village on the banks of the Tay bears their name. ²

In a previous chapter we have quoted Paton's reference to the hom. of his ancestors in the parishes of Muckhart and Dollar. ³

Although this was not intended by Paton as "material for insertion", Gough mentioned it and made it the occasion of a warm tribute to his correspondent;

In the parishes of Muckhart and Dollar, particularly the former, resided for near four centuries the clan of Paton, of whom was James bishop of Dunkeld in the reign of James VI who died 1596, and was buried at Muckhart, being ancestor to my friend Mr. GEORGE PATON of the Custom-house, Edinburgh; whose zeal for the illustration of the antiquities of his native country at large, so far exceeding that of most of his countrymen, and joined with that readiness of

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1. I have not been able to find this word in any dictionary, but it would seem to be related to the verb tine or tyne (O.E. tynan) to enclose, and thus to mean "enclosed land". (See N.E.D. tine, tyne)
 2. Gough, Britannia, 1789, edition, Vol. III p. 400.
 3. See above, p. 5.

communication which I have experienced in an uninterrupted correspondence of near twenty years, demands my warmest commendation and acknowledgement. ¹

In a letter of 18th July 1787, Paton passed on some detailed comments on the proof-sheets of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, which he had received from "a particular Friend well acquainted with the Country". We shall quote the first three of these notes, all of which were utilised by Gough;

p. 401 Col. 2d. line 6. The name of the present Earl of Aboyne is Charles: N.B. The Towns of Aberdeen are better described by Mr Pennant & Co.

p. 411 Col. 2 A mile south of the New Town the River Dee is crossed by a handsome Bridge of 7 Arches, which was begun by Bishp. Elphinston & finished by Bishp. Dunbar, as is the Don north of the old Town & Co. - delete the 7 first lines of the next paragraph - the 4 next lines should be in the Account of Buchan.

d^o 1. 42 "and has been elected one of the sixteen Peers of Scotland to several Parliaments" or keep out the paragraph altogether.

The reference to the Earl of Aboyne is on p. 419 of the third volume of the 1789 edition of the Britannia, indicating a change of pagination between the proof sheets which Paton saw and the published work. The passage is as follows;

Aboyne castle is the seat of the earl of Aboyne, so created by Charles II who dying 1680 was succeeded by his son, grandson and great grandson Charles the fourth and present earl.

1. Gough, Britannia, 1789 edition, Vol. III p. 401. In the 1806 edition (Vol. IV p. 143) "near twenty years" has been altered to "nearly forty years".

In the second edition of Gough's Britannia, the above was altered to bring it up to date;

... was succeeded by his son, grandson, great-grandson, and great-great-grandson George, the fifth and present earl. ¹

The bridge over the Lee referred to in the second note in Paton's letter of 18th July 1787, is said by Gough to be three miles south of the new town. ² He refers in a footnote to p. 125 of Pennant's Tour. Pennant, however, states that the bridge "lies about two miles S. of the town". ³

The sentence suggested in Paton's third note appeared in the 1789 edition, but was deleted in the 1806 edition. In the first edition Gough wrote;

Sir George Gordon of Haddo, bart. was created by Charles II 1683, earl of Aberdeen. His great grandson George is third and present earl, and has been elected one of the sixteen peers of Scotland to several parliaments. ⁴

In the edition of 1806, the second sentence is replaced by;

George the present earl was born 1786, succeeded his grandfather the late earl August 13, 1801, who was great-grandson of sir George the first earl. ⁵

From Paton's letters we learn the names of some of the friends

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1. Gough, Britannia, 1806 edition, Vol. IV p. 166. The fourth Earl of Aboyne died in 1794.
 2. Gough, Britannia, 1789 edition, Vol. III p. 420.
 3. Thomas Pennant, A Tour in Scotland; MDCCCLXIX, Warrington, 1774. p. 125.
 4. Gough, Britannia, 1789 edition, Vol. III p. 421.
 5. Gough, Britannia, 1806 edition Vol. IV p. 168.

whose aid he enlisted in correcting and supplementing the sheets of Gough's Britannia. We have already mentioned Lord Hailes, whose help was not very considerable owing to lack of time, but was acknowledged by Gough in his Preface¹. The additions to Clydesdale were provided by William Lockhart² "& another Friend of his both natives of that County", and those to Stirlingshire by Alexander Kincaid. Of the latter Paton wrote, "he is presently about publishing his Guide to Edinburgh & Co."³

On 30th July 1787 Gough asked

Who is it that writes about the noble family of whom the first was the black baron of Lochau without making a proper reference to my page & adds an anecdote of the parson of Kilmalieu.⁴

Paton replied that this was Peter MacVicar, writer, from whom he had also expected an account of Lorn.⁵

The notes on Angus and the suggestion that the Carse of Gowrie should be specially mentioned, came from George Constable, writer in

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1. Ibid., 1789 edition, Vol. I p. vii. Quoted below, p. 327.
 2. Probably one of the two "writers" or solicitors of that name who appear in the 1786 edition of Williamson's Directory for the City and County of Edinburgh.
 3. Letter of Paton to Gough, 10th March 1787. Kincaid's book is entitled, The History of Edinburgh from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time; by way of Guide to the City and Suburbs ... Edinburgh, 1787.
 4. The reference to the "black baron of Loch au" is on p. 385 of Vol. III of the Britannia, 1789 edition. The "anecdote of the parson of Kilmalieu" was not published.
 5. Williamson's Directory, op. cit., does not give a Peter MacVicar, writer, but Aitchison's Edinburgh Directory for 1793-4 gives "M'Vicar Peter writer, No 38 south Hanover street".

Dundee.¹ "The hints about the Mearns", Paton wrote in a letter of 9th - 11th August 1787, "were given me by Mr Longmuir one of the Clerks in the Exchequer, a native & well acquainted with that part & neighbourhood".²

The impression made by Gough's work on many of Paton's friends may perhaps be summed up in the blunt words of James Cumyng;

Please receive the sheets of Britannia with an enumeration of some of the more gross errors in them as they occurred to me. It would have required a considerable time to have done Justice to them. I am sorry to say they can give neither information nor satisfaction to any well informed Scotoman but they may pass with most English Readers. If the author of the Additions would take the trouble of looking into Johnsons English Dictionary for the word Scotch he would find that it has a very different meaning from that which he gives to it.³

It is not surprising that the impression made by Gough's Britannia in Scotland was rather an unfavourable one, because he referred in somewhat ill-natured terms to what he regarded as the unhelpfulness of the Scottish antiquaries;

Mr Camden apologizes for the shortness of his description of SCOTLAND, not doubting but somebody else would improve on it by availing himself of the opportunity afforded by the

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1. Constable is not included in the list of "Writers and Procurators" in The Dundee Register; of merchants and trades, with all the public offices, &c. for W, DCC, LXXIII. Dundee, 1782, p. 36. This is the only directory available for this period.
 2. Possibly John Longmuir, the father of the antiquary of the same name, who lived from 1803 to 1883 and was born near Stonehaven. (Dictionary of National Biography.)
 3. Cumyng to Paton, 17th September 1786. (Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 9.) Paton had long previously suggested to Gough that he avoid the word "Scotch", and referred to Johnson's definition. See above, pp. 265, 282-3.

accession of James I which united the two crowns. But not the UNION of the two kingdoms a century after, nor the various discoveries that have been made in the Geography of England, have been extended to the sister kingdom in a degree to enable me much to enlarge the modern description. Little of Scotland was known to its natives before Mr. Pennant's curiosity explored it. The Reader will see to what other printed descriptions I am indebted:- for the earliest applications and most patient expectation have obtained very little additions to them, and scarce an attempt to correct and rectify errors, when submitted to some of the best Antiquaries of Scotland. So little do the philosophic unenterprising Scots attend to the advantages with which Nature or Art have endowed their country. ¹

This somewhat bitter conclusion seems to be scarcely in accord with Gough's own words in his Preface;

SCOTLAND has been so fully laid open in the course of a few late years, that one would think Mr Camden's apology for his want of information from thence, or the prevailing taste for illustrating our national antiquities had been carried into that kingdom. I must again repeat my acknowledgements to Mr. George Paton, of Edinburgh; and I received some corrections from sir David Dalrymple, lord Hailes. ²

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1. Gough, Britannia, 1789 edition, Vol. III p. 448. Camden's apology for the shortness of his description of Scotland is on p. 445.
 2. Gough, Britannia 1789 edition Vol. I p. vii.

3. Other works by Gough

Paton contributed important information for two other works by Gough. In his Catalogue of the Coins of Canute¹ Gough described a large accumulation of coins discovered on the estate of William Lindsay at Caldale, Orkney in 1774. This material was supplied by Paton, through whose good offices Gough was able to examine the coins. Gough's description of the site where the coins were found was taken from a letter from Lindsay to Paton.²

In Gough's Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain³ two pieces of information are specifically acknowledged to Paton, and probably more of the Scottish items were due to him. A letter from Charles Freebairn⁴ to Paton of 18th May 1778 provided a description of a tumulus near Duntocher.⁵ Gough refers to an urn found in a tumulus near Stromness, and adds, "This, with all its contents, is now in the possession of my good friend Mr. George Paton of Edinburgh".⁶

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1. A Catalogue of the Coins of Canute, King of Denmark and England; with Specimens. London, 1777.
 2. This letter has not survived, apparently. It was presumably passed on to Gough by Paton. The subject is mentioned in a number of letters in the Paton-Gough Correspondence. In one of 7th June 1776 Paton stated his intention of writing to William Lindsay about the coins. A letter from the latter's brother, Thomas Lindsay, to Gough is preserved in the Paton-Gough Correspondence. It is dated 2nd March 1776. A short description of the discovery, described in Paton's letter of 6th August 1776 as a "Copy of Facts", follows that letter in Adv. MS. 29.5.7.
 3. 2 vols., London, 1786.
 4. (d. 1779), son of James Freebairn, French teacher in Edinburgh and nephew of Robert Freebairn, the printer. (See letters Paton to Gough 9th March 1776, 23rd October 1779, 11th November 1779.)
 5. Sepulchral Monuments, Vol. I, Introduction p. viii. The letter is not in the National Library of Scotland's collection of Paton mss.
 6. Ibid., p. xi.

Quotations from George Low's manuscript History of Orkney¹ are no doubt due to Paton. Possibly also he supplied references to Maitland's History of Edinburgh² p. 161 and Arnot's History of Edinburgh³ p. 291 regarding the crown of Scotland.⁴

There remains to be mentioned two letters addressed to Paton which Gough had read to the Society of Antiquaries, and which were published in the Archaeologia. The first was an extract from George Low's letter to Paton of 27th November 1772,⁵ describing excavations at ancient burial-places in Orkney by Joseph Banks, at which Low assisted. This was read on 12th and 19th March 1773.⁶ The second was a description of the Dune of Dornadilla, by Alexander Pope, minister of Beay, from a letter to Paton of 27th August 1776,⁷ read 14th March 1777.⁸

1. Ibid., pp. x, xi, xiii, xxix, lxxiv, lxxix, lxxx.

2. op. cit. (p. 318).

3. op. cit. (p. 316).

4. Sepulchral Monuments, Vol. I, p. cxxxii.

5. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 54.

6. Archaeologia, Vol. III p. 276.

7. This letter is not one of the five letters from Pope to Paton that have been preserved in the National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III ff. 42-46.

8. Archaeologia, Vol. V, p. 216.

4. Orkney and Shetland.

Paton's interest in everything pertaining to the Orkney and Shetland Islands was so great that one is tempted to search for some special reason for it, beyond his habitual enthusiasm for antiquities and natural history in general. But if there was some such reason, it is not apparent to us to-day. Paton had a surprisingly large number of friends in these islands. This may be either a cause or a result of his interest in that part of the world.

The only publication in which Paton appears to have been directly concerned was a work on Orkney. This was A Letter to a Gentleman from His Friend in Orkney, containing The True Causes of the Poverty of that Country.¹ This book, a small octavo of forty-four pages, was published anonymously. Yet there is no doubt that the letter was written by Thomas Hepburn, minister of Birsay,² and that it was addressed to Paton, who had it published. Since these attributions are made in Gough's British Topography,³ they must rest on Paton's own authority. In a letter to Gough of 23rd March 1773 Paton mentioned that he had sent him Hepburn's "Letter on Orkney" some time previously, and suggested that Gough forward it to Thomas Pennant.

The theme of the letter is a vindication of the Earl of Morton,

1. London, 1760.

2. Minister of Birsay, 1752-1771; minister of Athelstaneford from 1771 until his death in 1777. (Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae, Vol. I p. 355, Vol. VII p. 240.)

3. Vol. II p. 727.

who owned the lands of Orkney,¹ from charges of oppressing his vassals. Hepburn attributes the poverty of the country to the ignorance, laziness and factiousness of the inhabitants, and to oppression by the feuars or lairds. The editor states, in an introductory Advertisement, that the letter was written in answer to his enquiries about the complaints against Morton. An extract from this Advertisement will show how unlike Paton's letters it is in style, manner and content. One is inclined to suspect that someone, perhaps the anonymous printer, wrote it for him, or at least assisted him in framing it.

The reasons for publishing this letter at this time, (he wrote) are these; that the account given in it of many particulars of the situation of the state of trade, agriculture, fisheries and manufactories in Orkney, deserves to be known, as it may be useful both to that country, and to Britain in general.

The singular unanimity of the sentence of the court of session, in dismissing the process concerning the Orkney weights,² and condemning the plaintiffs in full cost, ex proprio motu of the judges themselves, seems to justify all that is said in this letter concerning oppression or that process.

He refers next to the attempt of the plaintiffs to blacken Morton's character, and continues;

These calumniators have varnished their falsehoods with the fair colours of liberty and sacred freedom; but if they themselves are justly chargeable with that tyranny and oppression, of which they have most

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1. James Douglas, fourteenth Earl of Morton (1702-1768). The Orkney estates had been held by the Earls of Morton under mortgage from the crown, but in 1742 the Earl obtained an act of parliament depriving the crown of the right of redemption. The D.N.B. is misleading in stating that it was "not long after" this that Morton sold the lands to Sir Laurence Dundas; in fact the sale took place in 1766. See below, p. 366, note 4.
 2. The "Pundlar Process"; See p. 2 of Brown's edition of Hepburn's Letter, cited in the next note.

unjustly accused M --, undoubtedly they deserve to be exposed to the public, as cruel impostors and bad men.

If this letter shall be of any use in removing prejudices, and informing the public of truths hitherto concealed, or artificially disguised; if it shall be of general advantage to agriculture, fisheries and manufactures in that part of Scotland, then the editor's design in publishing it will be fully answered.

The book was reprinted in 1885, by William Brown, Edinburgh, in an edition limited to 110 copies.¹ A manuscript note in the National Library of Scotland's copy of the original edition² states that it was from this copy that Brown's reprint was made. An introductory note to the 1885 edition shows that the publisher was not aware of the name of the editor.

This work, apparently the sole publishing venture for which Paton was directly responsible, remains something of a mystery. With his usual reticence, he tells us nothing more about it in his surviving correspondence than what has already been mentioned. It is all the more surprising in that the year of publication, 1760, was a most unhappy year in his life, when one would expect him to be otherwise preoccupied.³

In 1786 John Nichols published Thomas Gifford's An Historical Description of the Zetland Islands.⁴ It was entirely due to Paton

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1. A letter to a Gentleman from his friend in Orkney, (Written in 1757) containing the true causes of the poverty of that country. Attributed to The Rev. Thomas Hepburn of Birsay. Edinburgh 1885.
 2. Press-mark Rf. 52.
 3. See above, p. 19.
 4. No. XXXVII of the Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica (op. cit., p. 301), the seventh item in the fifth volume.

that this work appeared in print. This was fully acknowledged in the preface, written mainly by Gough;¹

The description of ZETLAND here offered to the public was written by Thomas Gifford of Busta, esquire, in 1733, in 173 pages 4to, to which was prefixed a drawing of the main land with the islands thereto belonging. The original MS. is in the hands of the author's family. A copy of it was presented to the Earl of Morton when president of the Royal Society, written and signed by Mr Gifford, and still remains in the noble family library. Copies were given by the author to other persons; and a transcript of one of them falling into the hands of Mr George Paton of Edinburgh, was, with the spirit of liberal communication which so eminently marks his character, imparted to the editor of the Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica.

Paton first mentioned this work to Nichols in a letter of 13th April 1782;²

I have now the pleasure to acquaint you that I've got the promise of a Description of the Islands of Schetland with a Map M.S. this being never before printed, if you think it proper to obtain a place in one of your Topographical numbers be kind enough as write me at convenience and I shall procure it for you, the proprietor only requesting if practicable that (the) M.S. may be preserved and returned to him after it is printed, will value it much to have as early intelligence as you can prior to the period designed for the insertion of this Article to your Collection.

To Gough Paton wrote on 14th May 1782;

Mr Nichols will receive the M.S. of Schetland or Zetland by Mr Philipe, shall beg he take care of it as the proprietor wishes to have it kept clean

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1. See below, p. 335.
 2. A number of letters from Paton to Nichols are to be found in the Paton-Gough correspondence, N.L.S. Adv. M.S. 29.5.7. See below, p. 441.

& returned to him again when he is done with it, & also a Copy or two at most when printed, this one is more correct than mine besides it has the map.

While in a letter to the same correspondent, of 1st July 1782, he observed, "Mr Nichols may take his own time in using the Zetland M.S."

However, three years elapsed before Paton heard anything more about it, and he asked Gough in a letter of 20th July 1785;

Does Mr Nichols proceed in his topographical publications, having not heard from him of a long time, has he printed the Description of Schetland? which I sent him more than a year ago, the owner of the M.S. is very desirous to have it since of no Service to him.

This question was repeated in a letter of 27th October 1785, in which Paton stated that if Nichols did not intend to print it

I wish he would return me the M.S. as the Proprietor daylie teases me for it again, or to have a Copy of it, if it is already printed.

Nichols assured him that it was to be printed,¹ and by January 1786 the printing had commenced. On the 12th of that month Gough sent Paton a sheet of it and asked for "hints for a preface to Zetland with an acct of the writer". Paton replied on 31st January;

Accept of my thanks for the sheet of Zetland, a Native of that Country not being here at this time prevents me presently from serving you with the requested Hints of the Author but as he is expected soon, I shortly may be able to communicate some particulars; understand the Map is engraved.

1. Gough to Paton, 10th December 1785.

With his letter of 19th April 1786 Gough sent the remaining sheets. This letter also shows that Gough was chiefly responsible for the Preface;

As it wd be too long to wait for a preface from Zetland I have ventured to draw up & prefix that which you now see: if erroneous be kind enough to correct it. Do you wish for any more copies.

Paton's reply, dated 15th May, indicates that by a mistake Paton had not received the Preface;

I welcomed the approach of yours dated 19 April with every respect, the three packets contained the sheets of the Description of Zetland but instead of your serving me with the Addition of your Introduction, these contained two of Letter I signature was also wanting the Map, but these may be sent afterwards. All that I have been able to glean relative to the Author shall be here annexed. I was directed to a Lady connected with the Family but the distance of time extinguished every particular about them out of her memory so could gain no more than what follows.

The subsequent account was printed almost verbatim by Nichols,¹ with this introduction; "The following information relative to the author of this Work came to hand after the preceding pages were printed".

Writing to Nichols on 16th May, Paton requested two or three copies, "the Gentleman, who served me with the M.S. being desirous to satisfy two or three of his Friends therewith". Gough wrote on 28th June

Mr Nichols if I mistake not will send you the desired copies of Zetland with thanks for the memoirs of Mr. Gifford which are added to what had before been drawn up.

1. pp. xvii - xviii.

Paton replied on 5th July regretting that "the short hints about Mr Gifford" were so few.

Gifford's Description was reprinted in 1879 by T.C. Stevenson.¹

In a most discriminating Introductory Notice Stevenson pointed out how much more interesting was the Gough - Paton correspondence than the letters that had already been printed by Maidment.²

Of most of Paton's friends and acquaintances in Orkney and Shetland we know little more than the names; John Robertson,³ Harry Graham,⁴ James Nisbet,⁵ Thomas and William Lindsay,⁶ and Andrew Bisset.⁷ More is recorded, however, about the most intimate of them, George Low. There is so much to be said about Low that a separate section will be devoted to him.

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1. Historical Description of the Zetland Islands in the year 1733. With an Appendix of Illustrative Documents. by Thomas Gifford, of Busta, Stuart and Justiciar-Depute of Zetland. Reprinted from the Original Edition published in 1786 under the superintendence of John Nichols, London. Edinburgh, 1879.
 2. pp. viii - ix footnote.
 3. Mentioned in an undated letter from Low to Paton (National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 48).
 4. Referred to in undated letter Low to Paton (ibid. f. 49) as "your old acquaintance Hary Graham of Hourston"; also mentioned in letter of 23rd March 1784 (ibid. f. 94).
 5. Mentioned in letter cited above (ibid. f. 49).
 6. In another undated letter (ibid. f. 50) Low stated that "both Mr Lindsays" desired to be remembered to Paton. For William Lindsay, see above, p. 328 note 2. Thomas Lindsay was a brother of William. ("Statement of facts" following letter Paton to Gough, 6th August 1776.).
 7. "Mr. And. Bisset from Montrose now in Shetland desired me to remember him to you" - Low to Paton 9th (September) 1774 (ibid. f. 69).

5. George Low.

George Low was born at Edzell in 1747. He was educated at the Universities of Aberdeen and St. Andrews. In 1768 he went to Orkney as a tutor.¹ The Dictionary of National Biography is probably correct in stating that Low was brought to Paton's notice by Joseph (later Sir Joseph) Banks and Dr. Daniel Solander, although they must have performed the introduction indirectly, as Paton did not see them when they were in Edinburgh in 1772, after their visit to the Orkneys, where they had met Low.² We have Low's own testimony that Banks and Solander made him known to Thomas Pennant.³

With the encouragement of Paton and Pennant, and the financial assistance of the latter, Low devoted most of his life to the study of the natural history, antiquities, and topography of the Orkneys and Shetlands. He produced a number of works which he hoped would be published with the aid of Pennant. None of them was, in fact, published in Low's lifetime, and some remain in manuscript to this

1. Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Vol. VII p. 241; D.N.B.

2. "I had not the good fortune to see Messrs. Banks & Solander when here" - Paton to Cough, 24th December 1772.

3. In the preface to his Fauna Orcadensis, Edinburgh 1813.

day.¹

In his introduction to Low's Tour of 1774, published in 1879,² Dr. Joseph Anderson quotes extensively from the letters both of Low and of Pennant to Paton, in order to trace the history of Low's manuscripts of his Tour from the time when they were written until

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1. Low's manuscripts include (1) a History of the Orkneys written in 1773. This begins with a Description of Orkney, of which there is a detailed account by Dr. Hugh Marwick in Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society Vol. II, pp. 49-58. (2) A Chronological Sketch of the Orkneys and A Description of Zetland in one quarto volume (National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 31.3.1). (3) Fauna Orcadensis, an octavo volume (ibid., Adv. MS. 32.4.1). This was published under the editorship of Dr. William Elford Leach, Edinburgh, 1813. (4) Tour Thro' Orkney and Schetland in 1774 (Edinburgh University Library) published Kirkwall 1879, with introduction by Dr. Joseph Anderson. (5) Journal Tour Thro' the North Isles and Part of the Mainland of Orkney, 1778. With additions by a later hand. By Mr. Low, Minister, employed for the purpose by Thos. Pennant, Esq. Quarto. (Library of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh) This volume also contains an abridged version of parts of the Orcades of Torfaeus, a draft of a letter from Low to Pennant of 12th April 1773, and a letter from a Mr. Louttit, dated 7th November 1833, with biographical notices of Low. The Tour of 1778 has been edited by Gilbert Goudie, Old Lore Miscellany, Viking Society, London, Vol. VIII, p. 132. (6) Tour in Orkney & Shetland 1774 & 1778. (This was in the Downing Library, and appears to have been Pennant's copy of a lost second version of the Tour in two quarto volumes, completed by Low in 1779; its present whereabouts is unknown. See below, pp. 361, 388). (7) Translation of Torfaeus. (This may have been in Paton's possession at his death, but it is more likely that the translation of Torfaeus listed in the sale catalogue of his manuscripts was that of the Rev. Alexander Pope, presented to Paton in February 1781 (Letter Pope-Paton 21st February 1781. Nat. Lib. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f.43.) (8) Sketches of Orkney, etc. (Bodleian Library MS. 32961.) This consists entirely of drawings. Three of the above-mentioned MSS. were in Paton's possession, and were sold with his other books after his death. (See above, pp. 117-8.) Three early manuscript works by Low are mentioned by Anderson in his introduction to Low's Tour, pp. xiv-xix.
 2. George Low, A Tour Through the Islands of Orkney and Schetland containing hints relative to their ancient modern and natural history collected in 1774. Kirkwall, 1879.

their author's death. He shows how the publication of the work was delayed for various reasons, and how Low's hopes finally ended in disappointment and disillusionment. But he does not bring out the relationship between Low and Paton. Anderson, like other writers who have alluded more briefly to the Low-Paton correspondence,¹ clearly did not appreciate the full importance of Paton in Low's life.

If a full biography of Low should ever be written, Paton would figure prominently in its pages. Anderson recognised that Low's letters to Paton

form, when collated with Mr Pennant's letters to the same gentleman, the most authentic and almost the only existing materials for a brief sketch of Low's life, during the period from 1772 until his death in 1795.²

He drew on the letters to show, correctly enough, the feelings of bitterness and resentment with which Low saw the failure of his hopes, for which he blamed Pennant. But he failed to make clear that none of this bitterness was ever directed towards Paton. The letters from Low to Paton testify to a warm friendship that persisted until Low's death, and afforded him consolation for the disappointments that, rightly or wrongly, he ascribed to the neglect of others.

Low's first letter to Paton is dated 5th August 1772,³ and replies to Paton's of 26th June. It is clear that Low had been recommended to Paton as a correspondent who could help to satisfy his

1. e.g. writers in Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae and D.N.B.

2. Tour 1774, introduction, pp. xxvii - xxviii.

3. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 52.

curiosity about the antiquities, natural history and topography of the Orkney^s and Shetland^s, and that Paton had lost no time in commencing a correspondence.

Paton soon found that his expectations were amply fulfilled by his new correspondent. He obtained a great deal of information in answer to his queries on miscellaneous topics connected with Orkney and Shetland, and, in return, he was able to help his friend in many ways, not least by lending him books, which by reason both of his fortune and his isolation, Low found difficult to obtain.

But Paton's greatest service to Low was in the sphere of life rather than that of letters. It is clear from Low's own testimony that Paton played no small part in obtaining for him the charge of the united parishes of Harray and Birsay, on the death of Hugh Sutherland, who had in 1772 succeeded Paton's friend Thomas Hepburn as minister there.¹

The first reference to the matter is in Low's letter to Paton of 20th May 1774;²

I never stood more in need of an extreme effort of your experienced friendship than now, as the Kirk of Birsay in the Prestry of Kirston is vacant by the death of Mr Sutherland, Mr Hepburns Successor & Brothr in law the late incumbent which happened this morning; and I propose to be a candidate. I shall have need of every ear to bring me to port as I know there will be a considerable number of Candidates on the other side. Every man for

1. Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Vol. VII pp. 240-1.

2. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 75.

himself you know. What I would beg of you is, you would set every engine to work, your prudence directs, with whom you think the properest persons to get at our Great Man¹ or his agent Mr Pringle so that if possible we may make out our push. I have some hopes from Principal Murisons² activity and with him you might correspond if any thing was starting you might assist my hopes. Dr Sir As a great deal depends upon my friends exerting themselves on this occasion I hope you will not be the last to look what may be done, tho' I cannot say I could do you any thing to deserve such an instance of attention, and whether you can afford me any hopes of success or not in yours to me in Lerwick, your future friendship in any similar circumstance will be depended on ...

The death of Sutherland had occurred while Low was engaged on the tour of Orkney and Shetland that he had undertaken at Pennant's request. He had commenced it on 4th May 1774,³ when he set out from Stromness, where he had been working as a tutor, for the Isle of Graemsay. On 16th May he visited Hunda, then crossed to Lambholm, whence he returned to Burray, which he had first reached on 13th May. Crossing next to Holm on the mainland of Orkney, he awaited an opportunity to make the voyage to Shetland.⁴ It would appear exceedingly fortunate in the light of after events that weather conditions not only delayed his departure for Shetland, but also made it impossible for eight days for him to make a tour of the east side of the mainland and isles. For otherwise the news of Sutherland's death might have reached him much later, and valuable time would have

1. Sir Laurence Dundas. See below, p. 366, note 4.

2. James Murison, Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, from 1747 until his death in 1779. (Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ Vol. VII p. 421.)

3. Tour 1774, p. 1.

4. Ibid. pp. 39 - 45.

been lost before he enlisted Paton's aid. Low wrote in his Tours:¹

In this interval employed myself in sketching out my field drawings, and copying my journal from my scattered notes.

His letter requesting Paton's help must also have been written at this time.

In his next letter, written at Foula in Shetland on 4th July 1774,² Low thanks Paton for his efforts;

And now my very dear Sir let me return you the most gratefull thanks for your assiduity in my affair of Birsa, I never doubted yr inclination but you have done more than expectation and struck out methods of intelligence which I could not have thought of; if I succeed we your Letters give me the pleasing hopes of I shall have it in my power to apply to the work in hand wt much more assiduity and to put my travelling notes in a much better dress than I could have done while driven about here one while and there another as must have been the case had I been obliged to stibble on in Orkney, as I find stocks would not allow my attendance at Edinr as I once thought for the winter. Who knows but I may have the pleasure of seing (sic) my friend at Birsa where in the most beautiful spot of the Mainland we may philosophise at our leisure, but this in future.

I beg you'll have your eye how matters go, as I should like to have the earliest information ...

Mr Ross³ the day before I left Orkney told me of your application to him; and having so attentive a friend on the spot think I cannot fail ...

It is evident that Paton's many connections in Orkney stood him in good stead in his efforts to help Low.

1. Ibid. p. 45.

2. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 76.

3. Probably the George Ross who is referred to in a letter of Low to Paton, 27th February 1776. "Mr. George Ross of Pithery" is mentioned in the letter of Thomas Lindsay to Gough, and again in the account of the discovery of Canute's Coins accompanying Paton's letter to Gough of 6th August 1776. (see above, p. 328.)

On 9th September 1774,¹ after his return to Orkney, Low wrote acknowledging Paton's letters telling him of the successful outcome. There was, however, a vexatious delay of six months before Low was finally presented to the charge, as he complained in a letter of 7th January 1775;² but by then all was well, and he was looking forward to meeting Paton for the first time when he came to Edinburgh for that year's session of the General Assembly.

This meeting duly took place,³ and Low's letters henceforth have the warm tone of intimate friendship, one of the most delightful manifestations of which is the use of Scots dialect words.⁴

Paton's other services to Low of a personal nature included his procuring the advice of Dr. Hope⁵ at Low's request in December 1775, when the latter was ill and feared consumption. Hope's remedy was so successful that Low soon recovered.⁶ Paton's great concern for his friend and his relief at his recovery, are reflected in his letters to Gough.⁷

1. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 69. The month is omitted in the letter; Anderson is no doubt correct in assigning it to September. (Tour 1774, p. xlvi.)

2. *Ibid.* f. 77.

3. See letters Paton to Gough, 3rd July 1775; Low to Paton, 31st August 1775 (*ibid.* f. 78).

4. e.g. see the passage quoted below, p. 345.

5. John Hope (1725-1786), Regius Professor of Medicine and Botany in the University of Edinburgh from 1768. He was a close friend of Paton. See above, p. 51.

6. Letters Low to Paton 16th December 1775 (f. 80) and 27th February 1776 (f. 81).

7. Letters of 29th December 1775, 8th January, 5th February, and 21st March 1776.

Books lent by Paton to Low included Mallet's Northern Antiquities.¹ Low borrowed Paton's copy of Torfaeus's History of Orkney² twice. On 4th June 1773,³ after he had returned it the first time, he wrote;

I am indeed vexed I sent up Torfaeus but then had no thought of entering so far into things ... I can scarce ask it again and yet it would be very assisting ...

Paton promptly sent it, and Low had it for a considerable time, for on 10th December 1777⁴ he wrote;

I have got about half of Torfaeus translated with comparisons, confutations and corrections of & from the Scottish history as I go along, and hope I shall finish it soon as I sit very close at it.

On 4th March 1778⁵ he announced the completion of his task. In October of the same year Paton managed to obtain a copy of the work for Low from Germany, so that presumably he received his own copy back at that time.⁶

A further instance of Paton's zeal in procuring books for Low is his obtaining for him from Gough a loan of the Orkneyinga Saga edited by Jonaeus.⁷ Pennant had suggested that this book, the title

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1. Paul Henri Mallet, Northern Antiquities: or a description of the manners, customs, religion and laws of the ancient Danes, and other Northern Nations ... 2 vols., London, 1770. (A translation by Thomas Percy of Mallet's Introduction a l'Histoire de Dannemarck ... Copenhagen, 1755.)
 2. Thormodus Torfaeus, Orcades, seu Rerum Orcadensium Historiae libri tres. Hafniae, 1697.
 3. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 60.
 4. *Ibid.*, f. 83.
 5. *Ibid.*, f. 86.
 6. Letter Paton to Gough, 9th October 1778.
 7. See below, p. 366, note 2.

of which he could not remember, would be of use to Low.¹

Another instance of Paton's thoughtfulness was his offer of strong paper for drawing on, which Low accepted in his letter of 22nd December 1773.²

Low alludes to their mutual love of books, and his own lack of them, in two striking passages, light-hearted in tone but wistful in spirit, in a letter to Paton of 4th March 1778;³

Your passion for Books My Dear friend I know,
Indeed I have the same, but cannot satisfy it,
A toom purse makes a rinnin merchant ye ken,
however never shall I discommend my favourite
passion in any one that by any means can indulge
it.

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You say "see the Laws of the Westrogoths" but
I tell you I cannot see the Laws not even of
the Welsh, who are nearer hand hame, so never
set my saul a'itching.

The story of Low's life, from the death of his wife in December 1776 until his own death in March, 1795, is not a cheerful one; but it would probably not be an exaggeration to say that, apart from his studies and the duties of his ministry, his chief consolation lay in his friendship with Paton. It is not possible to prove this statement by citing one or two passages from his letters to Paton, rather is it implicit in the tone and spirit of the later letters as a whole. It is exemplified in brief allusions

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1. See letters Pennant to Paton, 20th October 1780 (National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 31); Paton to Gough, 30th December 1780; Gough to Paton, 20th January 1781.
 2. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 67.
 3. Ibid. f. 86.

which are significant only in their context and against the background of what is known of the lives of Low and Paton, such as when the former writes with affectionate recollection of Paton's circle of friends in Edinburgh, " ... with Compliments to all our Dowieites¹ especially Davis Herd ...",² or when he states that he knows that Paton reveres much the cause of humanity.³

The chief theme of Low's letters to Paton is an account of the writer's progress in his researches into the natural history and antiquities of ~~the~~ Orkney~~s~~ and Shetland~~s~~. Low's statements of his aims and methods show how thoroughly scientific was his approach to his studies;

As to the topography of the country (i.e. Shetland) I defy them to cheat me as I shall visit every littlest hole, the same may be said of the Natural history ...

You are sensible I must see all ranks to view the Oeconomy of the Country where I am going, I am determined however to have no further correspondence than is necessary to investigate what I came upon. The little parties and Griefs I shall take no notice of, and shall take particular care to be unbiassed by them. However under this head cannot come the following particulars to lay open after description the defects in agriculture, arts, or manufactures with a view to point out the method of cure. To set the laziness that so much prevails in Orkny (with regard to fishing particularly,) in contrast wt the industry that may be found else-where. Matters of dispute in politicks or between the Supr and Vassals I shall not meddle much with as they must disgust. ⁴

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1. i.e. frequenters of Dowie's tavern. See above, p. 80.
 2. Letter of 3rd November 1791. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III. f. 99.
 3. Letter of 3rd September 1792, Ibid., f. 101.
 4. Letter of 7th February 1774, Ibid., f. 71.

In a letter of 10th March 1774,¹ Low described how he was to compile his journal;

I have the promise of a Book from a friend to keep my Journal on which I intend shall be very regular the one page to contain the topography of the isles &c. with notes of the natural history, antiquities, curiosities &c. The other a Meteorological Journal and what else pertains to the elements: and from these Materials what may be published is to be compiled ...

Another letter written a week later² gives further evidence of Low's scientific attitude of mind. After stating that he would take notice of obelisks throughout the country, he continued;

but this part of the subject I much depend on yours and Mr Pennts illustratory notes, as the most that I can say will be descriptive, my small experience in these matters not having sufficiently informed me to judge with propriety in many of them, and an ignorant dictator I abhor.

One of the fruits of his researches that Low sent to Paton was an account of the opening of a tumulus in the Links of Skail.³ This Paton passed on to Cough, who had it read before the Society of Antiquaries and published in the Archaeologia.⁴ Low appreciated Paton's action;

Your communicating my letter to your friend of the Antiquarian Society I esteem as an honour, and to proceed from yr good opinion of me however undeserved ...⁵

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1. Ibid., f. 72.
 2. 17th March 1774. Ibid. f. 73.
 3. Letter of 27th November 1772. Ibid., f. 54.
 4. See above, p. 329.
 5. Low to Paton, 15th April 1773 (National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 58).

Other subjects on which Low provided Paton with information include the ancient acts of parliament relating to Orkney,¹ the "Picts' Houses" found there,² and the biography of Sir Robert Strange.³

Paton's readiness to help Low by seeking out information which he required can also be illustrated from Low's letters. At the end of 1777 and the beginning of 1778, Low was engaged in translating Torfaeus,⁴ and he enquired about the meaning of the terms "satellites", "satellites purpurati", "curio", and "curionatus".⁵ This enquiry Paton passed on to at least three of his other correspondences - Gough, Dr. Cuming, and Lord Hailes.⁶

A most interesting fact revealed by allusions in four of Low's letters is that Paton was using the device later to be employed by Sir John Sinclair for his Statistical Account of Scotland, of sending circular letters to the clergy asking them to furnish accounts of their parishes. This does not mean, of course, that Paton can be claimed as

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1. Ibid., 4th June 1773, (Ibid., f. 60).
 2. Ibid., 27th February 1776, (Ibid., f. 81).
 3. Ibid., 14th January 1793, (Ibid., f. 102). Sir Robert Strange (1721-1792) artist and engraver, who was born in Orkney. (D.N.B.)
 4. See above, p. 338 note 1.
 5. Low to Paton, 10th December 1777. (op. cit., f. 83.) But Low must have questioned Paton about this earlier, because on 12th August 1777 Lord Hailes replied to Paton's "queries from Orkney" - "I suppose that Satellites &c. will be understood from a perusal of ye whole Book, but I have no leisure at present for that". (National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I. f. 22)
 6. Paton to Gough 22nd January 1778; Cuming to Paton 25th April 1778 (Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II ff. 61-2); Hailes to Paton 12th August 1777 (op. cit.). Three years earlier Paton had asked Prof. William Ogilvie of Aberdeen about technical terms in the Orcades of Torfaeus. See Ogilvie to Paton, 2nd August 1775 (Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV, ff. 13-14)

the originator of the idea. It can be traced back at least to Sir Robert Sibbald, with whose work Paton was familiar. But Paton's use of the method preceded William Smellie's plan on the same lines, drawn up in 1780, a decade before the successful employment of the system on a grand scale by Sinclair.¹

The matter is first mentioned by Low in a letter of 12th February 1773,² where he states;

I shall disperse your letter among the Clergy, with what effect I cannot prophesy, but am afraid it will not answer ...

On 30th April³ he informed Paton that he had dispersed Paton's letters, but "Our Cly seem to be lazy". By October, Low's pessimism was proved to be not altogether justified, for on the 8th of that month⁴ he was able to write;

The inclosed is the first fruits of your printed Letters. whether any more will come or not I am uncertain. If the clergy are so obliging as transmitt them to me they shall be regularly sent as they come.

In his next letter, dated 4th November,⁵ Low expressed the hope that Paton had received Mr. Clouston's description of his parish. This indicates that what had been sent on 8th October was a description of

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1. See I.N.B. articles on Sir John Sinclair and William Smellie. It is interesting to note that Low wrote an excellent account of the united parishes of Birsay and Harray for Sinclair's Statistical Account. This has been reprinted in The Orkney Parishes, ed. J. Storer Clouston, Kirkwall, 1927.
 2. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III, f. 56.
 3. *Ibid.*, f. 59.
 4. *Ibid.*, f. 64.
 5. *Ibid.*, f. 65.

the parish of Cross and Burness in Sanday by the Rev. William Clouston.¹

Low sent another description on 4th November, from a Mr. Irvine. The Rev. Edward Irvine was at that time minister of Firth and Stenness in the Presbytery of Cairston.² Low added that he would "stimulate the rest", but his letters make no further mention of the subject.

Another important matter referred to in Low's letters is the survival in Orkney and Shetland of traces of the Norse language. Modern scholarship has cause to be grateful to Low for the scientific way in which he recorded what he found, and to Paton for passing on this knowledge to others. The first brief reference to this subject is in a letter of 4th July 1774;³

In Foula got some specs of the Norn language
to exercise the skill of the Literati upon.

It is most interesting to see that Low recognised the value of proper names as linguistic data, although it is not clear from the following passage whether he meant place-names or personal names;

I am collecting several of the most curious of our
Orkney names to see and investigate whether they
are really Danish or more ancient, I shall transmitt
them to you for the perusall of yourself and friends.

This was written on 16th December 1775.⁴ In the same letter he went

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1. William Clouston (1747-1832), minister of Cross and Burness 1773-1794. (Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, Vol. VII, pp. 253, 259.)
 2. Edward Irvine (1710-1785), minister of Firth and Stenness from 1770 until his death. (Fasti Vol. VII, p. 236.)
 3. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III, f. 76.
 4. *Ibid.*, f. 80.

on;

Pray did I leave with you a Copy of "A Norn ballad" which I got in Foula, I proposed to do it if I did not.

He wrote of this ballad at greater length in his next letter, dated 27th February 1776;¹

I do not remember if I left you a copy of a Norn Ballad which got in Foula, I wish you would try if Dr Piercy (~~sic~~) could make any thing of it. If you have no copy I shall send an exact one as I wrote it at least tho' I cannot depend on the orthography as I wrote it from an honest country mans mouth who could neither read nor write, but had the most retentive memory I ever heard of. He I am afraid is by this time dead as he was then old and much decayed, but when I saw him he was so much pleased with my curiosity and now and then a dram of Gin that he repeated & sung the whole day.²

I lately had from a young man the enclosed Ballad written from his memory. It looks like antique and if genuine & not published might be acceptable to Dr. Piercy on account of Shakespears play founded on the same subject, perhaps on the ballad or Vice Versa -

He was not master of spelling it truly, and I think it would be better in four Line Stanza's (~~sic~~).

As low suggested, Paton sent these ballads to Percy.

Acknowledging the "Norn Song" in a letter of 29th August 1777³, the

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1. Ibid., f. 81.
 2. For the story of this ballad, which was based on the Sörlathattr, see The Orkneyinga Saga translated from the Icelandic by Jon. A. Hjaltalin and Gilbert Goudie, Edited, with notes and introduction by Joseph Anderson ... Edinburgh, 1873, pp. cxiii-cxiv. There is a translation of the first twelve stanzas in Miss N. Kershaw's Stories and Ballads of the Far Past ... Cambridge, 1921.
 3. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I. f. 90.

latter wrote that it was a pity that Low had not written down a literal translation of it. He hoped that Low would include the song in any account of Orkney that he might publish.¹

Low mentioned the ballad again in a letter of 4th March 1778;²

As to the Horn ballad not being understood by those who speak the modern Norwn I think no wonder, many are the changes (in) a language in a series of years, but more by the change of place, and the introduction of a new one in its front which with my want of skill in the orthography will even change its appearance to those acquainted with the language in its original.

This ballad was printed in an appendix to Barry's History of the Orkney Islands,³ where it follows four other items of a linguistic nature, two of them also from Low's Tour.⁴ It has been studied in detail by a Norwegian scholar.⁵

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1. The passage on the ballad in Percy's letter has been quoted in full above, p. 238.
 2. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. I. f. 86.
 3. Rev. George Barry, minister of Shapinshay, The History of the Orkney Islands, Edinburgh, 1805, Appendix X. Cf. Low's Tour 1774, ed. Anderson, pp. 107-114.
 4. "The Lord's Prayer, in Norse, as spoken by some people in Foula, one of the Shetland Isles, from Mr Low's Tour, MS. 1774"; "Some words of the same language, translated into English from the same MS." Cf. Tour 1774, pp. 105-6.
 5. Marius Hægstad; Hildina Hildinakvadet: Med utgreiding um det norske maal paa Shetland i eldre tid, Christiana, 1900. This study is described in the catalogue of the National Library of Scotland as "a recension of the ballad based on photographic facsimiles of the manuscript written in 1774 by George Low from the dictation of William Henry of Foula".

In a letter of 23rd March 1781¹ Low described the visit to Orkney of Captain Cook's vessels, at the close of the voyage on which their commander had met his death. Low boarded the ships and was presented with many of the interesting articles they had brought back with them. He looked forward to giving Paton his choice from these when he met him in Edinburgh in April or May.

The many additions to his natural history and antiquarian collections that Paton received from Low was one of the chief benefits he derived from their correspondence. On 14th June 1773,² for instance, Low sent him specimens of birds, and of a scarce crab. On another occasion he sent him a piece of loadstone, a pair of beads, a "specimen of Eider down in order to shew you the Elasticity of it" and also "a Locket to puzzle your Edinr Lapidaries as it looks very much like an Agat, but is in truth nothing more than a piece of Horse Tooth". At the same time he sent some coins.³

Consideration of the history of the composition of Low's Tour, and the attempts to publish the work in the author's lifetime, has been deferred until this point. It is intended to deal with the subject in some detail, as Low's manuscripts constitute the chief monument of his life, and the part played by Paton in the matter has never been brought out.

Although in his introduction to the Tour 1774⁴ Anderson quotes

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1. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 91.
 2. Ibid., f. 61.
 3. Undated letter, *ibid.*, f. 49.
 4. *op. cit.*

extensively from the letters of Low and Pennant to Paton, he unaccountably omits one or two of the most important for his purpose. Moreover, he makes no use of the Paton-Gough correspondence, where there are many references to Low's manuscripts, some important. The result is that he leaves the impression that the failure to publish Low's works was entirely due to Pennant's indifference and loss of his original enthusiasm; whereas letters which are not quoted by Anderson show that Pennant made at least three serious attempts to have Low's Tour published. The failure of these made it clear that he could have secured the publication only by taking the whole financial risk upon himself, and that he was not prepared to do. It might be argued that his virtual promise to Low ought to have obliged him, and his wealth should have enabled him, to undertake it; but this is not the place to pass such a judgement.

It is perhaps less surprising that Anderson failed to give Paton his due recognition, than that he did less than justice to Pennant. Paton's services to others were performed so unostentatiously that it is not remarkable that his merits have been overlooked by subsequent writers not primarily interested in him.

In the following account, the ground already covered by Anderson will be gone over as briefly as possible. Points where his treatment is inadequate or incorrect will be considered at greater length.

Anderson quotes many of Low's letters to Paton, beginning with

the first, dated 5th August 1772.¹ He also traces Pennant's interest in Low's studies from references to Low in Pennant's letters to Paton, the first being in that of 24th December 1772.² The quotations show how Pennant offered to finance a tour by Low of ~~the~~ Orkneys and Shetlands, which Low at first declined, but soon undertook with enthusiasm. Paton also showed the keenest interest in the journey, and offered to send Low any books he might require. In a letter to Paton of 23rd January 1774,³ not quoted by Anderson, Pennant introduced a note of caution, reflecting Paton's eagerness;

In respect to yr earnestness abt sending him books, you are very kind but he had best collect all his materials & then form his remarks from Books.

Anderson quotes⁴ from Low's letter to Paton of 4th July 1774⁵, and adds,

In all probability this letter was sent on to Mr. Pennant, who writes to his friend, Mr. Paton, on the 15th July, that he rejoices greatly at the prospect of Mr Low's success.

This is perfectly true, but the prospect of success referred to by Pennant is surely not success in the tour, as Anderson seems to imply, but success in obtaining the parish of Birsay.⁶

After referring to Low's ordination to his parish on 14th December 1774, Anderson goes on; "Unfortunately no letters of this

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1. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III, f. 52.
 2. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I, f. 22.
 3. Ibid., f. 48.
 4. Introduction, pp. xlvi - xlvii.
 5. See above, p. 342.
 6. Anderson does not quote the passage from the letter of 4th July 1774 on this matter.

period are preserved. Mr. Low's next communication to Mr. Paton is dated from Conagarth, 31st August, 1775".¹ There is, however, a letter dated 7th January 1775,² which is of some biographical importance, as it complains about the delay of "half a year" in Low's admission to his parish after he had been appointed by the presbytery. Another letter can safely be assigned to 4th August 1775,³ or shortly after, because it is written on the same paper as a receipt of that date by John Louttit, late charity schoolmaster at Orphir, to Paton's friend John Davidson, treasurer to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, for £4 - 5/- sterling, regarding which Low wrote, "Inclosed is a receipt for Jn Loutits money so that they may have no excuse for not paying it". This was also the time of Low's first meeting with Paton, which took place when Low attended the General Assembly in Edinburgh. It seems unlikely, therefore, that any letters belonging to this time have been lost, as the period is quite adequately covered.

When they met in Edinburgh, Low showed Paton the part of the journal of his tour that he had written.⁴ Low also handed to Paton a box for Pennant, containing stuffed animals and drawings.⁵ Pennant was greatly disappointed, however, when at length he received the box; for the animals not having been properly preserved, the corpses were unrecognisable.⁶

1. Introduction p.1.

2. See above, p. 343.

3. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III, f. 50.

4. Letter Paton to Gough, 3rd July 1775.

5. Pennant to Paton, 22nd June 1775; National Library Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I, f. 88.

6. Ibid., 29th August 1775; *ibid.*, f. 91.

In a letter to Paton of 31st August 1775,¹ Low announced his marriage to Helen Tyrie,² which had taken place on the 15th of that month. On 16th December³ he wrote that he was unwell and feared consumption. He enclosed a "line" for Dr. Hope, asking his advice. Paton must have written of his anxiety to Pennant in similar terms as to Gough,⁴ for Pennant replied on 23rd February 1776,⁵ "I fear you give up poor Mr Low: his MSS. shall have the same attention paid to them as ever". On 27th February,⁶ however, Low was able to write;

I have the firmest trust in Dr Hopes receipt
by which I am already so well as to bear writing ...
I shall exactly attend to the Drs advice and hope
for a full reestablishment of health.

Low's wife died on 2nd December 1776⁷, and the very moving letter of 16th December⁸ in which he gives this news has been printed by Maidment,⁹ as well as by Anderson.¹⁰ It seems that in his grief Low had talked of giving up his work, for Pennant wrote to Paton on

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1. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III, f. 78.
 2. Born 1749, daughter of James Tyrie, minister of Stromness; Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ, Vol. VII, pp. 252-3.
 3. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III, f. 80.
 4. See above, p. 343.
 5. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I, f. 103.
 6. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III, f. 81.
 7. Not 2nd September as stated by Anderson (Introduction, p. lvii).
 8. Not 18th September as given by Anderson (ibid.); National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 82.
 9. Letters 1830, op. cit., pp. 70-71, footnote.
 10. p. lvii.

29th March 1777;¹

Mr Low ought in justice to send me his materials drawings &c if he does not mean to go on with his work. Hint it I beg to him.²

In July and again in September 1777 Low was in Edinburgh.³

Apparently the feeling of utter despair that had naturally followed his loss had now passed, and he was again hard at work on his journal. He seems to have put the finishing touches to it either just before leaving Orkney, or while in Scotland, for on 6th September Paton wrote to Gough that a parcel had been sent to White the publisher⁴

being Mr Low's MSS Description & Natural History of Orkney & Schetland Isles 5, with about Sixty or upwards of Sketches, views, of coast, Standing Stones, Picts houses, Antiquities &c and plants &c the whole is to be conveyed by him to Mr Pennant.

Pennant acknowledged it on 7th November.⁶

Meanwhile, in a letter to Paton of 18th September 1777, Gough had asked permission to see Low's manuscript, and on 26th September

1. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 5. This letter is misplaced in the National Library ms. volume, being placed as if it were dated 1779. The date, however, is clearly written "March 29 1777". Anderson prints this quotation (p. lxxiii) dating it March 29, 1779. Apart from the date on the letter, the quotation is obviously out of place between extracts from letters of 18th October 1778 and 2nd May 1779. There is no sign that Low was thinking of giving up his work in 1779, whereas after his bereavement two years earlier, it is natural that for a short time he should have contemplated abandoning his efforts.
2. Anderson prints the last six words; "That is I beg him to".
3. Letters Paton to Gough, 28th July and 26th September 1777. The former letter indicates that Low had intended to stay only for a few days. Bad health may have caused him to remain longer.
4. Benjamin White (d.1794) Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers 1726-1775, op. cit., p. 261.
5. Italicisation sic.
6. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I, f. 126.

Paton replied that he had signified his request to Low,

which he cheerfully agreed to, so beg you & Mr Pennant to settle the point as most agreeable, he informs me that he has no other Copy of it but this sent to Mr Pennant, his health not permitting him to transcribe another & indeed my Time at present would not allow me to assist him thus far ...

A long passage in Paton's letter to Gough of 13th October 1777 is of sufficient importance to quote at length;

Mr Low's MS. is intirely submitted to Mr Pennant whether it is to be published or not and where. In confidence between us Mr Low undertook this work at the Request of Mr Pennant & purposed to usher the same to the publick if it pleased him by either disposing of it to any Bookseller or otherways that the Author might reap any small advantage therefrom, he appears to me quite resigned whether it be printed or not, being careless of Fame &c. but retains a warm Sense of Gratitude for Mr Pennant's friendship as also of Mr Banks & Dr Solander's those two latter Gentlemen shewed him great respect, when they visited these Islands: may I request the favour of your concealing this information, without giving Mr Pennant the smallest hint of this matter being imparted by me to you, least (sic) any umbrage should ensue; upon the whole I make no doubt of Mr Pennant's indulging you with the perusal of this Work, as I could have done had he not expressly discharged me to shew it to any person but to himself, which has been faithfully complied with: this is the real situation & submit it to your own prudent wisdom, as I heartily wish no difference to happen to any of us.

Gough accordingly applied to Pennant, who at first refused, as he told Paton in a letter of 11th January 1778;¹

1. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I, f. 130.

I shall bring it (i.e. Low's manuscript) with me to London in April & transmit it to you. Mr Gough applied to me for the loan of it which I was sorry for as I thought myself obliged to deny him for the reason I gave you. He is a friend I wd oblige in any other respect. I never suspect you of wilfully injuri(ng) any one but I know yr universal benevolence might betray you into a communication that we might regret.

Pennant went on to say that he would show Gough the manuscript when he visited him. In the end, however, he did send it to him; and Gough displeased him greatly by returning it to him instead of forwarding it to Paton, as Pennant had requested.¹

At the end of 1777, Low proposed to complete his survey by visiting the northern islands of Orkney which he had previously missed; Rousay, Westray, Sanday and Stronsay. Pennant approved of this project in a letter to Paton of 30th November 1777.² On 10th December³ Low wrote to Paton that he would set out as soon as the weather permitted. He began the tour on 1st July 1778.⁴

Early in 1778 Pennant began to have misgivings about the possibility of publishing Low's work, for in a letter to Paton of 20th March⁵ he writes of the "public calamities" of the time as a check to publications. This view is repeated in subsequent

1. Pennant to Paton, 26th May 1778. (Ibid., f. 138)

2. Ibid., f. 128.

3. Adv. MS. 29.5.8., Vol. III, f. 83.

4. Low's Tour 1778 ed. Goudie (cited above, p. 338 note 1), Old Lore Miscellany Vol. VIII p. 132.

5. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I, f. 135.

letters.¹ In May 1779, however, he appeared to be taking a more optimistic view, as in letters to Paton of the 2nd and 11th of that month² he went into the financial aspects of publication in some detail, enquiring in the second of these if Low would favour a subscription. But the pessimistic note recurs in a letter of 2nd July 1779.³

Meanwhile, Low was evidently engaged in revising and adding to his manuscript Tour, which Pennant had returned to him for that purpose. On 23rd April 1779 Paton wrote to Gough;

I have reason to believe Mr Low will transmit me his MS. this Summer that it be conveyed to our Friend Mr Pennant for printing (but this is a private matter) as some of his drawings are under the artists hands already.

and again on 27th May;

Mr Low has recopied his Tour it makes 2 vol. equal to those of Mr Pennants 4to Tour in MD 4to one page only written.

Gough made three references to Low in his British Topography⁴ Paton, who had seen the proof-sheets,⁵ comments upon one of these allusions in a letter of 17th June 1779, before the Topography was published;

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1. e.g. 26th May and 11th August 1778. (Ibid., ff. 138, 141.)
 2. Ibid., Vol. II ff. 7-8; printed by Anderson, pp. lxxiii-lxiv.
 3. Ibid., f. 9; Anderson, p. lxiv.
 4. op. cit.
 5. See above, pp. 279 et seq.

p 619 you conclude the first § with a compliment to Mr Low, whose MSS. now finished makes a part of the parcel to Mr Pennant for his revisal & overseing during the printing.

The reference is actually on p. 632 of the Topography as published.

After mentioning Lightfoot's Flora Scotica¹, Gough continues;

Great improvement in the natural history of Scotland may be expected from the rev. Mr. Low's account of Orkney, now preparing for press under the same (i.e. Pennant's) patronage.

This statement was evidently based on information supplied by Paton in an earlier letter,² where he told Gough that Pennant had recommended that the material in Low's Flora Orcadensis³ should be incorporated in the journal of his tour;

... so far the discription with the natural History is pretty complete, this latter part you have not seen, but is rather larger than the Journal, both have been read over by Mr. Pennant, & believe (between ourselves) he advises to incorporate part or most of the latter into the Journal occasionally as the places do invite him to mention such Articles, in this he will intirely subject himself to superior advice ...

Later in the Topography,⁴ Gough stated;

The rev. Mr. Low, minister of Birsay, who for seven years before had been engaged in making collections for the natural history of these islands, at the request of Mr. Banks and Mr. Pennant undertook a tour through the islands of Orkney and Schetland, in the summer of 1774,

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1. John Lightfoot, Flora Scotica, or a systematic arrangement, in the Linnaean method, of the native plants of Scotland and the Hebrides. 2 vols., London, 1777.
 2. 2nd May 1778.
 3. The manuscript of this is now lost. See above, p. 338 note 1.
 4. Vol. II, p. 727.

which he finished in 1778, and has prepared a regular account of these islands in regard to their antient and modern, civil, ecclesiastical, and natural history; with 50 drawings of rude monuments, churches &c. which we are not without hope may shortly be published under the munificent patronage of Mr. Pennant.

The third reference to Low in the Topography¹ is an allusion to his account of the opening of the Orkney barrows, which was published in the Archaeologia.²

The parcel containing Low's manuscript was sent to Pennant by way of Gough. The latter wrote to Paton on 30th July 1779;

I have taken the liberty to detain Mr Lowes MS on its way to Mr Pennant who is at present too much engaged in preparing for an invasion wch I do not think likely to happen. If an apology is necessary to him I will make it. It is too entertaining a work to be slightly past over: hope it will soon make its appearance.

Paton replied on 3rd August;

You are at full liberty to close the matter about the detaining Mr Low's MSS. as you & Mr Pennant shall agree, only request it be as early as possible & please let not me be mentioned in any way as giving my consent: do it from yourself: by the bye I doubt not but your assistance & advice &Ca about the publican and Sale of the MS, may be very necessary & requisite after this: of this I give a hint from myself will explain it in a future letter.

Three days later Paton wrote again;

Leave you to accomodate the affair of Mr Low's MS. between Mr Pennant & you as most agreeable, from what I understand no Bookseller in London at present seems to have any disposition of purchasing any thing but what will immediately return his money.

1. Ibid., p. 728.

2. See above, p. 329.

In a letter to Paton of 17th September 1779¹ Pennant acknowledged receipt of Low's revised manuscript. In another of 16th May 1780² he again asked if Low would favour a subscription, while on 16th July³ he wrote;

I will send by the first opportunity Mr Low's MS. to Mr Cadell⁴ & desire to know from him what he will give for it; if he declines printing it, I shall request him to forward it to you. The times are too bad for any individual (except a bookseller, who is versed in the ways of putting off things) to attempt it ...

On 24th September⁵ he wrote to Paton that he had sent the manuscript to Cadell but had received no reply, and added; "Pray desire that it may be sent to you if he refuses it". A month later⁶ he wrote;

The inclosed will shew you how long (ago) I sent the MS. of Mr Low to Mr Cadell. I must beg you as a friend of the former will get an answer from Cadell or the MS. to be sent to you. Please to transact the bargain in behalf of Mr. Low.

- and again on 15th December;⁷

I have had no answer from Cadell: but shall force him to one. I past 2 days with Mr. Gough. he proposed to get the printing of Mr Low's MS estimated; & try to get it printed among ourselves. I wrote a query to Mr Low but must complain for want of an answer.

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1. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 12, quoted by Anderson, pp. lxiv-lxv.
 2. Ibid., f. 27.
 3. Ibid., f. 29.
 4. Thomas Cadell, the elder (1742-1802), bookseller and publisher. (D.N.B.)
 5. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 30.
 6. 20th October, 1780. Ibid., f. 31.
 7. Ibid., f. 33.

Paton responded enthusiastically to this new effort. On 30th December 1780 he wrote to Gough;

Mr Pennant writes me that he spent two days with you when he was last in London, at which time you had a Conversation about Mr Low's MS. and you intended to procure an Estimate of the Charge for printing same, your benevolent assistance to promote it's publication is most promising, your joint aid elevates my hopes of it's appearance in due time...

It was now Gough who took the initiative, and he wrote to Pennant on 29th January 1781¹ suggesting that it be published by subscription. Pennant forwarded this letter to Paton² with the following comment;

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My offer to Mr. Gough was 20 as a share of my risque on Mr Lows voyage. he likes a subscription better: so I shall take no steps till you consult Mr Low who formerly disliked that method.

Paton's letter to Gough of 17th February 1781 shows his zeal on Low's behalf;

As Mr Pennant has just now transmitted me a sight of your Letter 29 Janury 81 relative to the publication of Mr Low's Account of Orkney & Schetland, wherein you express your opinion of a Subscription by Proposals at a Guinea or half a Guinea to be a very proper method of introducing this work to the public, the author's distance from this place prevents my offerin^g his Sentiments, but this much I know that from his retired situation in Orkney & the circumscribed acquaintance with the people of Fortune &Ca. he declined a Subscription as his Interest in that line could not turn out to any Account so placed his confidence in you & Mr Pennant for Assistance, at the request of the

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1. The date is given in Paton's letter to Gough of 17th February 1781, quoted below.
 2. See letter Pennant to Paton, 9th February 1781; Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II, f. 36.

latter he undertook the execution of this Survey as the M.S. is in your hands I suppose at this time & if you are of opinion, that it may merit publication, as it seems to me to be the most exact yet, that has been done besides that it finishes the plan of Messrs Pennant and Cordiner¹ for this Country, I humbly trust to your approbation of the merit or demerit of the performance, whether it ought to appear or not in publick, indeed I could wish to see what more might be added on the civil & Ca. history of the Country, which I trust might be collected from the work you are so kind as promise to permit Mr Low the use of² before it be put to the press, in confidence whereof being perused by him, I trust he may be qualified to supply that defect in a good measure, & then the plan may be more fully completed. Upon the whole³ I wish that you may have a meeting with Mr Elliot, who may readily engage to take a share of the Copy or encourage the publication by Subscription or otherways, for unless it be promoted in England & partly here little can be relied on from that Corner of our Country, unless the Superior Sir Laurence Dundas⁴ or thro' his Interest any extensive Sale can be relied on: I have therefor so freely told you my mind & shall be glad to have your Sentiments how the work may be printed if you think it deserves approbation & let me know the method you adopt, with which I shall most chearfully join, by

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1. Charles Cordiner (1746?-1794), episcopalian minister of St. Andrew's Chapel, Banff, author of Antiquities & Scenery of the North of Scotland, in a series of Letters to Thomas Pennant, Esq. London, 1780.
 2. This book was Orkneyinga Saga, sive Historia Orcadensium a prima Orcadum per Norvegos occupatione ad exitum seculi duodecim ... Edidit J. Jonaeus. Hafniae, 1780. See Gough to Paton, 20th January 1781.
 3. Charles Elliot, bookseller and publisher, in Edinburgh c. 1770-84, in Strand, London 1784-7. (Dict. of Printers and Booksellers 1726-1775, op. cit., p. 304.)
 4. Laurence Dundas (1710-1781) of Kerse, Stirlingshire; created a baronet in 1762; purchased the Orkney earldom estates from the Earl of Morton in 1766 for 60,000 guineas, but never resided in Orkney. (Cockayne Complete Baronetage Vol. V. p. 124; J. Storer Clouston, A History of Orkney, Kirkwall, 1932, p. 368; H. Marwick, Orkney, London, 1951, p. 103.)

contributing its Sale as far as lies in my power, being assured the Author will coincide with your determination: having mentioned this affair to Mr Elliot I hope you may come to some concert before his return here: the Expence of printing circulating &Ca Proposals cannot amou(n)t to any great Sum, & may be of considerable advantage to make the work known making no doubt but all the purchasers of Mr Pennant's Tours will complete their Books by this which then comprehends the whole of this country. I shall wait your answer & operate as you direct me. The success of Mr Cordiner's Book promises very fair for the Encouragement of Mr Low's Journal.

He will be in Edinburgh in May or June, but before his arrival here hope the plan will be fully concerted ...

Pennant wrote to Paton on 25th February 1781;¹

I hope Mr Elliot will agree with Mr Gough about Mr Lows voyage. I am sorry that I cannot see him for I shall not reach town till the 24th of March.

He returned to the subject in his next letter, dated 3rd April 1781;²

I submit to you & Mr. Low the bargain between Mr. Elliot and him. These are bad times for literary attempts. If subscription is approved of, as Mr. Gough seems to wish, I will take as many copies as will come to £20, in order to pay for engravings: but the circulating subscriptions gives such distaste, that I must decline that part: my spirits are far from being so good as usual, therefore must not attempt what may bring an additional pressure on them. The cost of Mr. Low's voyage is quite at his service.

Two days later Paton wrote to Gough;

By this time Mr Pennant may be arrived in Town shall be fond of hearing how matters are concerted about the publication of Mr Low's M.S.

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1. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 37.
 2. Ibid. f. 38.

which shall be as much as possible promoted agreeable to your plan by me.

Mr Elliot Bookseller is returned here regrettes much he had no opportunity of seeing you in case he should have taken a part of encouraging Mr Low's work, but this I will endeavour to supply after your information how it is to be conducted.

Low himself appears by this time to have lost all hope of seeing his work published. He was suffering from a nervous disease, and was harassed by the legal troubles of his mother-in-law. His letter to Paton of 23rd March 1781,¹ which gave this information, was mainly concerned with the visit to Orkney of Captain Cook's vessels. Low mentioned that he had written to Pennant - "this is the second only I have wrote these many months". His only other reference to the proposed publication is the vague remark - "I am much obliged to Mr. Gough for his friendship together with Mr. Pennants".

Writing to Paton on 28th April,² Pennant referred to Low's letter;

I had a very acceptable letter from him. I hear nothing from Mr. Gough. No body will be active in assisting merit³ but myself. I will do what I promised; but really my own business encreases so much that I cannot do all myself. I find my mind grow too weak to load it with more trouble.

There is a very long passage on the subject in a letter from

1. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III. f. 91.

2. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 39.

3. Anderson prints "with it" for "merit". (op. cit., p. lxvi.)

Paton to Gough, begun on 21st April 1781, and completed on the 23rd. It affords further evidence of the trouble taken by Paton on Low's behalf;

Mr Elliot is returned some weeks ago here, but have not had any conversation with him but in general since his return, but will soon altho' delay it till Mr Low appear, or I know his Sentiments, as I've written him by a friend who may be with him in a day or two hence, in this have signified your very kind plan and Estimate, of which we shall consider at meeting, but prior to that, beg you may be furthering it in the most proper & less expence way (sic) you think proper, but to be neatly executed: you shall hear of our concert as early as possible.

Paton went on to tell Gough of Low's bad health, and his financial loss by the bankruptcy of a friend. Paton wished to "concert what mite I can give from my daylie labour, which cannot be so much as I wish to be done". He suggested that it was natural to think that Sir Laurence Dundas would show generosity to such a publication. He stated that Pennant had suggested that the work might be dedicated to Dundas, and did not recollect what Low thought about that;

... he then purposed to consecrate the work to Mr Pennant who rather seemed to decline it: at that time I wrote Mr Low to think of it so as he might reap the best advantage in promoting the sale of his Book believe he is unknown to Sir Laurence & his modesty gives him no assurance to apply for permission to dedicate the work to his superior, should this not be allowed I then humbly suggested & am still of opinion, that Sir Joseph Banks' Sentiments might be sounded how he would relish an address of this nature and if he would

promote the Publication of the Book, as both he & Dr Solander behaved in a very courteous manner to him while they visited Orkney, which these Gentlemen may remember, as it will be a singular disappointment to many that this Description &ca should not be printed to compleat the best Topographical Account we have as yet had of our Country, I beg to have your Sentiments and assistance on this point, a Patronage for such a work I apprehend is very necessary & believe in the present situation an enlarged Sale or some tolerable Emoluments arising from thence would be very acceptable to the distressed Author, I know well his disposition hates every Servility and the retired Corner where he resides in a manner covers him up from the Eye of the World, tho' deserving of all the favour it can bestow on him; Subscriptions indeed may be promising enough entered into by a number of the Gentlemen &ca. of these Islands, but there will be, I suspect, a great deficiency when the money becomes due, so that not much can be relied on from that Quarter. I wait your thoughts.

Low's illness prevented him from visiting Edinburgh that year as he had intended, and Paton feared that he would not see him again.¹ Not having Low's views upset his plans to further the publication.² By the middle of 1781 Pennant seems to have given up hope, for the time being, of publishing the work. On 29th June³ he wrote to Paton;

Mr Low's M.S. is in the hands of Mr Hughes⁴ Printer Turnstile. Would it not be prudent

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1. Letter Paton to Gough, 6th-7th June 1781.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 42. Anderson dates the letter June 27th (p. lxvi).
 4. H. Hughes, son of John Hughes (1703-1771), printer, near Great Turnstile, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, 1730-1771; (Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers 1726-1775 pp. 133-4).

for you to send for it & try what Mr Creech¹ wd do with it or Mr Elliot. I keep the drawings but any shall (be) forthcoming to be engraven & I beg to recommend my neighbour Ingleby² as engraver who will do them well & reasonably.

In his next letter,³ Pennant added; "If you want the M.S. at any time make use of the annexed, else Mr Hughes may not like to deliver it".

This marks the end of the first attempt, or series of attempts, to publish Low's Tour by subscription. The chief reason why nothing came of it was obviously Low's distaste, shared by Paton, for that method of financing the venture. Subsidiary causes were probably Low's inability to travel to Edinburgh that year to consider the matter with Paton, and Elliot's failure to meet either Gough or Pennant when he was in London.

It was not long, however, before Pennant was again actively considering how he might get Low's work published. Writing on 16th October 1781,⁴ he asked Paton; "Would he (Low) like to take £50 for his M.S. if White⁵ would give it. Not that I know he will". This suggestion seems to have met with no response at the time from either Low or Paton. There are no letters from Low to Paton

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1. William Creech, Bookseller and publisher in Edinburgh, 1745-1815. (Ibid., p. 296.)
 2. Anderson prints the name as 'Nightly' (p. lxvi). The engraver was John Ingleby of Halkin, Flintshire, referred to by Pennant, The Literary Life of the late Thomas Pennant, Esq. By Himself ... London, 1793, p. 38.
 3. 24th July 1781. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 43.
 4. Ibid. f. 45.
 5. Benjamin White. See above, p. 358, note 4.

preserved between that of 23rd March 1781¹ and that of 7th March 1783.² None of the undated letters appears to belong to this period.

On 22nd December 1781 Paton wrote to Gough;

There seems to be no promising prospect of printing Mr Lows' Description of the Orkney & Schetland Islands, our present confusion of the Times must cramp every literary publication & dispirit all authors just now from issuing any work to the Publick, I unde(r)stand it is in Mr Hughes Printer's hands, I look for an order on him to return the M.S. to me as it will be needless to let it remain in London longer till some more favourable season turn up for printing it.

and again on 12th April 1782;

last year he (Pennant) sent me the inclosed order for the delivery of "Mr Low's M.S. of his Journal thro' the Orkney & Schetland Islands 2 Vol. 4to" till lately Mr. Low never gave me directions to call for it - may I sollicite the favour of your causing any Friend to procure it from Mr. Hughes in order that it be carefully packt up to be forwarded here to me as Mr Low having no hopes of it's immediate publication is desirous of having it returned to him, that he may add some other Improvements, the drawings do still remain in Mr Pennant's custody, which I may afterwards command as he has directed me long ago to call for them, when needfull: am in hopes of meeting Mr. Low here May or June next, of which will then inform you.

Low, however, did not visit Edinburgh as expected.³ He had suffered a financial loss which made it impossible for him to bear any of the expense of publishing his work.⁴

1. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 91.

2. Ibid. f. 92.

3. Paton to Gough, 27th May 1782.

4. Ibid., 14th May 1782.

On 7th March 1783 Low wrote to Paton somewhat bitterly;¹

As to Monsieur Pennant I have given up all thoughts of his patronage or indeed anybody's else, and care very little for printing at all. If the MSS. pleases or diverts a few friends who may wish to know what is doing in Orkney that is all I expect from it.

A letter from Pennant to Low of 20th July 1783 must have been passed on to Paton, for it is preserved in the Pennant - Paton correspondence.² It is one of the most important documents on the present subject, yet Anderson makes no reference to it. Perhaps he did not realise that it was addressed to Low, not Paton. This is nowhere explicitly stated, but it is obvious enough. The complete letter is as follows;

Downing July 20th 1783

Sir

I have ever wished to make your labors serviceable to yourself as well as useful to the public. Perhaps peoples attention may since the peace be less distracted, & become more attentive to litterary pursuits. I should be very sorry that yr. agreeable voyage should be lost: therefore beg to know whether it would be agreeable to you to have it published by subscription. I would put down 20 guineas & take the chance of the success for repayment. I annex an estimate of three different numbers of copies: I wd not recommend you to load it with prints which will run high & make the book dear & hurt the sale. If you approve I will get receipts drawn & send you some to sign. the Price 10⁸ 6 half on subscribing the rest on delivery. you will also please to say what number should be ventured on. I think ten plates will be sufficient & those you may put down at 30 guineas. If you have any new fishes &c. they may

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1. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 92. Quoted by Anderson, p. lxvii.
 2. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 60.

make one.

Your M.S. is of great use to an introduction I am forming to my arctic zoology: ¹ but I shall rob you of nothing which can hurt indeed as my work will appear first I shall rather serve you, by referring to it, & mentioning yr design if it is to take place.

I say that there are 354 perfect plants in Orkney & Schetland

144 cryptog-algae &c &c

42 land birds.

Be so good

as to compare this with yr papers & let me know if I am right. I shall rejoice to hear from you & am
Sir

Yr faithful humble servt

Tho. Pennant

Printing 500 copies	about	39	12	0
Paper at 20s per Rheam		<u>48</u>	0	0
750 copies		44	8	0
Paper		<u>72</u>	0	0
1000 copies		48	0	0
Paper		96	0	0

Paper being now advanced a little must be added to that article.

Low's covering letter that accompanied the above when forwarded to Paton has not been preserved, but we learn his reaction from a letter from Paton to Gough of 24th September 1783. After relating Pennant's proposals, he went on

... if you approve of this Scheme & think this would take in London, I would be very happy that Mr Low made a small mite by it as he lost some time ago any small pittance he had collected; for my part tho' I've lately suffer'd in a similar degree by the insolvency of some, yet will chearfully contribute my small mite (as I formerly promised) of five Guineas to promote the publication. He submits it

1. See below, p. 379.

intirely to Mr Pennant's direction & has wrote him so much, in a day or two hence I shall apply to Mr. Pennant in the same way & think not above 750 copies should be printed off at first, if the Subscription does turn out very favourable the Impression may be enlarged, this I humbly submit to your advice, and will value it as a singular favour, that (if convenient) you would assist in propagating the Subscription plan if it takes place, but of this you shall hear in course: you formerly did recommend this method of publication & would fondly hope it might meet with encouragement. I will write you afterward about his drawings, when matters are settled.

While still encouraging the scheme, Pennant advised caution in a letter to Paton of 2nd May 1784;¹

I beg my best wishes to Mr Low. You may now concert your operations: and the form of proposals: but I would advise a delay of emitting them, for the whole mind of men is busied in politics, & pay no attention to any one thing besides.

Pennant's advice seems to have occasioned a delay of about a year, for an undated letter to Paton, apparently written about May or June 1785,² contains the following;

Let me request you to send Mr Low's M.S. to London to Mr. White's by first opportunity. I do think I can venture 500 copies for his benefit: & we had & best have the original to print. I think he may get 50 by it in the long run.

On 6th July,³ however, Pennant wrote of the dashing of his hopes once again. It is very curious that Anderson makes no mention

1. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 63.

2. Ibid., f. 74. It evidently comes before the letter of 6th July 1785 (f. 69). Anderson quotes it after the letter of 16th October 1784 (p. lxvii) but it clearly does not belong there.

3. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 69.

of this important letter;

I am sorry to inclose the strange answer from Mr White, to my proposal of his making an offer. nothing shd be publickly said of it: but would not you try the Edinburgh Booksellers. White had my copy to peruse: but has returned it.

On the back of this letter Paton has made the following note;

Copy of part of Mr Ben White & Son's Letter.
- It is not the price of Mr Low's Manuscript that we object to, but do not think it sufficiently correct nor interesting for the sale of 500 copies -

A letter from Pennant to Paton dated simply "Augt 9th" without the year,¹ which Anderson places in 1779,² would appear to belong here;

I have heard nothing of the proposal respecting Mr Low's voyage since I wrote³ It had been unaccountably blown on by the booksellers. so I think it better to take⁴ a little than let it lie⁵ lost. it is a work of merit: & it would be a thousand pities to suppress it.

Apparently Paton had agreed to Pennant's suggestion that he should approach the Edinburgh booksellers, for on 28th August⁶ the latter wrote, "I wish you better success than I had in yr endeavours about Mr Low". Pennant referred again to White's reason for rejecting the manuscript, in a letter of 28th February 1786;⁷

1. Ibid., f. 137.

2. p. lxiv.

3. Anderson puts a full stop after "wrote". There is none in the manuscript, and surely Pennant did not mean to begin a new sentence with "It", despite the capital letter. He frequently wrote a capital letter in the middle of a sentence, and a small letter at the beginning of one. This is true also, in varying degrees, of Paton, Low and Gough.

4. Anderson prints "risk".

5. Anderson prints "be".

6. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 71.

7. Ibid. f. 75.

I shall do all I can for Mr. Low. I never thought of his language but as that is certainly fit to be done I will undertake it, but that will delay the time.

It appears from this that Paton had suggested that Pennant should revise Low's work to eliminate scotticisms and grammatical faults, which is no doubt what White meant by its not being "sufficiently correct".

Writing on 4th April 1786,¹ Pennant asked Paton, "Pray where is Mr Low's M.S.?" On 19th April² he wrote, "I have received Mr Lows M.S. & shall take great care of them till I can find it convenient to publish them". To what manuscript or manuscripts he was referring is far from clear. At first sight, it might seem that this was the revised version of the Tour in two quarto volumes, first received by Pennant in 1779, and returned to Low through the hands of Hughes, Gough and Paton, after the failure of the first attempt at publication in 1782.³ But this is impossible in the light of the subsequent dispute about the whereabouts of these manuscripts, to be described below.⁴

The letter quoted above reveals that Pennant had still not given up hope of publication. But it was not until 9th July 1787⁵ that he wrote to Paton of a renewed attempt;

1. Ibid., f. 76.

2. Ibid., f. 77.

3. See above, p. 372.

4. pp. 379-383.

5. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II. f. 82.

I rejoice tho' that there are hopes of seeing Mr Lowes voyage printed. Mr Mazel¹ the engraver made me an offer which I shall accept. every Bookseller I know not why rejected it. Mazel can work his own plates & hopes for assistance by subscr. when I get his proposals I will send some to you. If I can get 20 Guineas for Mr. Low, I fear it will be the utmost; but it will be a pity to have so much fame as he will get, suppressed for ever. I think the catalogue of plants shd be added which I have not got; but there is no haste. I will article for some copies for him & friends. Pray inform him of what I have done.

The statement, "every Bookseller I know not why rejected it" is rather curious. There is no reason to doubt Pennant's word that he approached other publishers as well as White; but it is strange that he should say that he did not know why it was rejected, when so explicit a reason as that given by White was copied by Paton from White's letter lent to him by Pennant himself.

Pennant's letter to Paton of 10th November 1787² contained the news that once again their plans had come to nothing.

I am not at all sorry (he wrote) that the inclosed will show you that my bargain about Mr Low is at an end. I thought I had made a good bargain; and you will find that Mr Mazel thought so too, by his readiness to be off. I do sincerely believe we shall never have another offer. Pray return the inclosed.

On 10th December³ Pennant wrote in a tone that implied that

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1. Peter Mazell, an engraver frequently employed by Pennant.
 2. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 83.
 3. Ibid. f. 142. There is no year after the date on the letter, but it can confidently be placed in 1787 because it contains a passage about Pennant's gardener which obviously follows from a reference to the same subject in the letter of 10th November 1787.

he had finally given up his efforts to secure publication;

I am sorry that nothing can be done in Mr Low's affair. I offered the M.S. long ago to Mr White & Mr Robson ¹ & they both rejected it. As that was condemning I durst not risque 150 on it. It would have been folly for the Bookseller would have toke it, could anything be made of it.

Writing to Gough on 12th April 1788, Paton stated that he suspected that Low's work would never appear in public; he added,

Do you know whether Mr Pennant still retains this M.S. of the Voyage? he long ago purposed to publish it, but from the use made of it in his late Arctic Zoology,² I am apprehensive, his intention is now altered.

Again, in a letter of 29th - 30th May 1788, he asked Gough;

Do you know what became of Mr Low's M.S. Accot of Orkney since you had the perusal thereof? Mr Pennant seems not to know any thing of it, if mislaid it will be a loss, but should hope it may turn up, your assistance for it's recovery will be most acceptable, at convenience wish to hear of this.

The request is repeated even more urgently in a letter of 14th June 1788;

If you can easily recollect to whom you delivered Mr Low's M.S. 2 Vols 4to or should it be any how convenient for you to obtain Information from that Person, what became of this M.S. I apprehend that it may be recovered hoping it may be mislaid as you justly hint, Mr Pennant wrote me that it was transmitted to me, possibly it might have been so

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1. James Robson (1733-1806), bookseller and publisher, New Bond Street, London, from 1759 to 1806. (Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers 1726-1775 p. 216.)
 2. 2 vols., London, 1784-7. In the Introduction Pennant made extensive use of material from Low's manuscripts, not all of it of a strictly zoological nature.

intended, but I assured him that it never came to my hand & really from his announcing the attention, he pledged himself to the Publick, to be bestowed in publishing this Work (see the List of my own Works &c) ¹ I rested secure that it was in his Custody, which does not seem to be the Case: it will be kind if you can gain any Intelligence for the Recovery of it & should it be found, may I sollicite the return thereof to me: thro' means of Mr Robertson: ² that the honest poor Author may have his wandered Child again.

In a letter to Gough of 14th July 1788 Paton wrote that Low "seems to have no other Copy but the first draft or Sketch, by him". Gough replied to Paton's enquiries on 15th July;

I have been so much alarmed about the fate of Mr Lowe's MS History of Orkney by yr two last letters yt I have scarce had an easy Moment till I could trace it since it past thro' my hands in 1782. I have at last fortunately found a letter of yrs dated Aug 19. 1782 which begins with acknowledging the receipt of a box & paper parcel containing ...

6. Mr Lows MSS. of Orkney & Schetland 2 V. 4to.

On 12th August Paton replied;

this confirms me in the Sentiment, I had of Mr Low having his M.S. in his own Possession or that he has lent it to some of his Friends in Orkney, to which place it was sent soon after it's arrival to me here, this am certain of from a Memorandum amongst my Papers turned up to me since the receipt of yours, so that you may be now satisfied on that point whereof have since put him in Remembrance.

Meanwhile, Pennant had written the following rather extraordinary letter to Low which, like that of 20th July 1783,³

1. Thomas Pennant, Catalogue of My Works (four quarto pages, privately circulated, London, 1786).
2. James Robertson, a distant relation of Paton's, who acted as agent for him in London. See above, pp. 81-84.
3. See above, pp. 373-4.

is preserved among Pennant's letters to Paton;¹

Downing July 7th 1788

Sir

Some years ago I sent your excellent M.S. account of the Orkney & Schetland islands to my printer in London with directions that it should be delivered to Mr Paton's order that it might be transmitted to you. A Person actually did take it from the printer by Mr Paton's order; & I never suspected but that you had it long since. About two months ago I was amazed by a letter from Mr Paton desiring the M.S. I was conscious that I had sent it as above; & reminded him of the particulars. his answer is obscure but seems to hint that they were at the persons I mentioned one Richd Gough's who had kept them all this time & made frequent use of them in a large work of his without acknowledging the means he came by them. He certainly intended in time to make them his own. Mr. Paton hints as the work was to be published I hope he has made you acquainted with it; but he is very mysterious. I have the drawings according to yr permission: but am ready to give them up but I wish it may be in franked covers to yourself. I find I am to be deprived of the honor of being the Patron of yr journey. what Mr. Paton & his worthy friend intended for you I know not. I have not left a stone unturned to get the voyage published but all in vain. last year I made an agreement with a person who flew off. he was to have had my copy (for I caused yr voyage to be copied) to print from. I request to hear from you ...

On 2nd August 1788² Pennant wrote to Paton;

I was in hopes to have heard before this from Mr Low; for I apprehend no one has a right to his property but himself. It is very extraordinary that Mr. Gough should keep Mr. Low's M.S. so many years & make so free a use of what was formed at my instigation & at my expence. It is equally hard

1. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 86.

2. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 87.

that I should be deprived of the credit due to me of having at much expence pushed the northern discoveries as I have done by Mr. Gordiner & Mr Low: the former indeed has been grateful. I wrote to Mr. Low as soon as I received yr letter of June 19th as to the M.S. I dare say yr friend need not look for it anywhere but in his own library. I am told he has lately most deservedly met with some very rough treatment.

I am most ready to give up the drawings to Mr Low's order. But if they are designed for publication, I must article for fifteen copies to give my friends: and also that such an acknowledgement as I shall approve be put in the Preface. As I shall be in London by December, I can then bring them with me.

Another letter from Pennant to Paton, dated 30th August 1788,¹ contains the following;

I thank you for your obliging Letter. Mr Low's drawings are collected together & shall be delivered the moment you have prevailed on any Bookseller to publish the work. I fancy no one will refuse the small acknowledgement I request. As to the M.S. excuse me if I say that it was much nearer Enfield² than Birsa. No one was equally afflicted with rheumatism than myself; but it never affected my memory, nor did I ever hear that it was a symptom of the complaint. It is not my wish to divide you & Mr Gough but after the accounts I have had of him & the insults of the most unjust & ill founded kinds I have experienced from him, I must retain my opinion of him. But this is the last time you shall hear me mention his name.³

This last letter of Pennant's sets a very difficult problem.

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1. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 88.
 2. Gough's residence; cf. above, p. 63.
 3. Pennant mentions Gough's name in at least two subsequent letters; (1) 19th August (no year, but it must be after 1789, since it refers to Gough's edition of the Britannia) *ibid.*, ff. 91-2. (2) 2nd June 1793; *ibid.*, f. 109.

It implies that Gough had admitted that the manuscript was in his possession, and had pleaded forgetfulness occasioned by his rheumatism as an excuse for detaining it. How this can be reconciled with Gough's letter of 15th July¹ is not apparent. Pennant's letter to Low and his earlier one on the subject to Paton² might be explained on the ground that they were written before he learned that Gough had cleared himself of responsibility; but this can hardly be extended to the letter of 30th August, where he acknowledges one from Paton, which is hardly likely to have been written before the latter received Gough's of 15th July.

Low's final words on the publication of his Tour had already been written, even before he heard of the breakdown of the arrangements with Mazell. They are in a letter to Paton of 5th February 1788;³

I do not think Mr P(ennant) is so firm as I thought him. Some years ago He promised mighty things; after, He offered the MSS to the Book merchants for a certain price one half to be paid at one term, another at another; that would not do. He wrote me not to give a hint of that intended publication to any body. The next thing was, He was going to publish a Northern Zoology in which He was to take Extracts from that MSS. which would not hurt it but rather introduce it to the publick. But Stay. What is to be published? It is ⁴ not all published

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1. Quoted above, p. 380.
 2. i.e., that of 2nd August 1788.
 3. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f.. 96-7. Anderson stated (p. lxxix) that this letter is undated and that it is the last letter from Low to Paton that has been preserved. In fact, it is clearly dated, and there are six subsequent letters (ibid., ff. 98-103) excluding any undated letters which may be later than this one.
 4. Anderson prints "Is it".

already? One has taken a leg, another an Arm;
Some a Toe; Some a Finger; & Mr. P. the Verve
Hearts Blood out of it. And what is said now
 when I see it in the Nn Zoology ¹, the Heavy Ednr
Dny ² Even in Sibbald's Magazine ³. Why it is
 possible I may have - Nothing. When other
 people make their accounts of it I shall not say
 if any thing will be made at all. Time will try.
 What Mr. P. was suspicious of I believe was your
 lending these papers to Mr Gough who in a work
 anent ancient Graves ⁴ had made two Q(u)otations
 from it, & from another little paper & drawing which
 was engraved in ASSs publications at London. ⁵
 However Mr P. has taken care to avail himself of
 larger extracts which I really think my Dr Friend
 will render the MSS useless to the world. Your
 judgement will tell me as far as you can, but to
 tell you the truth I have little hopes of Mazills
 plan more than others ...

There is only one further reference to Low in Pennant's
 letters to Paton, and it is an obscure one. On 7th April 1789⁶
 he wrote, "I am waging law about my loss Mr Low's &c: but if I
 conquer, the comfort will be small".

The Gentleman's Magazine raised the question of the failure
 to publish Low's work, the publication of which by Pennant it had

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1. i.e. the Arctic Zoology. See above, p. 379.
 2. This may be a reference to the third edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica (Encyclopaedia Britannica, or, A dictionary of arts, sciences, and miscellaneous literature, on a plan entirely new ... 18 vols. Edinburgh, 1788-1801). The articles on the Orkney Islands (Vol. XIII pp. 496-501) and Shetland (Vol. XVII pp. 362-4) do not seem to owe anything to Low's manuscripts, however.
 3. The Edinburgh Magazine or Literary Miscellany published by J. Sibbald, Parliament Square. Vol. I, 1785, pp. 414-8; article on Pennant's Arctic Zoology. After a brief laudatory review, it goes on to quote from Pennant's introduction his description of the Shetland Islands, which was taken from Low's manuscript. (See above, p. 379).
 4. Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain. See above, p. 328.
 5. See above, p. 329.
 6. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 90.

previously predicted.¹ "A Constant Correspondent" enquired in the issue for December 1792²

whether Mr. Pennant intends to complete the Voyages of our Islands, by publishing, at his own expence, Mr. Lowe's MS account of his Voyage through the Orkneys and Shetland isles, and dedicating the profits, should any arise, to Mr. Lowe's benefit; and how soon we may expect this engagement, which, he entered into in his "Catalogue of his Works".³

In his Literary Life⁴, published in 1793, Pennant refers thus to Low;

In the reverend Mr George Low, minister of Birsa in the Orkneys, I met with a gentleman willing to undertake the visitation of those islands, and of the Schetlands, and to communicate to me his observations of every thing he imagined would be of use to the kingdom, or afford me pleasure ... It was my wish to publish his voyages, as I had the travels of Mr Cordiner; but certain reasons discouraged me. This ought not to be considered as any reflection on the performance. Mr. Low gives a good account of the natural history and antiquities of the several islands; enters deeply into their fisheries and commercial concerns; and on the whole is highly worthy the attention of the public.

The above passage is quoted in a review in the Gentleman's Magazine⁵, and the following footnote is appended;

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1. At the end of a review of Gifford's Historical Description of the Zetland Islands (see above, pp. 332-336); Gentleman's Magazine, May 1786, Vol. LVI p. 425. In the preface to Gifford's work Nichols (or more probably Cough) had written; "Mr Pennant means to complete the voyages of our islands, by publishing, at his own expence, this work of Mr Low, and should any profits arise, dedicate them to his benefit" (p. xiv).
 2. Vol. LXII p. 1131.
 3. op. cit. (p. 380, note 1).
 4. op. cit. (p. 371, note 2), pp. 37-8.
 5. June 1793. Vol. LXIII p. 552.

After this declaration, certain friends of Mr L, uninfluenced by any solicitation from him, have desired us to call on Mr P. for an explicit declaration why he deserted this deserving man in the critical article of publication, and what is become of his MS?

In April 1794¹ the same magazine returned to the attack in an even more scathing manner;

A Constant Correspondent who, vol. LXII. p. 1131, enquired after "Mr Lowe's MS Account of Orkney," which Mr Pennant engaged to publish as a completion of his own travels over Great Britain, seeing a second challenge to him by the Editor, in the Review of his "Literary Life", vol. LXII. p. 553,² desires us to knock a little harder at the door of that gentleman's recollection, lest, "peradventure, he sleepeth, and must be awaked". Justice to Mr L demands an apology for this concealment of his MS.

As far as can be learned from Paton's correspondence, the question of publishing Low's Tour was not raised again during the author's lifetime. Low died on 13th March 1795.

On 8th March 1796 Paton wrote to Gough;

As to the publishing of his (Low's) Itinerary thro' Orkney and Schetland I am apprehensive it never will appear in Print, as it is supposed to have fal'n into some injudicious person's fingers that conceals the same of whom I never can get any Intelligence: his Sister, who is married to a merchant in Brechin seems to know nothing of the matter so careless about it: however understand that the first Draught of his Journal is preserved & probably I may get a sight of it some time hence.

1. Vol. LXIV p. 360.

2. Sic. The correct reference is p. 552, as given in note 5, p. 385.

Writing on 12th April 1796, he told Gough that the "first Draught" of Low's Journal would be sent to him, as soon as he himself received it. He added;

The improved M.S. Copy may turn up some time hence to my expectation, tho' despair of any success by advertisement in our Newspapers, my particular search for it is by no means omitted.

The "improved M.S. copy" - by which Paton presumably meant the version in two quarto volumes, first sent to Pennant in 1779, and the subject of the controversy ten years later¹ - appears never to have come into Paton's hands. But the first version was in his possession at his death, and is thus described in the catalogue of the sale of his papers;²

A tour through the islands of Orkney and Shetland, containing hints relative to the ancient, modern, and natural history of the isles; collected in summer 1774, by the Rev. Mr. George Low, minister of Birsay - Note in Mr Low's hand-writing: 'In compliance with Mr Pennant's request, I undertook the survey of the Orkneys, &c on May 4th, ' &c Folio.

This manuscript came into the hands of Dr. Samuel Hibbert,³ and was utilised by him in his Description of the Shetland Islands⁴. It was that which was finally published with Anderson's introduction in 1879.

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1. See above, pp. 361, 379-383.
 2. Cited above, p. 115.
 3. Afterwards Hibbert-Ware.
 4. Edinburgh, 1822.

The version in two quarto volumes evidently incorporated an account of Low's tour of the northern Orkneys in 1778. A separate manuscript of this, unfortunately incomplete, was discovered after the publication of Anderson's edition of the Tour of 1774, and it has since been edited by Gilbert Goudie.¹

When part of the library formed by Pennant was auctioned in 1913, one of the lots was described in the catalogue² as follows;

Scotland - A MS. Tour in the Islands of Orkney and Shetland, 1774 and 1778. The author is the Rev. Mr. Lowe (sic), Minister of Bersa (sic), in the Orkneys, who was commissioned by Thomas Pennant to make the tour (see Pennant's "Literary Life")³ The MS. is unpublished.

This is clearly the copy which Pennant had made from Low's version of 1779. Unfortunately, its present whereabouts is unknown.⁴

To Paton we owe the preservation of the manuscript of Low's Fauna Orcadensis⁵ as well as that of the Tour of 1774. Hibbert wrote that when in Paton's hands these manuscripts were "more or less ransacked for information" by other writers.⁶ This implies criticism of Paton; but the purpose of a scholarly work is, after

1. See above, p. 338, note 1.

2. Downing Hall, Near Holywell. Catalogue of Sale Of the Remainder of The Downing Library ... (compiled by Frank S. Lees - ms. note in St. Andrews University Library copy) Bangor, 1913, p. 114.

3. See above, p. 385.

4. The auctioneers of the remainder of the Downing Library were Messrs. William Dew and Son, Bangor. This business was sold in 1951 to Messrs. Bob Parry & Co (Denbighshire) Ltd., Conway. The new owners do not have the records of their predecessors, nor do they know where they are.

5. See the sale catalogue of Paton's books, op. cit.

6. Preface to the Description of the Shetland Islands.

all, the dissemination of information. Paton had probably more right than any other man to make use of Low's work, and to allow others access to it. To quote Low's own words;

To Mr. George Paton at Edinburgh (whose zeal for science, and real goodness of heart is well known to his friends) I owe the perusal of many books, which I could not otherwise have seen ... 1

Low, remembering his friend's generosity, would not have disapproved of the use made of his manuscripts.

1. Preface to the Fauna Orcadensis.

6. Broster's Chester Guide.

One letter in the Paton Correspondence¹ is of particular interest, for it is our only evidence of a connection between Paton and the publishers of the first Chester Guide. It is as follows;

Chester Jan 8 178(2?)²

Sir

Agreeable to your Request I have sent you the Manuscript of our Chester Guide, so that you may be able to form an Idea of our Plan, we have not had time yet, to revise it nor finish the Copy, but for some particular reasons cou'd wish to make a beginning in the printing it and if you will give Leave shall trouble you with a proof of every Sheet. The Pages go irregular, but the red figures will direct you. We mean to print it in Fools Cap Octavo and have a Plan of the City at the beginning. The sooner you can return the Copy, after you have looked it over will be the more agreeable to Sr

Yr respectfull Hble Servts

P Broster
G Wilkensen.

The earliest edition of Peter Broster's Chester Guide recorded in the British Museum Catalogue was published in 1782, and is

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1. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.3.8. f. 66.
 2. The year in the manuscript appears thus; "1781I". I have assumed that the last figure is meant for a 2 (possibly a Roman numeral, although it is difficult to account for a mixture of Arabic and Roman figures) because of the year of publication of the Guide, cited below.

described as a second edition.¹ A third edition appeared in 1787, and this was reprinted in 1795 and 1797 by P. Broster and Son and George Bulkley, with the directory brought up to date in each case.²

There is no mention of Wilkensen, who appears from the letter to Paton to have been Broster's partner, in any of these editions.

Broster is included in the Dictionary of Printer and Booksellers ... 1726 to 1775,³ but Wilkensen's name does not appear.

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1. The Chester Guide: or, an Account of the antient and present state of that city ... To which is added a directory: containing an alphabetical list of the clergy, merchants, tradesmen, &c. in the city and market towns in the county. The second edition, with additions and corrections. Embellished with a perspective view, and a ground plan of the city. Chester, 1782. The size is duodecimo, despite Broster's intention, expressed in the letter to Paton, of printing it in "Fools Cap Octavo".
 2. British Museum Catalogue.
 3. op. cit., p. 36.

CHAPTER VINATURAL HISTORY1. Introduction

Reference has already been made to Paton's interest in the various branches of natural history,¹ and something has been said of a number of correspondents who wrote to him on that subject. These included William Thomson,² George Low,³ and William Wright.⁴ Dr. William Cuning⁵ was also a keen naturalist, although his correspondence with Paton was mainly on literary topics.

Two minor correspondents worthy of mention are John Lightfoot and Marmaduke Tunstall.⁶ The former, the author of the Flora Scotica,⁷ addressed two letters⁸ to Paton regarding a parcel that Paton forwarded to him from James Stuart, minister of Killin.⁹ Paton's contact with Tunstall was the result of a request from Pennant in a letter of 12th January 1775;¹⁰

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1. See above, pp. 103, 114, 119.
 2. See above, pp. 65 - 74.
 3. See above, pp. 337 - 389.
 4. See above, p. 80.
 5. See above, pp. 74 - 78.
 6. For both Lightfoot (1735-1788) and Tunstall (1743-1790), see D.N.B.
 7. *op. cit.* (p. 276).
 8. 25th April and 13th June 1774. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III ff. 104-5.
 9. James Stuart (1701-1789), minister of Killin 1737-1779. (Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, Vol. IV, p. 185.)
 10. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I f. 76.

Marmaduke Tunstall esqr of Mansfield Street London a great collector of birds is very desirous of two soland geese, old ones & dead, to be sent without any preparation, except being kept clean ... If you can execute this commission, he will cheerfully pay any charges ...

Paton, as usual, was willing to help, and the first letter from Tunstall to Paton¹ acknowledged his offer of some of the geese. In a subsequent letter, dated 19th August 1775,² Tunstall sent a list of northern birds that he wished to have, and asked if the "Cocks of the Wood" still remained in Scotland, as "they have been killed within these twenty years in the neighbourhood of Inverness". In return for Paton's favours, he intended to send him a Cheshire cheese, which he had heard were rather scarce in Edinburgh. Two further letters³ acknowledged presents of birds from Paton and asked what Tunstall could send in return.

This chapter is to deal at greater length with two of Paton's correspondents, and with another who, although not a correspondent, was very frequently mentioned by Paton in his letters. These are Thomas Pennant, William Henderson, and John Williams. The first name has already appeared frequently in these pages. But as the Pennant-Paton letters⁴ form the second largest group in the Paton Correspondence, something more must be said about their writer.

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1. 25th February 1775. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III f. 106.
 2. Ibid., f. 107.
 3. 13th July 1775, 7th March 1776. Ibid., ff. 108-9.
 4. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.5. 2 vols.

2. Thomas Pennant

It is unfortunate that only the letters from Pennant to Paton have survived, and not those in the opposite direction. Pennant's first letter, dated 1st January 1771,¹ reveals that the correspondence was opened by Paton. Pennant began;

I cannot sufficiently admire your communicative disposition, in so kindly sending the sketch of the curious fish taken on yr coast. Instead of receiving yr apology for troubling me as you are pleased to style, accept my best thanks for the favor done me, & let me beg the continuance ...

Later in the same letter he wrote;

I am sorry yr fish came a little too late for a work I am about to publish viz. the conclusion of my Br. Zool. illustrated² but it will serve to adorn my tour in Scotland which I am very busy in transcribing.

The illustration duly appeared in the first edition of Pennant's Tour in Scotland³. The fish was the "saurus rondel" about which Pennant wrote;

After a violent storm from the N.E. in November last, a great number of these fish were flung on shore in the Firth of Forth on the sands of Leith. An account and an accurate figure of one of them was communicated to me by Mr. George Paton of Edinburgh, a gentleman who is a zealous promoter of natural knowledge.

Other zoological topics referred to in Pennant's letters include a species of lyre-bird found in Orkney,⁴ and an overgrown

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1. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I. f. 1.
 2. British Zoology, 4 vols., London and Chester, 1768-70.
 3. A Tour in Scotland MDCCLXIX. Chester, 1771. p. 284.
 4. Letters of 15th April, 30th June, 30th August and 13th December 1771; Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I. ff. 4-6, 8.

mackerel or tunny.¹ A subject that interested Pennant particularly was the migrations of the woodcock. In a letter of 23rd October 1772² he asked about the movements of the bird in Orkney and Shetland,³ and in one of 15th January 1773⁴ he extended the scope of his enquiry by saying that he wanted

an account of the migration of woodcocks to & from the E. coast such as Angus Merns & Aberdeenshire, the times of coming & departing & whether they are numerous.

Much may be picked up from natives of those counties now in Edinburgh. it is needless to write to any.

From Pennant's letters we learn that Paton suggested reprinting Sir Robert Sibbald's Phalainologia Nova.⁵ This was probably discussed when the two men met during Pennant's visit to Edinburgh in 1772.⁶ The first reference to it is in a letter of 22nd December 1772;⁷

I am well assured that the publication of the whales will answer. if you undertake it on your own account solely, I shall beg yr acceptance of the 4 plates I would offer so till you resolve me, I shall defer sending the sketches.

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1. Letter of 13th December 1771.
 2. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I. f. 19.
 3. Pennant thanked Paton for an account of the woodcock in a letter of 29th November 1772, (*ibid.* f. 20).
 4. *Ibid.* f. 25.
 5. Phalainologia Nova, sive Observationes de rarioribus quibusdam Balaenis in Scotiae Littus Nuper Ejectis ... Edinburgh, 1692.
 6. See below, p. 403.
 7. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I. f. 21.

I would propose putting the whole copy into the hands of my own Bookseller ¹ to be sold for you. I presume the printing & paper will not cost you 12£. Pray send me proofs of each of the old prints. ²

Two passages in a letter of 10th January 1773³ refer to the same project;

The plates I mention shall be engraven in good time: as I cannot here procure a Sibbald Balaen. it will be impossible to give you the notes I mean, so must wait till I reach London in March. as It is a book often quoted & the old plates referred to, they must be regravен. The size shd be octvo The size of my synopsis of quadrupeds. ⁴

I propose my bookseller to you meerly because of his note; for he will sell for you more than any: not that you should exclude any other Bookseller you please from any certain number. To make it sell better could you add any short unpublished tract of Sibbalds to it ...

On 14th February 1773⁵ Pennant wrote that he had got a copy of the book,

therefore never trouble yr self with more than tracing off the old plates. I will speak to White & dare say get both risque & trouble off yr hands.

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1. Benjamin White. See above, p. 358, note 4.
 2. i.e. the two plates at the end of the original edition.
 3. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I. f. 24.
 4. Thomas Pennant, Synopsis of Quadrupeds, Chester, 1771.
 5. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I. The folio is number 26 (part 2).

No doubt Paton, as usual, had expressed his disinclination to undertake the responsibility for the publication. Pennant's next letter¹ implies that the charge of the matter had passed to himself and White. He told Paton that White would print the "History of Whales" and added, "as a Bookseller undertakes it I drop my design of giving more plates. I will send you half a dozen copies ...". On 16th March 1773² he wrote;

I sent Sibbald's plates to be regraven so you need trouble yourself no more on that head. the copies shall be sent you as soon as printed.

The book must have been printed in that month, for Pennant's letter of 12th April³ indicates that the copies had already been despatched to Paton. This letter rather contradicts the impression given by the previous two quoted that Paton had no longer any responsibility for the publication.

Pray let me know (Pennant wrote) when the whole of yr timid impression is sold that I may return you a corrected copy for a 2d. I shall rob you of no more copies, but buy of you what I want to give away.

That the impression was "timid" is perhaps confirmed by the fact that the 1773 edition⁴ is now scarcer than the original one of 1692. However, as the work was in Latin its appeal was limited, and Paton's caution was probably wise. No other tract of Sibbald's

1. 4th March 1773. Ibid., f. 27.

2. Ibid., f. 28.

3. Ibid., f. 30.

4. Phalainologia Nova ... Iterum impressi, Londini, Apud Benj. White in Vico Fleet-Street, MDCCLXXXIII.

was added to this edition,¹ the only addition being an advertisement for books published by White.

When, at the end of 1771, Pennant was planning a second Scottish tour for the following summer, he naturally turned to Paton for help. He consulted him in a letter of 3rd December 1771;²

I have a strong inclination to make a second excursion into yr country; but in particular the western parts & some of the islands. You best can inform me whether there are not omisers (sic) belonging to the customs that lie in some of the harbors on that coast; let me beg the favor of you to inform me of their usual stations, whether leave might not be obtained for me to have the use of one for a few days provided I do not go beyond their Limits: & I must also beg to be informed who are the proper persons to make interest with ...

Paton's response was, as usual, immediate and energetic, as may be gathered from Pennant's letter of 17th January 1772;³

I cannot possibly defer my thanks for yr obliging favor, so long as to the beginning of my journey: therefore let me beg of you not only to accept my own acknowledgements but convey the same to Mr Clark & the other commissioners for their very polite offer; which I decline for no other reason, but that I believe I can get myself conveyed from island to island in a manner that will not clash with their service & my own views. But in every other respect I shall esteem their friendship an honor. I do not think of beginning my voyage till the middle of June at soonest but hope to reach Glasgow about the 1st of that month from whence I purpose to make some short excursions northward ...

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1. Cf. Pennant's suggestion in letter of 10th January 1773, quoted above, p. 396.
 2. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I. f. 7.
 3. Ibid., f. 9.

Writing on 18th March 1772¹, Pennant looked forward to meeting Paton in "the latter end of the summer", and again on 24th April² he wrote, "I shall have the pleasure of seeing you at Edinburgh before I visit Roslin". Apparently Paton had told him that a Mr Stewart wished to join him on his voyage to the Hebrides. Pennant's reply was;

I shall be very glad of Mr Stewart's company if he can stow himself aboard the ship which is hired at my sole expence: He will be welcome to such diet as I make use of; the voyage shall cost him nothing, but It is to be hoped Scotland will furnish him with sheets, & frank him to Greenock & from Ardmady the conclusion of the voyage to his own house.

Pennant added that his expenses would be great, on account of the size of his "troop", consisting of the Rev. John Lightfoot, a landscape painter, a fowler, a groom, and various other servants - "not that I wd discourage Mr Steuart from going for I wish to leave an Eleve behind in N. Britain ...".

On 13th May³ Pennant wrote that "by the usual folly & desultoriness of artists" he was disappointed of his landscape painter at a moment's notice.

As one is essential to my scheme, I must trouble you to look out for one at Edinburgh, one that is alert, quick in taking sketches, with some taste, a fair character, peaceable disposition. I shall be at or near Glasgow from the 8th of June to the 14th, & glad to see specimens of his performances in Indian Ink. I shd even be glad

1. Ibid. f. 10.

2. Ibid. f. 12.

3. Ibid. f. 14.

of the company of any independent person who is as above qualified, & he shall fare as I do; but I do not chuse one who must bring a servant, as I am fully manned.

One Mr W. Richardson at Doctor Blacklocks Edinburgh offers his service but then he wants the command of the vessel. Be so good as to call & let him know how incompatible that is with my views who wish for only an obedient hand. What his artist qualities are I know not ...

Pennant set off on 18th May. His next few letters were written at various places on the journey - sometimes begun at one place and completed elsewhere several days later. From a letter commenced on 16th July and completed at Dunvegan in Skye on the 21st¹ it appears that the painter hurriedly obtained had not proved satisfactory;

I wish to pay the Lad's master his expences for coming to me at Glasgow, but he ought never to have come as his merit was so small ...

Pennant's next letter² was begun at "Armaday"³ on 12th August.

He clearly intended to take full advantage of Paton's official connection with the customs. He sent his compliments to the commissioners, and begged them to direct "that my boxes &c be not rummaged & the things in them discomposed". At the end of the letter is a list of the contents of his trunks, and beneath is this note;

th
19 Augt 1772

Collr & Comptr Pt Glasgow - In regard to the Candor and good Character of the Petitioner, the Board agree to his being indulged in this request. G.M. for ye Secry.

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1. Ibid. f. 16.
 2. Ibid. f. 17.
 3. Ardmaddy Castle, Argyllshire.

Continuing the same letter at Inveraray Castle on 15th August, Pennant made the following complaint;

My dear Sir Let me entreat you never to suffer any parts of my Letters to appear in print. What you have done in the newspaper of the 8th instant hurts me very much, & to all people of reflection has so puffing a look as to be very injurious to my character.

The reference is to a paragraph in the Edinburgh Evening Courant, Saturday, 8th August 1772;

By a letter from the ingenious Mr. Pennant, dated at Dunvegan in Sky, the 21st of July,¹ we learn, that since his departure from Greenock, he has visited the following places, viz. Bute, Tarbat, Arran, Ailsa-rock, Campbelton, Gigha, Jura, Ilay, Oransay, Collansay, I Columkill, Cannay, Rum, and Sky; so that we may expect soon to be favoured with this ingenious author's remarks, on these places, which will make a second volume of his tour. He was soon to land on the continent to visit such places as he had formerly omitted. - Mr. Pennant says, he has been very successful in collecting plants, and in getting exact drawings of them, as well as of views, monuments, tombs, and other antiquities; and speaks much of the civility of the islanders.

In view of Pennant's strong protest on this occasion, it is rather amusing to read his requests, two years later, when his Tour of 1772 had been published,² that Paton should "puff" certain parts of it;

You know I am not a friend to puffing. but I wish you could get inserted in the magazine (with a proper introduction on my attention to

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1. i.e. the letter to Paton referred to above, p. 399.
 2. A Tour in Scotland, and Voyage to the Hebrides; MDCCLXXII. Chester, 1774. This is the second volume of the complete Tour in Scotland, the first volume being a new edition of A Tour in Scotland MDCCLXIX.

the distresses of the poor of Scotland) the part of my voyage beginning p. 362 (I retired &c, to the end of 369.¹ I trust you will not say it is done at my request but let it be between the printer & you.²

The second is in a letter of 17th September 1774;³

As I wish very much that the clergy of Scotland may know how much I befriend them & with what candour I treat them I wish you would get quoted in the magazine with a proper preamble an extract from my voyage p. 135. My observation on the bad condition of the scotch churches & that quote from

'It is but common justice &c.⁴

To return to Pennant's tour - his letter of 2nd September 1772⁵ was written at Stonehive (Stonehaven). He was now heading south, and was to travel to Edinburgh via St. Andrews, which was to be the last of his "stations for letters". Three days later⁶ he wrote from Skeene near Brechin, "Be so good as to return my thanks to the Commissioners for their permission to let my boxes go unsearched". In this letter is a request that Pennant himself

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1. "I retired to my chamber, filled with reflections on the various events of my voyage; and every scene by turns presented itself before my imagination ..." Tour MDCCLXXII, p. 362.
 2. Letter of 17th May 1774; Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I. f. 58.
 3. Ibid., f. 65.
 4. "... many of the churches are thatched with heath, and in places are in such bad repair as to be half open at top; so that the people appear to worship as the Druids did of old, in open temples. It is but common justice to say, that this is no fault of the clergy, or of the people, but entirely of the landed interest." Tour MDCCLXXII, p. 135. I have not found the passages desired by Pennant printed in any of the Edinburgh periodicals. There are quotations from this Tour on the subject of trade in the Edinburgh Magazine Vol. II pp. 564-573, and a review of the book in Vol. III pp. 37-40.
 5. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I. f. 18.
 6. Ibid., Vol. II f. 131. The letter is dated only "Septr 5th", but it obviously belongs to this year.

describes as an "odd commission";

My little Girl has taken under her protection an old Bagpiper from Skie who has fixed at Chester. his Pipes are almost worn out, & she wishes to enable him to continue to get a livelihood by presenting him with another set. I must therefore beg if you can procure a second hand one of the small sort I shall be able to make her happy ...

The letter ends, "I hope to be at St Andrews on Tuesday".

A short note written by Pennant during his visit to Edinburgh is (reserved);¹

Mr Pennant presents compliments to Mr Paton: is sorry he lost him this morning: but hopes to see him too morrow (sic) morning between 8 & 9. begs his acceptance of these prints. Saturday afternoon. gone to Dr Hopes² to Tea.

In a letter to Gough of 28th September 1772³ Paton referred to Pennant's visit and described a short excursion he had had with him;

Mr Pennant arrived here safely with Mr Lightfoot on Friday Sept 18⁴ se'night he left this on Saturday morning for Melross, Jedburgh, Kelso &c. several Weeks ago the 2d Edition of the 1st Tour⁵ appeared here agree that it might have been postponed till this Winter or next Spring. I have not got the Additions to the former Edition⁶ but expect them soon. - Last Monday morning he carried me out with him to Hawthorden (sic) & Foslin, was agreeably delighted with both places but more especially the picturesque Rocks & Banks of the North Esk Water.

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1. Undated. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 130.
 2. John Hope (1725-1786), professor of botany. See above, pp. 51, 77.
 3. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.7. Vol. I.
 4. "Sept 18" inserted later.
 5. A Tour in Scotland MDCCLXIX, London, 1772.
 6. Supplement to the Tour in Scotland, Chester, 1772.

It is a sad commentary on the confined nature of Paton's life that he was seeing places so close to Edinburgh for the first - and possibly the last - time. "I am ashamed not to find the chaise hire to Rosslyn among my bills", wrote Pennant after his return south,¹ "I must insist on knowing what it is ...".

In his first letter after his return home² Pennant showed his appreciation of Paton's welcome to him at Edinburgh;

After a weeks arrival at this place I take up my pen to thank you for every act of friendship you showed me at Edinburgh which I shall retain a most warm sense of.

and in a letter of 22nd December 1772³ he expressed himself in stronger terms;

I never shall be unmindfull of your steady friendship, for you are the same whether I am north or south of the tweed; a reproach your countrymen are too liable to that of verifying the Proverb out of sight out of mind.⁴

Publications on natural history are frequently mentioned in Pennant's letters, particularly Lightfoot's Flora Scotica⁵ which Pennant published.⁶ William Smellie's work in this field was of great interest to him. In 1780 Pennant was engaged in preparing

1. 29th November 1772. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I f. 20.

2. 23rd October 1772. Ibid., f. 19.

3. Ibid., f. 21.

4. Cf. John Davidson's tribute to Paton, quoted above, p. 58.

5. op. cit.

6. See letters of 20th May, 9th August, 29th August 1777 (Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I ff. 120, 124-5), etc.

7
 it is necessary
 to read with
 a view to
 a young man
 and his friends
 who do as at
 (man) how
 (man) how

a new edition of his Synopsis of Quadrupeds,¹ and at the same time Smellie was working on his monumental translation of Buffon's Natural History.² Some information was exchanged between the two naturalists, with Paton as intermediary. On 13th February 1780³ Pennant wrote;

Pray give the inclosed to Mr Smellie. I shall be happy to serve him in this petty way from time to time & will in my new edition of syn. quad. announce & recommend his translation only to do it properly I wish I had his vol. of Dog if printed ...

and again on 22nd April 1780;⁴

my compliments to Mr Smellie & tell him I hope I have in my first page announced his translation in such a manner as will be of use to him⁵; but have not inserted all his synonyms as his work is not complete.

In a letter of 16th May⁶ Pennant stated that he hoped the translation would be full, and not abridged as was expected. In one of 18th June⁷ he offered Smellie the use of the proofs of the History of

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1. The original edition was published at Chester, 1771. The second edition was entitled History of Quadrupeds, 2 vols., London, 1781.
 2. George Louis Le Clerc, Comte de Buffon; Natural History, general and particular ... Translated...with...notes and observations.... 9 vols., Edinburgh, 1780-81.
 3. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 23.
 4. Ibid., f. 26.
 5. "An excellent translation of that celebrated author, now in the Edinburgh press", footnote referring to Smellie's de Buffon, History of Quadrupeds, Vol. I, p. 1.
 6. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II, f. 27.
 7. Ibid., f. 28.

Quadrupeds;

If Mr Smellie chuses I can send you proof sheets for his use provided he does not appear before me which may perhaps be of some use to him. What vol. goes next to the press?

That Smellie sent Pennant some material in exchange may be gathered from Pennant's letter of 16th July;¹

I had Mr Smellie's paquet about the Mule & shall honor my supplem. with it.² It came too late for its proper place. I shall soon inclose for his use some proof sheets. By the by I never received one vol. of his translation: I suppose the three you speak of are the three first ...

However, a note of caution about the sending of proofs enters a letter of 24th September;³

I inclose two sheets of my work. all the preceding proofs I did not keep but hope these will be of use. I suppose Mr. Smellie will not publish till spring in that case I will freely send the rest, for I cannot otherwise without quarrel with White & reproach from him, send them.

"In my next he shall have more sheets: but all sub rosa ...",

Pennant wrote on 20th October,⁴ and on 11th November⁵ -

... inclose what I think will be of most use to Mr Smellie part of the monkies the rest shall follow. I wish to know what animals are still

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1. Ibid., f. 29.
 2. History of Quadrupeds, Vol. II, p. 564.
 3. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II, f. 30.
 4. Ibid., f. 31.
 5. Ibid., f. 32.

untranslated. I will draw up for him a systematic index ¹ referring to my whole work which will be of use & supply the loss of my other sheets. he must give me or make up a complete set of his or I cannot do it.

Pennant's History of Quadrupeds was published early in 1781.

On 2nd February² he sent a copy to Paton and wrote,

I send more copy to Mr Smellie lest the complete hist. shd not reach you in time.

Later in the same month,³ Pennant wrote;

Your letter & the four volumes of Mr Smellie's de Buffon reached me ... I am highly pleased with his performance. But do not my services merit a set of good impressions of the plates on small paper ...

My next will bring you my systematic index which Mr Smellie shd publish with his last vol. putting his name of the animal vol. page & plate opposite to every one of mine.

In a letter of 18th November 1781⁴ Pennant observed;

I have not yet got the 2 last vols. of De Buffon. Pray tell Mr Smellie I hope soon to do him good service by making his Book known for I shall prefix to every animal of my arctic zoology⁵ this reference e.g. Elk smellie VI 315.

It is unlikely that Smellie's work had any need of advertisement from Pennant to make it known. Occasionally, as in this instance, Pennant's letters have that tone of naive self-satisfaction, sometimes bordering on presumption, that characterises his Literary

1. This index is in History of Quadrupeds, Vol. I, pp. xiii-xx.

2. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II, f. 35.

3. 25th February 1781. Ibid., f. 37.

4. Ibid., f. 47.

5. 2 vols. London, 1784-7.

Life.¹ One may suspect that Smellie showed less enthusiasm for the exchange of information than Pennant.

One further quotation on this subject will suffice. It is from a letter of 8th September 1782;²

I do not find that Mr Smellie has engraven my spotted Hyaena:³ I presume he means to give an appendix to de Buffon for I see the last has published a sixth vol. of appendix solely on the subject of animals & well worth his having ...

Among the many topics in Pennant's letters his desire for a Scottish gardener may deserve a passing reference, particularly as the subject is not inappropriate to the heading of this chapter.

On 10th November 1787⁴ he wrote;

As my old gardiner (sic) is declining fast I shall be much obliged to you for enquiring for one who must be sober, hard working and understand fruit trees & kitchen garden. No fine gentleman, but who must work. No hothouse. 2 men under him. I wish to know the terms for I do not give more than 15 guineas, also what his expences will be to come here.

In another letter of 10th December⁵ he added;

In respect to the Gardiner you may be assured I find my servants bed & board. I mention high wages: but I expect one that answers in all respects. I would not trouble you to engage one till I hear the full of his character.

1. op. cit.

2. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II, f. 53.

3. This is presumably the drawing of the spotted hyaena in History of Quadrupeds, Vol. I plate XXIX, facing p. 251.

4. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 83.

5. Ibid., f. 142. The year is omitted in the date; but the quotation given is sufficient to date it with certainty.

The new gardener was not required after all, as Pennant explained in a letter of 26th January 1788;¹

I have discovered the fountain from whence my countrymen have got their good gardeners they come from the same which you mention. This very week the Dean of St Asaph recommended to me most strongly Alexander Gray. I liked his appearance so much that I should have took him but my old gardener is recovered: not indeed, or ever will be serviceable: But he has lived with me & my father 40 years; & I could not discharge him with any humanity & cannot afford to keep two at once. But if I can contrive to do anything of that kind I will assuredly take A. Gray.

Although outwith the sphere of natural history, it may be permissible to quote here a mysterious undated letter of Pennant's,² apparently concerned with a political intrigue;

Inclosed is the drawing to be etched. Pray get it done in the more private manner & the more secret not that there is anything penal in it: but it will get much ill will if known. I wish (it) done cheap, & worked off on thinnish paper. you may inclose a dozen in a cover taking great care to wafer & send it close for I would not ever have any body know on any account. I rest on yr friendship & fidelity. take care that cover, & all be under the 2 ounces weight. inclose them to Wilbrahan Bootle esqr M.P. Bloomsbury square London lap round each the inclosed slips of paper. I wish you would find some member in yr city to direct some of them for I would not have more than four packets go to Mr Bootle ... you shall in time have an explanation so not name my name even to the engraver ...

An explanation is probably to be found in a letter of 27th June

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1. Ibid., f. 84.
 2. Ibid., f. 140.

1784;¹

a friend of mine wants an etching of a satirical nature to be done slightly & cheaply. but as great secrecy is wished could it be done by any moderate hand in Edinburgh. if you can ensure privacy I would make free to trouble you ...

As the above passage comes immediately after a reference to the Edinburgh barber-caricaturist John Kay,² Pennant may have had him in mind for the task. On 31st August 1784³ Pennant wrote;

I shall drop all thoughts of the caricature.
It is too severe & I wd hurt no one.

Paton was no doubt relieved to be freed from any concern in a matter so foreign to his nature; perhaps it was on his advice that Pennant changed his mind.

Since some of our previous observations have not shown Pennant in too favourable a light, it may be remarked that he showed a warm-hearted generosity towards Paton. When he heard of Paton's financial loss in 1789,⁴ he told him;

I am very sorry at the news you send relative to your loss & at your late time of life. I never was a man who uttered mere pity. Be so good as to consider me as engaged to supply for life a 4th part of yr loss. Heaven has increased its bounty to me most undeservedly & I think my less fortunate friends have a clame on me. Besides, I was going to enter into the foolish society for discoveries into the interior parts of Africa; some how or other I did not get in; so the annual sum it would have cost may now be better & more luxuriously applied.⁵

1. Ibid., f. 66.

2. For a biographical notice of Kay, see his Portraits, ed. Maidment the original edition of which is cited on p. 1, note 5, above.

3. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II, f. 68.

4. See above, p. 36.

5. Letter of 7th April 1789. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II, f. 90.

That Paton declined this offer is implied by a subsequent letter;¹

I admire your moderation: could the world follow yr very christian example it would not have in it so much misery as we daily say (sic). I am happy that you was not displeas'd with me at an offer intended in the very best manner.

Pennant bequeathed five guineas to Paton; after his death, his son wrote as follows to Paton;

It will give me pleasure to pay the proof of my respected Fathers true regard into the hands of any person you choose to approve in London - no farther form or tenor of a discharge will be required. ²

On the back of this letter is a pencil note by Paton;

Edinburgh February 1800.

Please pay Mr Thomas Pearson or Order Five Pounds five Shillings Sterling No. St Clements Lane Lombard Street London, as advised by

Geo Paton

To D. Pennant Esqr
Downing Flintshire.

It is remarkable, in view of their long friendship and extensive correspondence, that there is not a single reference to Paton in Pennant's short autobiographical work, his Literary Life³.

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1. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II f. 143. The letter is undated, but can be placed in 1789 by internal evidence; (1) a reference to Francis Grose being at the time in Edinburgh. Grose's letters to Paton were written in Edinburgh between August and December 1789 (Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV ff. 75-80). (2) a reference to Pennant's London being in the press - the Account of London was published in 1790.
 2. David Pennant to Paton, Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. II, f. 144.
 3. op. cit.

3. William Henderson

Like Paton, Henderson was a customs official, and he shared many of his colleague's leisure interests, particularly his enthusiasm for natural history and antiquities. The son of John Henderson of Haddington, he was employed in the customs service successively at Alloa and at Glasgow.¹

Henderson's letters to Paton² cover the period November 1775 to March 1782. As in his last letter³ Henderson wrote that he had been ill since "Lammas last", it may be that the correspondence was ended by his death.

In his earliest letter⁴ Henderson wrote about an unusual type of fish that had appeared on the coast⁵, and referred the matter to Paton in a way that shows how highly Paton's knowledge of this subject was esteemed;

I have not ventured to make any experiments upon them, reserving a minute examination of them for your goodself, whose knowledge & experience in these matters is far superior to what I am possessed of.

On 23rd November 1778⁶ Henderson sent Paton a tin box containing "one of the Snipe Fish called by Mr Pennant the Saury Pike".

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1. All our biographical information about Henderson is derived from his letters. Until November 1778 his letters were written at Alloa. In February and March 1779 he wrote from his home at Haddington. There is a gap in the correspondence thereafter until November 1779, by which time he had settled at Glasgow.
 2. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.3.8. ff. 3-19.
 3. Ibid., f. 19.
 4. Ibid., f. 4. (f. 3 being an undated letter probably belonging to 1779).
 5. Cf. the opening of the Pennant-Paton correspondence. See above, p. 394.
 6. Adv. MS. 29.3.8. f. 9.

Petrology was another mutual interest of Henderson and Paton.¹

Pray, have you any Lava from Mount Hecla
in Iceland, or Salt Rock from Liverpool? if
not, a specimen of each is at your service ...

wrote Henderson on 30th September 1777². Paton must have replied
that he had not, for in his next letter³ Henderson promised to send
the lava and the salt rock.

Henderson's letters deal with several antiquarian matters
outside the scope of this chapter. These include the remains of a
Roman sudatory discovered at Duntocher,⁴ and the Scottish coinage.⁵
Henderson was the source of much information passed on by Paton to
Gough on such subjects as these.⁶ Two topics of special interest
to Henderson were rescinded acts of parliament⁷ and Scottish weights
and measures.⁸

There is little of human interest in Henderson's letters,
except for the following outburst added as a postscript to one of
30th November 1779;⁹

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1. Cf. William Thomson's interest in this subject; see above, pp.72-3.
 2. Adv. MS. 29.3.8. f. 5.
 3. 9th October 1777. Ibid., f. 6.
 4. Ibid., and also letters of 30th November 1779 and 16th July 1780.
Ibid., ff. 16, 18.
 5. Letter of 3rd February 1779. Ibid., f. 10.
 6. The Duntocher discoveries are frequently mentioned in Paton's
letters to Gough between 1779 and 1783.
 7. Henderson was apparently engaged in a compilation of such acts.
See letters of 13th April 1778, 11th May 1778, 3rd February 1779,
8th February 1779. Ibid., ff. 7, 8, 10, 12.
 8. Letters of 8th February 1779, 20th March 1779, 24th March 1779,
30th March 1779. Ibid., ff. 12-15.
 9. Ibid., f. 16.

St Andrews day! Thrice happy may they be who
are just now now celebrating it; I have had my
share of mirth upon that occasion, altho this
night, set solitary in a Compting-room little
will fall to my Lot - Eheu! tempora mutantur,
et nos mutamur ab illis.

4. John Williams

The little that is on record about Williams is to be found in the preface to his Natural History of the Mineral Kingdom edited by James Millar,¹ and in two manuscript notes by the Earl of Buchan.² A native of Wales, Williams spent some time as a soldier in the Dutch service before coming to Scotland. After an unsuccessful attempt to find lead ore at Newhall, he was engaged by the Earl of Moray to search for coal on his estate at Dunrobin, Sutherlandshire. While in the Highlands he made an extensive mineral survey of the district, and made the discoveries which were the chief cause of Paton's interest in him, and which will be discussed below.

Williams was next engaged at the coalmines of Sir William Cunningham of Livingstone. At this time he came to the notice of the Earl of Buchan, whose residence, Kirkhill, was nearby. Through Buchan's recommendation, he was appointed manager of Gilmerton Colliery, where he remained for some years. After a disagreement with his employers he left for Italy, where he acted as a surveyor for Count Zenobio. He died at Verona in 1795.³

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1. The Natural History of the Mineral Kingdom, relative to The Strata of Coal, Mineral Veins, and the Prevailing Strata of the Globe. In Two Volumes, by John Williams, F.S.S.A. Mineral Surveyor. The Second Edition, with an appendix ... by James Millar, M.D., F.S.A.S... Edinburgh, 1810.
 2. National Library of Scotland MS. 996 f. 8, MS. 1810 ff. 148-9.
 3. Buchan gives the year as 1791-2, but a note in another hand on MS. 996 f. 9. states, "25th May 1795. Died at Verona, in Italy, Mr John Williams, Mineral Surveyor (Scottish Register, Vol. 6.)"

Williams seems to have been the first to draw the attention of the learned world to the existence in the highlands of Scotland of the remains of ancient vitrified forts. They have since been found in many other parts of the world,¹ but at first, his claim seems to have been greeted with some scepticism as being, at best, an unproved theory.

It was with a somewhat tentative air that Paton first mentioned this subject to Gough, in a letter of 1st March 1774;

Do you know any thing of Stone Walls of Houses or Fortifications being built of dry Stone & cemented together by Vitrification? this must be by the Force of Fire. If you have hear'd of such by what particular Nation or about what Period was this practised? or if used in Britain or how long ago? It would seem that the connecting Qualities or even Lime Stone was unknown then: your thoughts on this will be most acceptable when most agreeable to you.

On being pressed for an answer,² Gough replied³;

I have not been able to meet with anybody who can solve yr questions about the vitrified cemented walls. Is not an accidental insertion of some calcined or vitrified masses in the cement or materials of these walls, that may have been mistaken for the whole mass in such a state. Where are the instances you allude to & wha(t) is the tradition about the buildings in question.

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1. See the article on Vitrified Forts in Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XXIII, Chicago, 1946.
 2. See letters of 3rd and 18th March 1774.
 3. In an undated letter, the sixth last one in National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.7. Vol. II. There is also a note by Paton on the subject at the end of Gough's letter of 11th March 1774.

Returning to the subject in a letter of 30th April 1774, Paton first named Williams as the discoverer of vitrified walls in Scotland, and he dealt with the matter at some length. In his next letter,¹ he told Gough that James Cummyng, then on a visit to London, would discuss the question with him.

On 25th February 1775 Paton informed Gough;

This day were put into my hands a Collection of Letters of 77 pages in 4to written by Mr John Williams Mineral Surveyor containing his Discovery & Account of the vitrified Buildings in the North of Scotland whereof he made sections to discover the method how these were reared up, these have been read by Id Kaimes, Comissioner Clerk, General Oughton, &c. & much approven of by them, this discovery he is willing to communicate to the public, if you could assist him to any Bookseller who would give him a Gratuity for the Copy, as he has a large Family of Children & not opulent, this would be of real Service to the poor man; I shall transmit the M.SS. to you; he does not pretend to be an ornate writer, but gives a plain narrative of the Facts: if you think it proper, I shall procure you Specimens of the calcium or vitrified stuff, which also shall be sent by Sea for your Satisfaction, & the M.SS. by some private hand going to London: as it is too bulky to be sent by the Post.

The manuscript was sent a month later, the "private hand" who took it to London being none other than James Boswell.² Gough expressed his opinion of it in a letter of 10th April;

I recd. Mr Williams' letters on the vitrified walls. They appear to be new & curious: but I doubt much if the subject is interesting enough to induce a bookseller to purchase them. I will however submit it to the judgment of

1. 9th May 1774.

2. Paton to Gough, 25th March 1775.

some of these factors in literary matters & make as good a bargain as I can. I think the paper deserves to be read at the Society of Antiquaries; but then if they should incline to print it in their Volume the author will be no gainer: for they never purchase Copyright.

On 3rd June, however, Gough wrote that he had applied in vain to the booksellers, and Paton replied on the 15th, "I am sorry that you have been put to so much trouble on his Account poor man". In a letter of 11th July Gough stated that nothing more could be done about Williams's papers until the following winter "as the literary Societies are now all adjourned". Paton left the matter in Gough's hands.¹

Paton wrote on 29th January 1776;

Mr Williams begs that you would not present his Papers on the vitrified Walls of the Camps &c. in Scotland to the Antiquarian Society, as I presume he has altered his Intention, by blending it in with some Observations that he has made, but desires me to acquaint that you are very welcome to take a Copy of it for your own private use, but inclines not to publish it at the time or that it be done amongst your periodical volumes of the Archeologia ...

Gough replied on 14th February;

Had it not been for a meer Accident Mr Wms paper had been presented to the Society of Antiquaries last week that very night before I recd yr last favor. I will take the first opportunity of transmitting it to you.

Paton wrote further of Williams's intentions on 9th March 1776;

1. Letter of 7th August 1775.

I suppose Mr Williams may have additions to his Papers, which may be accompanied with some Sketches &c. of these, he seems to propose printing them here himself, which if it shall be the case you may expect to be served with a Copy how soon it is printed.

Once more the manuscript was to be submitted to Paton for his opinion.¹

A year later² he returned to the subject;

I understand Mr Williams is importuned to publish his Letters relating to the vitrified Camps, Fortifications &c. wherein probably the late notions of our Scots Volcanos will be taken notice of particularly these two near to Inverness & Dingwall, however shall say very little of it's contents till it appears, when you may expect a copy of it, I wish it may be accompanied with some draughts to render the work more intelligible.

Gough wrote on 26th March 1777 that he would be glad to encourage Williams if he thought of publishing by subscription. On 1st April Paton asked Gough to accept from him copies for his acquaintances, and went on;

at same time it will be kind to promote it's Sale, it's to be entirely on Chance being rather too small & the subject uncommon for a general Sale.

After some delay,³ Paton was finally able to send the first part of the pamphlet to Gough on 28th July.

There were, in fact, two editions of William's work, both of which appeared almost simultaneously. One was a small quarto, the other an octavo. The title of the quarto was;

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1. Paton to Gough, 25th April, 20th June 1776.
 2. 8th March 1777.
 3. See letters of 3rd April, 17th July 1777.

Letters from the Highlands of Scotland, Addressed to G.C.M. Esq;¹ By John Williams, Mineral Engineer. Edinburgh, Printed for William Creech, and sold by T. Cadell, London. M,DCC,LXXVII.

while that of the octavo was;

An Account of Some Remarkable Ancient Ruins, Lately discovered in the Highlands, and Northern Parts of Scotland. In a Series of Letters to G.C.M. Esq; By John Williams, Mineral Engineer. Edinburgh: Printed for William Creech, and sold by T. Cadell, London. M,DCC,LXXVII.

Paton explained to Gough the circumstances under which the two editions were printed.² Williams had given his manuscript to a friend and fellow Welshman, Paul Panton, to correct the style. Apparently the author did not see *Panton's* version till it was printed. When he did see it, he was highly indignant at the liberties that Panton had taken with his text. A violent quarrel ensued. Panton suppressed his edition, giving a few copies to friends and leaving some with Creech. Williams's original version was published as the octavo.³

In acknowledging the first part of the pamphlet in a letter of

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1. George Clerk-Maxwell, one of the Commissioners of H.M. Customs in Scotland.
 2. Letters of 16th August 1777 and 5th February 1780. Gough alluded to this in his British Topography; see above, pp. 290-291.
 3. As well as altering the wording substantially, and making additions and deletions, Panton combined Williams's two letters on the vitrified forts into one. Thus, letter IX in the quarto covers letters IX and X in the octavo, with the numbers of the three subsequent letters altered accordingly. In National Library of Scotland MS. 996, there is a transcript of an unpublished fourteenth letter, also mainly on vitrified forts.

4th August 1777, Gough commented on Williams's statement that the London booksellers had rejected his work because they disbelieved it.¹ Since it had been through Paton and Gough that the work was submitted to the London booksellers, they were directly concerned, and Paton's long passage on the subject in his letter of 16th August 1777, with which he sent the remainder of the pamphlet, shows that he was much upset by Williams's remark;

... he has intirely misconstrued the meaning of your letter to me, ² which was as you narrate, "that the subject not proving so interesting might not attract the number of readers" as the author or Bookseller should hope for, was the sole motive that induced any of them to decline printing it: as I never saw nor hear'd of his letter to Ld Kames till it was published, I had no opportunity of correcting this expression, which is not truth. I hope it will not be attributed to me, but to his own warmth of temper & not remembering the passage I read to him from your Letter. he is a plain illiterate man of warmth o' temper that has misled him into this unjust reflection: he is presently in the Country but when he returns will talk to him of this matter, I wish some one of his acquaintance have not put this into his head. of this will be more explicite after conversing him, when I read it, this expression gave me great disgust.

In this letter Paton mentioned that a theory was prevalent that what Williams believed to be evidence of vitrification was in fact the result of the existence of a large number of volcanoes in this country at one time - "probably this discredit to his Hypothesis may have increast his

1. "About a year ago, a copy of my paper concerning the vitrified forts, was sent to London to be disposed of to the booksellers; but the account is contained of those remains, seemed so incredible, that none of them would hazard the publication." in A Letter from the Author, To the Honorable Lord Kames.

2. i.e. Gough's letter of 10th April 1775, quoted above, pp. 417-8.

passion - but it never ought to have betrayed him into a falsehood". Paton called upon Williams several times in order to protest against "his hasty false reflection", but failed to see him.¹

Williams was dogged by ill-luck in the publication of his pamphlet. First, Creech unaccountably delayed sending the copies to Cadell for several months.² Then, when he did send some, the parcel was mislaid.³ Eventually, in May 1778, a second parcel of one hundred copies was sent off, and Paton sent Gough the shipmaster's receipt to give to Cadell.⁴ The work was finally placed on sale in London at the end of that month.⁵

Although the existence of vitrified forts is common knowledge among historians and archaeologists, perhaps not all of them to-day are familiar with the pioneer work of John Williams. It is fitting, however, that it occupies pride of place in the bibliography accompanying the article on vitrified forts in a recent edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica;⁶ and it is significant that no other work is cited earlier than 1880. That Paton recognised the importance of Williams's discovery, and helped to publicise it, is greatly to his credit.

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1. Paton to Gough, 6th September 1777.
 2. Gough to Paton 4th October 1777, 18th February, 19th March, 23rd April 1778; Paton to Gough, 13th October 1777, 22nd January 1778.
 3. Paton to Gough, 5th March, 26th March 1778.
 4. Paton to Gough, 2nd May 1778.
 5. Gough to Paton, 21st May 1778.
 6. *op. cit.*, p. 416, note 1.

CONCLUSION

An attempt has been made in the preceding pages to consider in some detail the most important of Paton's contributions to the spread of knowledge in his main fields of interest. Little literary merit can be claimed for the Paton Correspondence, but it is a rich mine of information on a wide variety of subjects. Naturally, so extensive a correspondence presents quite a number of problems, and it is hoped that several points that are obscure in the letters have been elucidated.

A great deal remains unknown about Paton's life. He has not helped posterity by leaving much on record about himself. However, he did give us a clear indication of what he regarded as meriting our attention, by carefully preserving the letters full of scholarly information, and destroying any personal correspondence that he received.

The long hours consumed by the routine duty of the customhouse were matched by the time spent even more strenuously in the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. The confined sphere in which most of a long lifetime was passed is contrasted with a mind that ranged far in space and time; a mind not, perhaps, of any great originality, but alert, receptive, and, above all, insatiable in its eagerness to learn and to communicate.

If this study has dealt much more with Paton's life-work than with his life, that is what he himself would have wished.

Very good conclusion?

APPENDIX IList of Paton's Correspondents, with details of the number and location of their letters

Hecht gave the total number of Paton's correspondents as fifty-four.¹ In the following list, that number has been increased to seventy. This figure has been arrived at, not only by the discovery of a few letters elsewhere than in the National Library of Scotland, but by taking into account those letters in the Paton - Gough volumes² which are not addressed to Gough. There are also one or two letters to or from other correspondents in the Percy - Paton³ and Pennant - Paton⁴ collections.

Our list does not include known correspondents, none of whose letters to or from Paton has been found. Among these are Alexander Brown,⁵ Charles Freebairn,⁶ Edward Hill,⁷ William Paton,⁸ John Price,⁹ Daniel Prince,¹⁰ and John Williams.¹¹ Doubtless there were many more.

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1. Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts, p. 7.
 2. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.8.
 3. British Museum Add. MSS. 32.332.
 4. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 29.5.5.
 5. See above, p. 216.
 6. See above, p. 328.
 7. See above, p. 85.
 8. See above, p. 49.
 9. See above, p. 157.
 10. See above, p. 158.
 11. See above, p. 417.

For the thirty-nine correspondents who are in the Dictionary of National Biography, no other source of biographical information is named in the list. An attempt has been made, not always successfully, to find out something about the others. Where possible, the reader is either directed to an earlier page in the thesis, or referred to a source of information.

A number of letters that are neither to nor from Paton are included in his correspondence in the National Library of Scotland. Most of these are in the Paton - Gough volumes, and are listed under Gough; but there are five in the volumes of letters from various correspondents, viz.

Armstrong, Mostyn John to Gough (copy by Gough) 19th May 1782.
Adv. MS. 29.3.8. f. 48.

Cant, James to Coke, William. 29th November 1774.¹ Adv. MS.
29.3.8. f. 67.

Gibson, David to Davidson, John. pencil note. Adv. MS. 29.5.8.
Vol. IV. f. 50.

Lamont, David to Riddell, Robert. 24th March 1789. Adv. MS.
29.3.8. f. 39.

Morison, M. to Bathgate, James. 20th October 1783. Adv. MS.
29.3.8. f. 69.

The following abbreviations are used in the list;

D.N.B. = Dictionary of National Biography

N.L.S. = National Library of Scotland

Letters 1829 = Letters from Joseph Ritson, Esq. to Mr. George Paton
... , Edinburgh, 1829.

1. Printed in Letters 1830.

Letters 1830 = Letters from Thomas Percy ... and others, to George Paton, Edinburgh, 1830.

Where the number of letters exceeds five, the dates of the first and last only are given.

1. AINSLIE, JOHN (c. 1750 - 1834)

Map-maker and surveyor. See G.H. Bushnell, Scottish Engravers. A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Engravers and of Engravers who worked in Scotland to the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century. Oxford, 1949.

One letter Ainslie to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.3.8. f. 62.
13th November 1779.

2. ANDERSON, ROBERT (1750 - 1830)

Physician, editor and biographer of British poets. D.N.B.

One letter Anderson to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV. f. 125.
19th October 1804.

3. ARMSTRONG, MOSTYN JOHN

Map-maker and surveyor. See above, pp. 269 - 270.

One letter Armstrong to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.3.8. f. 47.
19th May 1782.

(F. 48 is a copy by Richard Gough of a letter from Armstrong to him of the same date. Both letters are printed in Maidment, Letters 1829, pp. viii-xi.)

AUCHINLECK, LORD see BOSWELL, SIR ALEXANDER

4. BARRON, WILLIAM (d. 1803)

Professor of Belles Lettres and Logic in the University of St. Andrews. He wrote a number of book reviews for the Edinburgh Magazine and Review, including that of his own Essay on the Plough. See the Advertisement to his Lectures on Belles Lettres and Logic 2 vols., London, 1806, and Kerr, Memoirs of ... William Smellie, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1811, Vol. I pp. 405-6.

One letter Paton to Barron. Edinburgh University
Laing MSS. II 453.
8th December 1791.

5. BLACK, JOSEPH (1728 - 1799)

Professor of medicine and chemistry in the University of Edinburgh.
D.N.B.

One letter Black to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 8.
Dated only "14 Dec. 3".

6. BLAIR, HUGH (1718 - 1800)

Minister of the High Kirk (St. Giles), Edinburgh, regius professor
of rhetoric and belles lettres in the University of Edinburgh.
D.N.B.

One letter Paton to Blair. British Museum Add.
MSS. 32.332.
14th May 1768.

One letter Blair to Paton. British Museum Add. MSS.
32.332.
Undated (1774).

7. BOSWELL, SIR ALEXANDER, LORD AUCHINLECK (1706 - 1782)

Scottish judge, antiquary and poet, father of James Boswell, the
biographer of Dr. Johnson. D.N.B.

One letter Boswell to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 2.
13th March 1775.

8. BROSTER, PETER and WILKENSEN, G.

Publishers of the Chester Guide. See above, pp. 390 - 391.

One letter Broster and Wilkensen to Paton.
N.L.S. Adv. MS. 29.3.8. f. 66.
8th January 178(4?).

9. BROWN, John (1752 - 1787)

Artist. See Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, fourth
edition, London, 1903, Vol. I. p. 202; obituary notice in Gentleman's
Magazine, 1787, p. 840; James L. Caw, Scottish Painting, Past and
Present 1620 - 1908, Edinburgh, 1908, p. 44. Brown was responsible
for an etching of Paton now (to be seen at) the Queen Street Gallery,
Edinburgh.

in National Portrait

was it made in 1775?

One letter Paton to Brown. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.7. Vol. II.
22nd July 1786.

(A letter of introduction of Richard Gough to Brown;
as it is preserved in the Paton - Gough correspondence
it may not have been presented to Brown.)

10. BUCHAN, DAVID STEUART ERSKINE, eleventh EARL of. (1742 - 1829)

Founder and first president of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
D.N.B.

One letter Paton to Buchan. N.L.S. MS. 2956
f. 89.

7th November 1780.

One letter Paton to Buchan. N.L.S. MS. 3648
f. 123.

10th March 1783.

(MS. 3648 f. 124 is a fragment bearing Buchan's
address in Paton's hand, and a biographical note
on Paton by Buchan.)

One letter Paton to Buchan. N.L.S. MS. 1709
ff. 2 - 3.

19th December 1785.

One letter Paton to Buchan-Edinburgh University
Lainig MSS. II 588.

2nd June 1786.

17 letters Buchan to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV. ff. 57 - 73.

28th June 1780 - 12th March 1804.

(7 printed by Maidment, Letters 1830; 28th June 1780,
2nd November 1780, 9th March 1782, 3rd February 1787,
1st June 1791, 8th June 1791, 12th March 1804.)

11. CALLANDER, JOHN (d. 1789)

of Craigforth, lawyer and antiquary. D.N.B.

16 letters Callander to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.3.8. ff. 20 - 35.

12th March 1781 - 3rd December 1781.

(2 undated, and one dated only 29th May (1781);
all printed in Letters 1830.)

12. CAMPBELL, GEORGE

of Airies, collector of customs at Portpatrick. See above, p. 44 note 1.

One letter Campbell to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.6. Vol. I.
19th March 1772.

(Forwarded to Richard Gough, and so in the
Paton - Gough Correspondence.)

13. CARDONNEL, ADAM MANSFELDT de (d. 1820, aged 73)

Surgeon and antiquary; took the name of LAWSON about 1790 on succeeding to the estates of a second cousin in Northumberland. D.N.B.

A note, possibly part of a letter Paton to Cardonnel,
N.L.S. MS. 1709 f. 30. (see above, p. 253)
26th June 1787

One letter Cardonnel to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.3.8. f. 56.
Undated. Signed, 'A. Cardonnel'.

One letter Cardonnel to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 88.
13th July 1794. Signed, 'A.M. Lawson'.

14. CHALMERS, GEORGE

of Pittencrieff. Paton, in letters to Gough of 5th and 22nd February 1776, refers to him as the author of a number of tracts concerned mainly with navigation and trade, particularly linen manufacture. It is stated in The Imperial Gazetteer of Scotland; or Dictionary of Scottish Topography ... ed. Rev. J.M. Wilson, 2 vols., London and Edinburgh, n.d., (circa 1870), Vol. I, p. 462, that a bridge across the Pittencrieff Glen, Dunfermline, "was built by the late George Chalmers, Esq., solely at his own expense".

8 letters Chalmers to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.3.8. ff. 70 - 77.
14th January 1774 - 21st February 1777.

(4 undated; one dated only "December 1775". 2 printed in Letters 1830; December 1775, and 21st February 1777.)

15. CHALMERS, GEORGE (1742 - 1825)

Lawyer and antiquary, chief clerk of the committee of the privy council for trade and foreign plantations. Born at Fochabers, and apparently not related to George Chalmers of Pittencrieff. D.N.B.

One letter Paton to Chalmers. N.L.S. Adv. MS. 21.1.12.
24th December 1792.

5 letters Paton to Chalmers. Edinburgh University
Laing MSS. II 453.

8th August 1795, 7th September 1795, 4th
December 1795, 12th January 1796, 17th
February 1800.

2 letters Paton to Chalmers. N.L.S. MS. 3648
ff. 158-9, 163-4.

5th November 1795, 11th March 1796.

17 letters Chalmers to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV ff. 97 - 121.

12th April 1790 - 6th March 1800.
(order of the first two reversed)

16. CULLEN, ROBERT (d. 1810)

Advocate, afterwards Lord CULLEN, judge. D.N.B.

One letter Cullen to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 74.

7th June 1792.

17. CUMING, WILLIAM (1714 - 1788)

Physician at Dorchester. Born at Edinburgh, and educated at Edinburgh University. Obituary notice; Gentleman's Magazine, 1788, p. 364. See above, p. 74.

2 letters Paton to Cuming. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.7. Vol. II.

29th November 1779, 24th January 1788.

45 letters Cuming to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. II ff. 44 - 100.

27th March 1776 - 11th July 1787.
(2 undated)

18. CUMMYNG, JAMES (d. 1793)

Painter, Lyon clerk depute, secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and Recorder of the Cape Club. See above, p. 58 note 4.

One letter Paton to Cummyng. N.L.S. MS. 3648
f. 121.

23rd October 1766.

34 letters Paton to Cummyng. Edinburgh University
Laing MSS. II 81.

7th May 1768 - 13th July 1786.
(8 undated)

One letter Paton to Cummyng. N.L.S. MS. 1036
f. 99.

1st January 1770.

One letter Paton to Cummyng. N.L.S. MS. 3134
No. 32.

15th July 1780.

16 letters Cummyng to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. III ff. 1 - 16.

21st November 1762 - 23rd December 1789.
(4 undated)

3 letters Cummyng to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS. 29.5.7.
Vol. I - 31st March 1773 (followed by list of books)
Vol. II - 17th June 1779, 1st July 1779.

19. DALRYMPLE, SIR DAVID, LORD HAILES (1726 - 1792)

Scottish judge and antiquary. D.N.B.

4 letters Paton to Dalrymple. Newhailes private
collection.

Microfilm copies in N.L.S.; nos. 756 - 759.
16th January 1776, 20th April 1776, 12th
November 1776, 12th July 1777.

48 letters Dalrymple to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. I ff. 1-50.

23rd September 1772 - 4th January 1791.

(3 undated; a note by Paton about Humphrey, Duke
of Gloucester, following f. 9, is numbered f. 9-2;
letter of 18th July 1775 is numbered f. 12 p+2;

f. 27 is a list of books from Payne's sale catalogue; f. 33 is a transcript of a letter to the laird of Dun; f. 50 is notes by Dalrymple on Gough's British Topography. 3 letters printed by Maidment in Reliquiae Scoticae; 9th December 1774, 17th and 24th January 1775.)

20. DALYELL, JOHN GRAHAM (1775 - 1851)

afterwards Sir John; antiquary and naturalist. D.N.B.

One letter Dalzell to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 124.
3rd January 1797.

21. DAVIDSON, JOHN (d. 1797)

of Haltree, Writer to the Signet. Kay's Edinburgh Portraits 1837-39 edition, Vol. I, p. 243.

One letter Paton to Davidson. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 53.
Undated. Davidson's reply on same sheet.
Quoted above, p. 41.

37 letters Davidson to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV ff. 20 - 56.
27th July 1770 - 27th September 1789.

(18 undated. F. 50 contains pencil note D. Gibson to Davidson. One letter printed in Letters 1830; 30th September (1788?).)

ERSKINE, DAVID STEUART, eleventh EARL of BUCHAN, see BUCHAN

22. EVANS, THOMAS (?)

Bookseller, King's Street, Covent Garden, London. Probably one of the two booksellers of that name listed in Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers 1726 - 1775, p. 85, although neither of them is recorded as being at this address.

Copy by Richard Gough of letter of Paton, presumably to Evans. N.L.S. Adv. MS. 29.5.6. Vol. I.
24th January 1772.

(This letter complains about a failure to reply to Paton's previous letter ordering books, adding, "you need give yrself no manner of trouble in providg them: as I am servd already". Although this copy begins "Mr G. Sr" it seems to be the letter for Evans enclosed with one to Gough of the same date, and referred to in a paragraph therein. See also letters to Gough of 25th November, 26th December 1771.)

23. FOULIS, ANDREW (1712 - 1775) and ROBERT (1707 - 1776)

Printers, founders of the famous Glasgow press. D.H.B.

One letter Paton to the Foulis brothers. Edinburgh University Laing MSS. II 81.
30th October 1771.

Draft or copy of letter Paton to the Foulis brothers.
N.L.S. Adv. MS. 29.5.5. Vol. I. f. 30a.
Undated (April 1773) See above,
pp. 202 - 203.

(Letter Paton to Gough of 27th April 1772 refers to letter of Paton to Foulis brothers of 21st April 1772. This letter is not known to have been preserved.)

24. GIBSON, DAVID

Artist, possibly grandfather of David Cooke Gibson (1827 - 1856), for whom see D.H.B. Gibson is referred to in the following terms in the letter from Paton to John Brown, q.v.;

Poor David Gibson remains here doing little or nothing, it is a shocking reflexion (sic), that our place is so narrow & no encouragement or liberality shewn to Artists, wish any opening for his Success could be found in London; as Mr Brown knows well his Genius & situation.

2 letters Gibson to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS. 29.3.8.
ff. 63 - 4.
20th October 1782, 3rd November 1781 (in that order).

25. GOUGH, RICHARD (1735 - 1809)Topographer and antiquary. D.N.B.434 letters Paton to Gough. W.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.7. 2 vols.(As the pages are not numbered throughout, folio
references are not given.)

3rd October 1771 - 26th September 1804.

Notes. Vol. I ; Letter of 1st September 1772 bound
inside one of 24th August 1772.Letter dated only "21 Octr past 11 o'
clock evening" (1772).2 undated letters (November 1773 and
August 1775).Letter of 9th September 1775 misplaced
before one of 8th September 1775.Letter of 30th September 1775 misplaced
before one of 22nd September 1775.

Undated letter (September 1775)

Letter of 26th September 1777 misplaced
before one of 13th October 1777; short
note dated 27th September 1777 pasted
on to foot of that of 26th September.Beginning of letter of 24th February
1788 misplaced after one of 26th March
1788.One letter dated only '1778'. Postmark
"October 29" (?)Vol. II ; Letter dated at beginning '4 Feby'
and at end 6th March 1780. Should be
4th March.Letter of 30th December 1780 misplaced
after one of 6th January 1781.Between letters of 12th February and
17th February 1781 there is a loose
sheet apparently cut from a letter of
Paton to Gough.Letter of 25th July 1783 misplaced
before one of 28th April 1783.Letter of 9th April 1785 misplaced
after one of 15th April 1785.

Letter of 10th December 1785 misplaced after one of 10th January 1786.

Letter dated 15th March 1788 - date seems incorrect; should probably be April or May.

Letter dated by Paton '21st April 1721' corrected by Gough to '1794'.

The title of N.L.S. Adv. MS. 29.5.7. is Correspondence between George Paton Esqr. and Richard Gough Esqr. interspersed with letters from other Scottish Antiquaries. These volumes contain copies or drafts of many of Gough's letters to Paton, and, in addition to sundry notes, the following other letters (in general, these are arranged in chronological order along with the Paton-Gough letters. The following list is arranged alphabetically. I or II after the date indicates whether the letter is in Vol. I or II);

Balfour, John, bookseller, to Gough - 10 letters, 12th January 1772 - 20th December 1774 (one undated). I.

Campbell, George, q.v., to Paton - one letter, 19th March 1772. I.

Cardonnel, Adam de, q.v., to Gough - 3 letters, 20th December 1788, 10th February 1789, 26th July 1790. II.

Clerk, John, of Eldin, artist, to Gough - one letter, 6th July 1779. II. Printed in Letters 1830.

Cuming, William, q.v., to Balfour, John - one letter, 31st April 1771. I.

Cumyng, James, q.v., to Paton, 3 letters, 31st March 1773, followed by list of books, I; 30th June 1779; 1st July 1779. II.

Dalrymple, Sir David, Lord Hailes, q.v., to Gough - copy (not by Gough or Paton) of one letter, 16th January 1776. I.

Davidson, John, q.v., to Gough - one letter, 2nd July 1777. I. (In vol. II, following letter Paton to Gough, 24th February 1789, there are proof sheets headed "To Mr. Gough from John Davidson".)

Drysdale, John, to Gough - one letter, 26th November 1771. I.

Gough to Aitchison, John, minister of Falkirk - copy of letter, 26th December 1771. I.

Gough to Balfour, John - copies or drafts of four letters, 18th December 1771, 7th May 1773, 18th December 1773 (copy of Gough to Paton of same date on back), 15th December 1774 (misplaced after Balfour to Gough 27th December 1773). I.

Gough to Clerk, John, of Eldin - copy of letter 30th July 1779. II.

Gough to Creech, William, bookseller - copy of letter 11th March 1774, on back of copy Gough to Paton of same date. I.

Gough to Dalrymple, Sir David, copy of letter 24th February 1776. I.

Gough to Davidson, John, draft of letter 30th May 1776, on back of copy Gough to Paton of same date. I.

Gough to Marsh (?) copy of letter 11th January 1772. I.

Gough to "Mr. M." copy of letter, no date (1788). II.

Gough to Riddell, Robert, copies of 2 letters, 8th August 1787, 4th September 1787. II.

Gough to Thomson, William, copy of letter 25th June 1782. II.

Gough, probably to Turnor, Edmund, q.v., copy of letter, 6th June 1787. II.

Gough to unknown correspondent at Glasgow University, copy of letter, 11th May 1773. I.

Hutton, George Henry, q.v., to Gough - one letter 25th July 1782. II.

Lindsay, Thomas, of Caldale, Orkney, to Gough - one letter, 2nd March 1776. I.

Low, George, q.v., to Gough - one letter, 23rd May 1783. II.

Ogilvie, William, q.v., to Paton - copy by Gough of letter, 29th August 1775. I.

Paton to Brown, John, q.v., - one letter, 22nd July 1786. II.

Paton to Cuming, William - two letters, 29th November 1779, 24th January 1788. II.

Paton to Evans, T(?) q.v., copy by Gough of letter, 14th January 1772. I.

Paton to Nichols, John, q.v., 16 letters, for fuller particulars see under NICHOLS, JOHN.

Paton to Payne, Thomas, q.v., - one letter, 9th November 1771. I.

Philipe, Thomas, artist, to Gough - 5 letters, 6th July 1778, 9th July (1778), 4th June 1779. I; 24th November 1780, 10th January 1781. II.

Riddell, Robert, q.v., to Gough - 2 letters, 15th August 1787, 14th November (1787). II.

Robertson, James, professor of oriental languages, Edinburgh, to Stewart, James, minister of Killin - one letter, 23rd August 1771. I.

Robertson, James, Paton's relative, to Gough - 3 letters, 20th October 1777, 14th December 1777. I; 16th May 1780. II.

Steuart, Thomas Ruddiman to Gough - one letter, 24th July 1778. I.

Thomson, William, q.v., to Gough - 2 letters, 22nd February 1782, 17th June 1782. II.

Underwood, B. to Gough - one letter, 7th November 1787. II.

Wood, John, q.v., to Gough - one letter, 31st October 1792. II.

Wood, Mark to Hastings, Warren - undated letter, in which is quoted letter of Col. Call to Lieut. Thomas Call. At foot, in Paton's writing, a "list of Engineers on the Bengal Establisht. Augt. 1776". Between letters Paton to Gough of 27th August and 19th October 1776 in Vol. I.

Unknown correspondent to Gough - undated note, between letters Paton to Gough, 16th August and 12th September 1774 in Vol. I.

One letter Paton to Gough. Bodleian Library MS.
28065 Vol. IV.

31st October 1776.

274 letters Gough to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS. 29.5.6.
2 vols.

18th December 1771 - 26th December 1804.

Notes Vol. I ; Letter of 15th February 1779 misplaced after one of 2nd February 1774.

Letter of 11th March 1774 followed by list of coins in Gough's hand.

Letter of 25th January 1775 misplaced after one of 3rd June 1775.

Letter dated only 'Dec. 1775' which follows one of 27th December 1775, should precede it.

Letter of 3rd November 1779 misplaced before one of 9th August 1779.

Letter of 19th January 1780 misplaced after one of 14th June 1780.

Letter of 27th April 1784 has one by Nichols to Paton added on same sheet.

Vol. II; Letter of 14th August 1784 preceded by list of coins in Duke of Devonshire's collection.

Letter following one of 22nd July 1791 dated only 'Oct 1791'.

Letter of 4th January 1797 misplaced before one of 18th November 1796.

7 undated or incompletely dated letters at the end of Vol. II can be placed as follows by internal evidence; (1) 18th September (1774), (2) April 1774, (3) 30(?) December 1780, (4) June, July or August 1794, (5) 26th November (1790), (6) June or July 1793, (7) March 1802.

Nichols, Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, Vol. IV p. 727, quotes a note from Cough to Paton, formally introducing William Thomson. This is not in the N.L.S. collection.

26. GROSE, FRANCIS (1731? - 1791)

Antiquary. D.N.B.

6 letters Grose to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV ff. 75 - 80.
22nd August 1789 - 20th December 1789.

(One undated, but probably also 1789. Letter of 20th December 1789 printed in Letters 1830.)

HAILES, LORD see DALRYMPLE, SIR DAVID

27. HEARNE, THOMAS (1744 - 1817)

Painter. D.N.B.

2 letters Hearne to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS. 29.5.8.
Vol. IV ff. 82 - 3.
26th August 1779, 4th December 1779.

28. HENDERSON, WILLIAM (d. 1782?)

Customs official and antiquary. See above, pp. 412-4.

17 letters Henderson to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS. 29.3.8. ff. 3 - 19.

30th November 1775 - 9th March 1782.

(First letter undated. There is a letter from Henderson to an unknown correspondent, 16th November 1781, N.L.S. MS. 1006 f. 45. It was passed on to the Earl of Buchan by the recipient, who may possibly have been Paton.)

29. HERD, DAVID (1732 - 1810)

'Writer' or lawyer's clerk in Edinburgh; collector of ballads.
D.N.B.

25 letters Herd to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III ff. 17 - 41.

7th July 1778 - 3rd August 1796.

(10 undated. 15 printed in Letters 1830. Extracts from two in The Bannatyne Manuscript, ed. W. Tod Ritchie, S.T.S., Edinburgh, Vol. I, 1934.)

30. HUNTER, M.

Perhaps a customs official at Montrose.

One letter Hunter to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS. 29.3.8. f. 68.

25th November 1774.

31. HUTTON, GEORGE HENRY (d. 1827)

Archaeologist and antiquary, son of Charles Hutton, professor of mathematics at Woolwich. See D.N.B. article on Charles Hutton.

2 letters Hutton to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV ff. 86 - 7.

6th October 1789, 8th March 1790.

32. LAMBE, ROBERT

Vicar of Norham, Northumberland. Author of The History of Chess ..., London, 1764, and publisher of An exact and circumstantial history of the Battle of Floddon. In verse ..., Berwick upon Tweed, 1774.

One letter Paton to Lambe. British Museum Add.
MSS. 32.332.
21st March 1768.

LAWSON, ADAM MANSFELDT de CARDONNEL see CARDONNEL

33. LIGHTFOOT, JOHN (1735 - 1788)

Naturalist. D.N.B.

2 letters Lightfoot to Paton. N.L.S. Adv.
MS. 29.5.8. Vol. III ff. 104 - 5.
25th April 1774, 13th June 1774.

34. LORT, MICHAEL (1725 - 1790)

Antiquary, prebendary of St. Paul's. D.N.B.

3 letters Lort to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV ff. 89 - 91.
25th July (?), 9th May 1786, 12th
November 1789.

35. LOW, GEORGE (1747 - 1795)

Naturalist, minister of Birsay, Orkney. D.N.B.

56 letters Low to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. III ff. 47 - 103.
5th August 1772 - 15th January 1795.

(The letters are out of order, the earliest one being f. 52. F. 47 is dated 1st Octr 177 (sic). There are five undated letters at the beginning, but the fourth can be dated fairly exactly as it is on the same sheet as a receipt of 4th August 1775. One letter printed in Archaeologia - see above, p. 329. A number of letters quoted in introduction to Anderson's edition of Low's Tour - see above, pp. 338, 354, et seq. Letter of 2nd December 1776 printed in Letters 1830, pp. 70 - 71 footnote.)

36. MACKENZIE, WILLIAM (1726 - 1813)

of Delvin or Dailvaine. See Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921 edition, p. 1168.

One letter Mackenzie to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 3.
28th November 1774.

37. MEIKLE, JAMES

Carnwath, Lanarkshire.

One letter Meikle to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.3.8. f. 57.
30th November 1772.

38. NICHOLS, JOHN (1745 - 1826)

Printer, compiler of Literary Anecdotes ... etc., editor of Gentleman's Magazine. D.N.B.

16 letters Paton to Nichols. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.7. Vol. II.

As these are interspersed with Paton's letters to Richard Gough, q.v., the date of each is given here; 31st January 1781, 23th April 1781, 10th May 1781, 27th June 1781, 11th July 1781, 11th August 1781, 22nd December 1781, 13th February 1782, 25th February 1782, 13th April 1782, 19th August 1782, 7th September 1782 (misplaced after Paton to Gough 14th August 1783), 14th February 1785, 16th May 1786, 19th December 1786, 10th June 1793. (Some of these letters have annotations by Gough. The first half of the letter of 11th August 1781 is missing.)

5 letters Nichols to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV ff. 92 - 6.

13th February (1781), 25th August 1781, 1st March 1781, 26th July 1783, 3rd December (1785).
(The last letter is printed in Letters 1830.)

One letter Nichols to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.6. Vol. II.
27th April 1781.

(Added at foot of Gough's letter of same date.)

39. OGILVIE, WILLIAM (d. 1819, aged 83)

Professor of Humanity in King's College, Aberdeen. See Studies in the History and Development of the University of Aberdeen, ed. P.J. Anderson, Aberdeen, 1906, pp. 158 - 160.

9 letters Ogilvie to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV ff. 9 - 18.
30th June 1774 - 29th January 1779.

Copy by Gough of letter Ogilvie to Paton. N.L.S.
Adv. MS. 29.5.7. Vol. I.
29th August 1775.
(The original of this letter is not in Adv. MS.
29.5.8.)

40. PAYNE, THOMAS (1719 - 1799)

Bookseller. D.N.B.

One letter Paton to Payne. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.6. Vol. I.
9th November 1774.

41. PENNANT, DAVID (d. 1841)

Son of Thomas Pennant, q.v. See D.N.B. article on Thomas Pennant.

One letter Pennant to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.5. Vol. II f. 144.
25th January 1800.

42. PENNANT, THOMAS (1726 - 1798)

Naturalist and traveller. D.N.B.

283 letters Pennant to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.5. 2 vols.
1st January 1771 - 29th January 1797.

(21 letters undated or without the year; Vol. II
ff. 74, 78, 80, 91-2 (one letter), 123-125, 127-131,
134-140, 142-3. Misplaced letters; 29th November
1774 (I. f. 59) before 7th June 1774; 5th March 1774
(I. f. 117) after 14th March 1777; 29th March 1777
(II. f. 5) after 16th March 1779; 23rd June 1782
(II.f. 41) before 29th June 1781; 8th February 1778
(II.f. 85) after 26th January 1788; 14th February
1775 (II. f. 132) among undated letters at end of
Vol. II.

The Pennant-Paton Vols. also contain; draft or copy of letter Paton to Robert and Andrew Foulis, q.v. (I. f. 30a); letter Pennant to Robert Ramsay, q.v. with note Ramsay to Paton added on same sheet (I. f. 39); 2 letters Pennant to George Low, q.v., 20th July 1783 and 7th July 1788 (II. ff. 60, 86); notes by Gough on Hardyng's map with additional comments by Paton (II. f. 126); letter David Pennant, q.v., to Paton (II. f. 144). A number of Pennant-Paton letters are quoted in the introduction to Anderson's edition of Low's Tour - see above, pp. 354 et seq.)

43. PERCY, THOMAS (1729 - 1811)

Editor of Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, Bishop of Dromore.
D.N.B.

56 letters Paton to Percy. British Museum Add. MSS.
32.332.

9th May 1768 - 6th October 1778.

(One undated, but can be placed in March 1774 by comparison with Percy's letter to Paton of 24th March 1774. Add. MSS. 32.332 also contains; letter Paton to Lamb, q.v., 21st March 1768; letter Paton to Hugh Blair, q.v. 14th May 1768, and from Blair to Paton (1774); formal receipt by Percy for the Bannatyne MS. which he borrowed, 27th April 1773; two letters Alexander Brown to Percy, 15th November 1773 and 1st September 1775; letter John Wotherspoon, q.v., to Paton, 29th August 1774, and from Wotherspoon to Percy, 27th July 1775. Extracts from a number of letters in this volume are printed by Hecht in Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts.)

*Letter from Macswain
P. 2. from W.D. in
Harris Coll. p. 187*

4 letters Paton to Percy. Harvard University Percy MSS.
4 - 10, 23, 424.

31st July 1769, 17th October 1772, 21st November 1772,
4th December 1778.

One letter Paton to Percy. N.L.S. MS. 1001 f. 61.
17th September 1799.

This letter has a note on the back by Dr. Robert Anderson, dated 21st June 1800. It probably never reached Percy. See above, pp. 241-2.

*Bodleian
MS. Percy C. 1.
ff 60-65*

*27 Aug. 1777
6 Sept. 1777.*

42 letters Percy to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS. 29.5.8.
Vol. I. ff. 51 - 94.

5th January 1768 - 2nd January 1779.

q. 89.

(36 printed in Letters 1830. Those not printed there are; 8th September 1768, 18th August 1769, 7th May 1770, 6th August 1770, 10th November 1770, 26th April 1777. The letter dated by Maidment 12th January 1769⁸ should be 12th June; and that dated 19th September 1773 should be 11th September. Hecht prints the whole of the letter of 18th August 1769, and extracts from a number of the other letters previously published by Maidment. There are also extracts from a number of letters in The Bannatyne Manuscript ed. W. Tod Ritchie, S.T.S., Edinburgh, Vol. I, 1934.)

44. PINKERTON, JOHN (1758 - 1826)

Antiquary and historian. D.N.B.

One letter Paton to Pinkerton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
1709 ff. 34-5.
23rd January 1788.

(Another letter from Paton, to which Pinkerton's letter of 8th April 1788 was a reply, was apparently destroyed, although the notes from David Herd that accompanied the letter of 23rd January were not destroyed, contrary to Hecht's belief - Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts, p. 52 note. See above, pp. 249 - 250.)

2 letters Pinkerton to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS. 29.5.8.
Vol. IV ff. 122-3.
31st March 1788, 8th April 1788.

(The letter of 31st March 1788 has a short note by Paton at the end. Both letters are printed in Reliquiae Scotiae and in The Literary Correspondence of John Pinkerton, Esq. Vol. I pp. 184 - 188. The letter of 31st March is also printed by Hecht, *op.cit.* p. 52.)

45. PITCARNE, GEORGE

Edinburgh.

One letter Pitcarne to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.3.8. f. 61.
11th April 1786.

46. POPE, ALEXANDER (d. 1782)Minister of Reay, Caithness. D.N.B.5 letters Pope to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. III ff. 42-6.25th August 1778, 21st February 1781, 28th April
1781, 21st June 1781, 8th February 1782.Another letter, dated 27th August 1776, was forwarded
to Gough. It was read at the Society of Antiquaries,
London, on 14th March 1777, and printed in Archaeologia.
See above, p. 329. The manuscript of this is not
now known.47. PRESTON, SIR GEORGE (d. 1779)Fourth baronet of Valleyfield. See Burke's Peerage and Baronetage,
1861 edition, p.874.One letter Preston to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 1.
6th February 1775.48. RAMSAY, ROBERT (d. 1778)¹Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh.
See Sir Alexander Grant, The Story of the University of Edinburgh
during its first three hundred years, 2 vols., London, 1884. Vol.
II pp. 431-2.One letter Ramsay to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.5. Vol. I f. 39.
26th October 1773.(This letter is appended to one from Thomas Pennant
to Ramsay, dated 17th October 1773.)49. RIDDELL, ROBERT (d. 1794)of Glenriddell, antiquary and friend of Robert Burns. D.N.B.3 letters Riddell to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.3.8. ff. 36 - 38.

9th September 1787, 15th January 1788, 1st April 1789.

(F. 39 is a letter of David Lamont to Riddell, 24th
March 1789.)

1. The date is given as 1775 by Kerr, Memoirs of ... Smellie, Vol.
II p. 88, and this is copied by D.N.B. article on William Smellie.
The Pennant-Paton Correspondence shows that Ramsay died in
December 1778. See particularly letter of 27th December 1778.

50. RITSON, JOSEPH (1752 - 1803)Antiquary and lawyer. D.N.B.

6 letters Ritson to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. I ff. 95 - 100.
15th November 1792 - 21st July 1795.

(There is a contemporary transcript of one of these, dated 8th January 1792, in Edinburgh University Laing MSS. - not yet numbered. All six letters printed by Maidment, Letters 1829, and in The Letters of Joseph Ritson, Esq...., op. cit., London 1833. There are extracts from three in The Bannatyne Manuscript, ed. W. Tod Ritchie, S.T.S., Edinburgh, Vol. I, 1934.)

51. ROBERTSON, CHARLES

Painter, Edinburgh.

One letter Paton to Robertson. Edinburgh University
Laing MSS. II 81.
19th April 1766.

52. ROBERTSON, WILLIAM (1721 - 1793)Historian and Principal of the University of Edinburgh. D.N.B.

3 letters Robertson to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV ff. 4 - 6.
All undated.

(Printed in Reliquiae Scoticae.)

53. RUNCIMAN, ALEXANDER (1736 - 1785)Painter. D.N.B.

2 letters Runciman to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.3.8. ff. 1 - 2.
12th October 1775, 2nd November 1778.

(Printed in Letters 1830.)

54. SAUNDERS, JAMES

Artist.

One letter Saunders to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.5. Vol. II. f. 133.
Undated.

55. SCOTT, JAMES (1733 - 1818)

Minister of St. John's Church, Perth, and founder of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth. See above, pp. 105-6.

Copy of a letter Paton to Scott in the Letter Book of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth, in Perth Museum and Art Gallery.
17th February 1785.

Letter of Scott to Paton quoted in Paton to Cough, 14th October 1786. See above, p. 319. The manuscript of Scott's letter has not been found.

56. SMELLIE, WILLIAM (1740 - 1795)

Printer and naturalist. D.N.B.

One letter Smellie to Paton. N.L.S. Adv.
MS. 29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 19.
9th August 1774.

(Printed in Letters 1830.)

57. STENHOUSE, DR.

I have been unable to identify this correspondent. One might have suspected that it was William Stenhouse (1773? - 1827) the antiquary and musical scholar (for whom see D.N.B.), were it not that Paton addresses him as Dr. Stenhouse. Moreover, the letter is rather early to be addressed to William Stenhouse.

One letter Paton to Stenhouse. Edinburgh University
Laing MSS. II 453.
19th August 1791.

58. STEVENSON, ANDREW

Depute Receiver of the Customs, Edinburgh.

One letter Paton to Stevenson. Bodleian
Library MS. 25443 f. 78.
18th May 1775.

59. STRACHAN, WILLIAM (1745 - 1823)

Minister of Durris in the Presbytery of Aberdeen. See Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, Vol. VI p. 53.

One letter Strachan to Paton. N.L.S. Adv.
MS. 29.3.8. f. 65.
8th January 1787.

60. STRAHAN, WILLIAM (1715 - 1785)Publisher. D.N.B.

One letter Strahan to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 84.
13th January 1777.

61. STUART, GILBERT (1742 - 1786)Historian and satirical writer. D.N.B.

One letter Stuart to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 7.
Undated.

62. THOMSON, WILLIAM (d. 1803)

Professor of anatomy at Oxford. See above, p. 65.

38 letters Thomson to Paton. N.L.S. Adv.
MS. 29.5.8. Vol. II ff. 1 - 43.
25th February 1783 - 25th September 1790.

63. TUNSTALL, MARMADUKE (1743 - 1790)Naturalist. D.N.B.

4 letters Tunstall to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. III ff. 106 - 9.

25th February 1775, 19th August 1775, 13th
July 1775, 7th March 1776, (in that order).

64. TURNOR, EDMUND (1755? - 1829)Antiquary. D.N.B.

One letter Turnor to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV. f. 85.
29th April 1788.

65. WATERS, BENJAMIN

Merchant seaman, distant relative of Paton. See above pp. 53-57.

22 letters Paton to Walters. N.L.S. MS. 3648
ff. 125-157, 160-162.
26th June 1784 - 7th November 1795.
(The last one - ff. 161-2 - is undated, but
marked '1795' on the outside.)

66. WATSON, ALEXANDER

Inverness.

One letter Watson to Paton. Bodleian Library
MS. 28065 Vol. IV.
6th March 1780.

WILKINSON, G. see under BROSTER, PETER67. WILLETT, RALPH (1719 - 1795)Book-collector. D.N.B.

One letter Willett to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.5.8. Vol. IV f. 81.
Undated.

68. WOOD, JOHN PHILIP (d. 1838)

Excise clerk, eventually auditor of excise in Scotland. D.N.B.
See above, p. 63 note 2.

7 letters Wood to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS. 29.3.8.
ff. 49 - 55.
21st October 1786 - 20th December 1793.
(two undated)

69. WOTHERSPOON, JOHN (d. 1776)

Printer, publisher of Herd's Ancient and Modern Scots Songs. See
Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1726 - 1775, p. 369 and
Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts, p. 28.

One letter Wotherspoon to Paton. British Museum
Add. MSS. 32.332.
29th August 1774.

(Printed in Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts, pp.22-24)

70. WRIGHT, WILLIAM (1735 - 1819)Physician and botanist, Surgeon-General of Jamaica. D.N.B.

3 letters Wright to Paton. N.L.S. Adv. MS.
29.3.8. ff. 58 - 60.

24th July 1772, 25th September 1774, 19th January 1782.

APPENDIX II

Petition of John Paton to the University of St. Andrews, asking to be appointed printer to the university.

(St. Andrews University Library MS. Z325S3P2. The petition is undated, but according to the catalogue is circa 1720.)

Unto The Right Honourable the
Rector and Remanent Members of
the University of St. Andrews.
The Petition of John Paton
Bookseller in Edinburgh

Humbly Sheweth

That whereas the farr greater part of the Books taught in our Schools and Colleges are imported from Forraign places into this Countrey - to the great discouragement of their own Manufactories.

That your Petitioner certainly knows that if the Rector and University would be pleased to constitute him Printer to your University, He would be able to print the above mentioned Books better and furnish them at easier rates, than the Countrey could be otherwayes provided, and that the importation of Such Books from forraign places would be in a great measure prevented.

May it therefore please the Right Honourable the Rector and Remanent Members of the University to Constitute & appoint your Petitioner Printer to your University, with all the rights, priviledges and emoluments thereto belonging, for such a term of years as shall seem meet

John Paton.

APPENDIX IIILegal Documents concerning John Paton

These are referred to above, pp. 13 - 19. They are all taken from the records in H.M. Register House, Edinburgh.

1. From the Register of Decreets. Dur. Office. Vol. 409.

Decreet of preference Maills and Duties
William Granger against John Paton.

2nd December 1742.

..... claime of maills and Duties first raised and pursued before the Baillies of Edinburgh At the Instance of William Granger wryting Master in the said Burgh (designed in the bond after mentioned one of the Clerks in the Excise office against John Paton Book Seller there. And which was thereafter Advocate to the Lords of Council and Session in manner after mentioned. The which Lybelled precept ... maketh mention that where the Pursuer obtained Decreet of Adjudication at his Instance before the Lords of Council and Session against Robert Hogg and George Mosman Merchants in Edinburgh adjudging Decerning and ordaining (for the causes therein specified) The ground right and property of certain Subjects therein mentioned particularly all and Haill that Shop high and laigh back and fore lying on the north side of the Parliament Closs within the Town of Edinburgh Sometime possess by the Deceast George Mosman Stationer Burgess of Edinbr and afterwards by his Relict Thereafter

by John Paton Stationer Burgess there with the Cellar or vault opposite thereto belonging to the same disposed or Selt in Tack by the Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh to the said George Moseman his heirs and assignees To pertain and belong to the said Pursuer his heirs and assignees heretably In payment and Satisfaction of the Sum of money Principall Annualrents and expences Contained in the Bond narrated in the said Decreet as the said Decreet of the date forsaide produced bears which sums contained in the said Bond extended at the date of the said Decreet to the sum of one thousand Eight hundred and twenty three pound ten shilling Scots with Annualrent thereof in time coming during the not payment and true it is That the Pursuer has oft and diverse times desired and required the said John Paton Defender as possessor of the said Shop and pertinents forsaide to make payment to him of the Sum of one hundred and Sixty pound Sterline as Eight years rent of the same for his possession thereof from Martinmass one thousand seven hundred and thirty two years to Martinmass then last at the yearly rent of Twenty pounds Sterline and of the Sum of Ten pound money forsaide at Whitsunday then next and the like Sum termly thereafter during his possession the terms of payment being always first come and bygone yet he refused so to doe unless he be compelled

..... the said Shop belonged to George Margaret and Anna Mosman Children to the deceast George Mosman Stationer in

Edinburgh equally among them That the said John Paton has right to one third of the said shop and pertinents by right of the said Margaret Mosman his wife, and to a third part by a Right and Disposition Granted by the said Anna Mosman and William Hardie Merch in Edinburgh her husband and as to the other part which belonged to the said George Mosman the Brother the same was adjudged from him at the Instance of Robert Scott Merchant in Edinburgh Conform to ane Decreet of adjudication Dated the Sixth of December (1732) and which Decreet of adjudication was assigned by the said Robert Scott to Ronald Crawford writer to the Signet and Mr Crawford Disposed of the same to the said John Paton as also Grizell and Christian Rosses Daughters of the deceast Andrew Ross, Cloathier in Musselburgh and John Ross of Blackhill and Charles Hay of Hopes their husbands obtained ane Decreet of adjudication Dated the Eighteenth day of July one thousand seven hundred and thirty three years of the said George Mosmans Third share of the said shop for payment of the accumulate sum therein mentioned and which Decreet of Adjudication the said Grizel and Christian Rosses and their husbands disposed in favours of the said John Paton and that from the saids facts the Lords perceived that the same necessarily resolves in a Competition of Heretable Rights to which the saids Lords are only Judges competent and that therefore and for the causes mentioned in the saids Letters of Advocation the forsaid Cause ought and should be advocate to the Lords as only Judges competent and insuspect

thereto and the saids Baillies of Edinburgh and their Clerk of Court for his Interest and all other Inferior Judges Discharged from all furdur procedure thereintill, which Letters of Advocation Contain an warrand directed to messengers at armes for Summoning warning and Charging the said William Granger Pursuer of the forsaide Cause and also the saids Baillies of Edinburgh and their Clerk of Court for his interest to have Compeared before the saids Lords at ane certain day now bygone bringing with them the said principall lybelled precept or claim and haill grounds and warrands of the same To be seen and considered by the saids Lords and to have heard and seen the ~~same~~ advocate to them as only Judges competent ...

the saids Letters of Advocation dated the Sixth and Signed the fifteenth days of August one thousand seven hundred and forty-one years

The said William Granger Pursuer In the principal cause but Defender in the said advocation Compearing

(Bond granted by George Mosman and Robert Hogg to William Granger 13th July 1726. Decreet of Adjudication William Granger against Hogg and Mosman 6th June 1734) adjudging all & haill that shop high and laigh back and fore lying on the north side of the parliament Closs of Edinburgh and founded and designed in manner mentioned in the said lybelled precept & also all other land Tenements and other heretable subjects belonging to the said George Mosman with their pertinents to pertain and belong to the said

William Granger pursuer ... (for payment of £1823 . 10/- Scots with annual rent of the said accumulate sum from the date of decret during the not redemption ...) and also for documenting and justmeting the objections and exceptions proponed by the said William Granger against the Interest underwritten produced by the said John Paton produced in presence of the saids Lords and Interlocutor pronounced by the saids Baillies while the cause was depending before them dated the tenth of Aprile one thousand seven hundred and forty one Granting dilligence at the said William Grangers instance against Havers of any Instructions of payment of the debt upon which the adjudications produced by the said John Paton were led and to which he has right Item ... (William Marshall and Robert Lauder and James Fordyce due sums to Mosman; Robert Scott, as Mosman's creditor, obtained payment to himself. Similar instance concerning Rudge and Frichard, London ... Decreet of adjudication 10th Dec 1732) ... obtained at the said Robert Scott's Instance against the said George Mosman before the Lords of Council and Session adjudging Decerning and Declaring all & haill that fore Shop high and laigh lying in the parliament Closs of Edinburgh then possesst by the said John Paton bounded by the dwelling house belonging to the deceast Charles Jack Merchant in Edinburgh and possessed by William Tannoys Relict on the west by the shop belonging to and possessed by Charles Blair Goldsmith on the East the new Church on the north and the said parliament closs on the south with all right Title or Interest the said George Mosman has to the said

shop whether of property Liferent or by Tack and particularly an Tack of the said shop Selt by the toun of Edinburgh In favours of the said George Moseman ffather and other persons his authors and his the said George Mosmans right thereto with the Tack duly payable furth thereof with all reversionis of the Samen to pertain & belong to the said Robert Scott his heirs & assignees ...

(Letters of Horning at the instance of Robert Scott against Patrick Lindsay then Provost ... etc. Magistrates of Edinburgh for themselves and in name and behalf of the remanent members of the Town Council to possess Scott in the Shop ...

30th Sept 1734 - Disposition and Assignation granted by Scott in favour of Ronald Crawford.

4th Dec. 1734 - Disposition granted by Crawford to Paton.

Registrate in Books of Council and Session 10th Dec. 1742.)

The Lords of Council & Session aforsaid Have ffound and hereby ffind there is sufficient evidence brought that the payment made by the said William Marshall were before leading of the said Robert Scotts Decrt of Adjudication and therefore have preferred and hereby prefer the said William Cranger Pursuer upon his interest ...

(Paton has to pay Cranger 25 sterling yearly and back money from 1732.

On 1st December 1741 the case was heard before Lord Drummore. Both parties asked that it should be advocated. On 6th January 1742 it was called before Drummore. On 13th January "The Lord Ordinary

sustained the payments made in virtue of the decreets of ffurthercoming prior to the Decreet of adjudication". On 13th November 1742 the Lord Ordinary "sustained it Relevant to Reduce Scotts adjudication in Totun". On 1st December 1742 Granger was finally preferred.)

2. From the Register of Deeds. Mack Office. Vol. 186.

Submission & A(djudication) betwixt Ronald Crawford and John Paton. 13th August 1759.

In presence of messrs David Rae & John Dalrymple H.M. pros The parties underwritten To witt Ronald Crawford Clerk to the Signet on the one part and John Paton Bookseller in Edinburgh on the other part Have Submitted & Preferred and by these presents Submitt & Preferr all Clags Claims Controversies & Debates whatsoever betwixt them or which either of them can Claim or lay to the Charge of the other upon any account preceeding the date hereof And particularly without prejudice of the Generality anent the Charge at the instance of the said John Paton against the said Ronald Crawford upon the Clause of Warrantice contained in a Disposition granted by the Said Ronald Crawford to him of the Shop in Edinburgh presently possessed by him dated the fourth day of December Seventeen hundred and thirty four and Suspension of the foresaid Charge obtained by the said Ronald Crawford And which process of Suspension is presently depending before the Lords of Councill & Session To the amicable Sentance and Decreet arbitrall to be given and Pronounced by the Honourable Robert Craigie of Glendoick Esqr. Lord President of the Court of Session Sole Arbiter chosen by the said parties Submitters With full power to the Said arbiter To Receive for the Claims and answers of either party and to Take all manner of Probation either by write witnesses or otherwise

thereanent And to Decide & Determine therein as he Shall See just And
 whatever the Said Arbiter Shall Decide & Determine in the premises
 Betwixt and the ... Day of next to come or betwixt and any
 other day to which this Submission Shall be prorogated in virtue of
 the power aftermentioned The said Parties Submitters bind and oblige
 them their Heirs & Successors To implement and fullfill the same hinc
 inde to others under the Penalty of Ten pounds Sterling money To be
 paid by the party failling to the observer or party willing to observe
 by and attourperformance And it is hereby Declared that the said
 Arbiter Shall have power to prorogate this Submission from time to
 time as he Shall see Cause And both parties Consent that these
 presents with the Decreet arbitrall to follow hereupon be inserted
 and registrated in the books of Councill & Session or others Competent
 therein to remain for preservation And that a Decreet be interponed
 thereto That Letters of Horning on Six days and all other execution
 need full in form as Effeirs may pass thereupon and Constitute for
 that Effect messrs David Rae and John Dalrymple Advocates Their Proprs
 &ca In witness whereof these presents written upon Stamped paper by
 John Ross Clerk to Mr Laurence Craigie Clerk to the Signet are
 Subscribed by the Said parties At Edinburgh The twentieth day of
 February one thousand Seven hundred and fifty Nine years Before these
 Witnesses James Beatson also Clerk to the Said Mr Laurence Craigie
 and the said John Ross /Signed/ Ronald Crawford Jon Paton & Ja
 Beatson Witness John Ross witness follows the Decreet arblt Robert

Craigie Esquire Lord President of the Court of Session Sole arbiter
Chosen by Ronald Crawford Clerk to the Signet on the one part, and
John Paton Booksellers in Edinr on the other part By their Submission
Dated the Twentieth of February one thousand seven hundred and fifty
nine years Touching the Charge at the Instance of the Said John Paton
against the Said Ronald Crawford and the Suspension of the foressaid
Charge obtained by the Said Ronald Crawford Having Considerd the
foressaid Charge & Suspension with the Grounds and warrants thereof
and the whole proceedings in the Said Cause and Having Calld upon the
said partys to make Such additions as they Should Judge proper to
their mutuall Claims & answers and having God and a Good Conscience
before his Eyes He giveth furth and pronounceth his finall Sentence
& Decreet arbitrall in manner following vizt in the first place He
Decerns & ordains the said Ronald Crawford his heirs & Successors to
pay to the Said John Paton his heirs Executors & assignies the Sum of
one hundred pounds Sterling and that at and against the first day
of September next to Come one thousand Seven hundred & fifty nine
under the penalty of Ten pounds money foressaid with the Due and
lawfull interest of the foressaid principall Sum after the foressaid
term of Payment during the not payment and Secondly The Said arbiter
Decerns & ordains the foressaid Principall Sum of one hundred pounds
and the Interest thereof above written to be in full Satisfaction to
the Said John Paton & his foressaids of all Claim of Damages sustained
by the Said John Paton by the Decreet of the Court of Session Dated

in December one thousand Seven hundred and forty two years and upon payment of the foresaid principall sum, Interest and penalty if Incurr & Decerns the said John Paton & his forsaid to Discharge the foresaid action & Claim and the Said arbiter Discharges the Same accordingly and Thirdly The said arbiter ffinds that the said Ronald Crawford hath no Claim or Demand against the Said John Paton and his forsaid upon account of any act or omission Committed by the Said John Paton or omitted by him in the foresaid Decreet one thousand Seven hundred and forty two and He Discharges the said John Paton and his foresds accordingly and the said arbiter finds that the foresaid Ronald Crawford hath Right to a Decreet of adjudication Dated the Sixth of December one thousand Seven hundred and thirty two obtained at the instance of Robert Scott merchant in Edinburgh against George Mosman Merchant there adjudgeing from the Said George Mosman Certain Subjects therein mentioned and particularly his Interest in a Shop in the Parliament Closs therein Describd with the Grounds & warrants thereof with all that hath followed or may follow thereupon and He Decerns & ordains the Said John Paton & his forsaid if it Shall be Required by the Said Ronald Crawford to Retrocess him in the foresaid adjudication and all interest he has therein and that upon the Expenses of the said Ronald Crawford and without any warrandice against the Said John Paton & his forsaid and it is hereby Expressly provided & Declared that the not Granting of the foresaid Retrocession

Shall be no Stop nor ground of Delay of the payment of the forsaide principall Sum of one hundred pounds Sterling & of the Interest & penalty if Incurred and Lastly Decerns both partys to Implement the premisses hinc inde to others under the penalty of Ten pounds Sterling Contained in the Said Submission and the said arbiter appoints this Decreet arbitrall to be Registrare along with the Said Submission to the Effect that Execution may pass thereon in terms of the Clause of Registration therein Contained In witness whereof the Said arbiter have Subscribed these presents / wrote on this & the preceeding page of Stamped paper by William marshall his Clerk) at Edinr the thirteenth Day of August one thousand Seven hundred & fifty nine years Before these witnesses James Mitchell Servant to the said arbiter & the Said William marshall /Signed/ Rob. Craigie Will:
Marshall witness James Mitchell witness.

3. From the Register of Deeds . Mack Office. Vol. 181.

Disch(arge) & Renunciation John Paton to Gavin Thomson.

In Presence &c: Be it known to all men by these presents me John Paton Bookseller in Edinr fforasmuch as upon the twenty second day Aprile (1669) Mr John Barclay minister of the Gospell at Monifeath obtained a Decreet of apprising at his instance ag(ains)t Alexr. Waddell merchant in Glasgow and portioner of Bothwell of all and haile the five merk land of old extent of the town and lands of Bothwell which sometime belonged to Gavin Rae portioner there and were apprised from John Rae his Nephew by the said Umq(uh)le Alexr Waddell with houses biggings yeards parts pendicles and pertinents thereof lying within the Regality and parish of Bothwell and Shirrefdome of Lanerk with the teinds rights and reversions thereof for payment and satisfaction of the sum of One thousand five hundred and ninety five pounds Scots money as prin(cipa)l and seventy nine pounds fifteen shilling Scots of Sheriff fee as by the said Decreet and allowance written on the back thereof and dated the twenty first day of June (1669) more fully will appear In and to the which Decreet of apprising and lands and sums therein contained Patrick Maxwell (?) in Dundee acquired right from the said Mr John Barclay and Gavin Thomas Thomson Writer in Edinr has now right to the Samen apprising and lands and sums therein contained from the said Patrick Maxwell by progress as by the said rights and titles may more fully appear

Likeas the said Alexander Waddell having granted sundry rights of or upon the forsaid lands to Mr Robt Fleeming, Minr at Cambuslang for his security and relief of certain cause an rees (?) wherein he the said Mr Robt was engaged for him and for other causes specified in the said rights the said Mr Robert Fleeming died convey and make over the saids lands and his rights thereof to John Gilhaigie merchant in Glasgow and sundry persons fiers of the said John Gilhaigie having adjudged the same from him the said Gavin Thomson has now also acquired right to these Adjudications by Disp(ositio)n from John Gilhaigie of Thornyhill dated the twenty sixth day of October (1722) and reg(istere)d in the books of C(ouncil) & S(ession) the ninth June (1725) as in and by the said Disp(ositio)n unless therein narratted and other rights aforsaid to which referrence is hereby made brevitatis causa is more amply contained as also upon the twenty fourth day of June (1724) Wm. Marshall Writer in Edinbr obtained a Decreet of Adjud(icatio)n before the Lords of C(ouncil) and S(ession) ag(ains)t Bethia Waddell relict of Umq(uh)le Archibald Campbell apothecary in Glasgow and Grissele Waddell relict of Mr John Schaw Writer in Edinr eldest son of the said Grissell Waddell as lawfully charged to enter themselves heirs in Special to Gavin James and Alexander Waddells portioners of Bothwell their predecessors whereby the Saids Lords for the causes therein mentioned and amongst other Subjects adjudged Decerned and Declared all & haile that five merk land in the Toun of Bothwell sometimes called Gavin Raes five merk

land and sometimes Alexr Waddells five merk land with the haile houses yeards meadows muirs parts pendicles privileges and pertinents thereto belanging lying in the Territory of the Toun of Bothwell regalities of Bothwell and Hamilton and Shirreffdome of Lanerk, wt all right tittle and Interest and haile writtes evidents and securities of the saids lands or any part thereof pertaining or competent to the saids Defenders or to one or other of their predecessors to whom they are lawfully charged to enter heir as said is and particularly but (i.e. without) prejudice of the said Defenders their right of succession to one or other of their predecessors and Decreet of apprising of the saids lands and grounds whereupon the same proceeded at the Instance ... Maxwell in Dundee ag(ains)t the saids Alexr (& other ?) Waddells Compounded & Transacted by the said Gavin Thomson in his own or in a Trustees name for the behoof of Gavin Waddell youn(ge)r, the Defenders brother at least while the said Gavin Thomson was his Agent and Doer and all reversiones of the Samen lands and pertinents with the writtes thereof and all other rights tittle and interest pertaining or competent to the saids Defenders or their predecessors to whom they are charged to enter heirs of upon or concerning the lands and others foresaid To pertain and belong to the said Wm. Marshall In payment and satisfaction to him of the sums of money prin(cipa)l, a rents and penalty contained in the said bond liballed on extending in the haile at the date thereof to the sum of Thirty three thousand one hundred and twenty nine pounds eight

shilling four pennies Scots money Salvo Justo, Calculo and that by and attour the Composition to the Superiors and expeding Infefments¹ on the said Decreet Together with the a rent of the said accumulate sum from the date of the said Decreet of Adjudication during the not redemption as the said Decree of Adjud(icatio)n and Abbreviate thereof both of the date a mentioned and duly recorded at the Bill Chamber upon the fifth day of August (1724) more fully bears In and to the which Decreet of Adjud(icatio)n grounds and warrands thereof and sums and subjects therein contained the said deceased Gavin Shaw Writer in Edinr had right by Disp(ositio)n and Assignation from the said Wm. Marshall dated the twenty ninth day of July (1726) and I have now good and undoubted right to the same by virtue of a Disp(ositio)n and Translation made and granted to me by the said Gavin Shaw dated the Twenty second day of October (1731) and ratification and Discharge granted to me² by John Shaw wigmaker in London Immediate younger brother of the said Gavin Shaw dated the thirtieth day of August (1732) as by the said three deeds will more fully appear by virtue of which said Decreet of Adjud(icatio)n and Conveyances thereof to me I the said John Paton have right to the reversion competent to the said Alexander Waddell or his heirs of the said Gavin Thomson and his authors their rights aforesaid and moreover upon a submission entered into between me and the said Wm. Marshall on the one part and the said Gavin Thomson Writer in Edinr on the

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1. Infefment - a complete (i.e. registered) title.
 2. 'granted to me' is written twice in the manuscript.

other part to William Elliot and Alexr Christie Writers in Edinr Arbiters therein named by us they the said Arbiters by their Decreet arbitrall bearing dated the Seventh day of May (1734) Have among other things found and Declared that by virtue of the apprising obtained at the instance of Mr John Barclay minister at Monifeath ag(ains)t Alexr Waddell portioner in Bothwell and of the sundry adjud(ications) led ag(ains)t the a named John Gilhaigie with the rights hereby respectively apprised or adjudged and Conveyances thereof in to the person of the said Gavin Thomason He the said Gavin Thomason had good and undoubted right to the lands aftermentionedviz. All and Haile the five merk land of old extent of the Lands of Bothwell which sometime belonged to Gavin Rae portioner¹ there and were apprised from John Rae his nephew by the said Umq(uh)le Alexander Waddell with houses biggings yeards parts pendicles and pertinents thereof as also all and haile the lands called Myllside and wings and other lands in the said Toun of Bothwell extending to a Sixteen shilling eight pennyland with a walkmiln and Cornmiln upon the Water of Clyde which sometime belonged to John Nasmyth portioner in Bothwell together with houses biggings yeards Kilns and other parts and pertinents of the said Sixteen shilling eight pennyland whatsoever all lying within the said Regality and parish of Bothwell and Shirreffdome of Lanerk and that prior and professable unto and (?) of any Tittle or right which the said Wm. Marshall and I the

1. 'portioner' repeated in the manuscript.

said John Paton have or can pretend to the sd lands or any part thereof and the said Arbiters Decerned and ordained me to Discharge and Renounce to and in favours of the said Gavin Thomson his heirs and assignees the reversion of the apprisings and adjud(icatio)ns now in the person of the said Gavin and all other right tittle or Interest that I have or can pretend to the lands and others whereunto they have found the said Gavin Thomson preferrable or any part thereof as in and by the said Decreet Arbitrall & Submission whereon it proceeds which are both registrate in the books of C(ouncil) & S(ession) on the Eight day of May (1734) will more fully appear Now Therefore will ye me the said John Paton to have renounced and Discharged Likeas I by these presents in Implement protanto of the forsaid Decreet Arbitrall Renounce Quite Claim overgive and Discharge to and in favours of the said Gavin Thomson his heirs and assignees whatsoever All & All manner of right Tittle Interest and Claim of right which I had have or can pretend to have in upon or to the lands and others particularly a mentioned and to (whi)ch ye said Gavin Thomson is found preferrable by the forsaid Decreet arbitrall or any part or portion thereof or to any a rent veerlie duty or other burden upliftable furth of the same lie or in virtue of any right tittle Dilligence or Conveyance whatsoever and particularly but (i.e. without) prejudice of the said Generality all right of Redemption or reversion legall or conventionall competent or that might have been competent to the said Alexr Waddell merchant

in Glasgow or his heirs for redeeming the lands above mentioned contained in the apprising adjud(ication) voluntary Conveyances and other rights above specified now in the person of the said Gavin Thomson In so far as I have now right to the said reversions by my Pittles above deduced which Discharge and Renunciation I bind and oblige me my heirs and exe(cuto)rs to warrand to the said Gavin Thomson and his forsaides at all hands and ag(ains)t all deadly as law will and lastly I bind and oblige me and my forsaides to make the Decreet of Adjud(ication) ag(ains)t the heirs of the said deceased Gavin James Alexr and Alexr Waddell and haile Conveyances a narratted ffurthcoming to the said Gavin Thomson and his forsaides on all occasions needful for supporting hereof on their obligem(en)t for redelivery of the saids writtes within a certain short space and I consent to the registration in the register of Sasines reversions &c. generall or particular for publication and in the books of C(ouncil) & S(ession) or others competent therein to remain for conservation and if needbees that all execution may be direct hereupon in form as offers & to which effect I constitute Mr Robt Duke Advocate my Frors &c In witness whereof I have subscribed these presents upon this and the four preceeding pages of stamped paper written by John Chalmer Serviter to Andrew Chalmer Writer in Edinr at Edinr the Twenty sixth day of June (1734) before these witnesses William Elliot and Alexr Christie both Writers in Edinr and the saids Andrew and John Chalmers.

Signed Jon. Paton. Wm. Elliot witness. Alexr Christie
 Witness. Andr. Chalmer Witness. John Chalmer Witness.

4. Examples of protests lodged against John Paton.

All the protests mentioned on pp. 17 - 18 are similar in form to the two quoted here.

(a) From the Register of Deeds. Dal. Office Vol. 187.

Protest Wilkie (against) Paton p(er) Da(vid) Rae. 31st May 1760.

Edinr 4 June 1759 Six months after date pay to me John Wilkie in Dalhousie or my order at John's Coffeeshouse, the sum of seventy two Pounds Sterling money with Interest at five pr Cent from the date hereof untill paymt of the prinl sum for value Received from me /signed/ John Wilkie, Directed & accepted thus to John Paton Bookseller in Edinr /signed/ accepts Paton at Edinburgh the thirty first day of May (1760) the prinl bill a coppied was where payable duly protested at the Instance of the Drawer agt the sd. Acceptor for not payment of the contents, Damage Intrest & Expences as accords whereupon Instruments were taken in the hands of me Nottary Publick subscribing before & in presence of John Tait & William Walker both writers in Edinr witnesses to the Premisses specially called & Required Promessa attestor signed J. Goodwillie N.P.

(b) From the Register of Deeds, Dur. Office Vol. 217.

Protest William Taylor (against) John Paton 22d. December 1758
Compeared Mr David Rae Advot as (?) £24. 5. 4 Sterling Edinr
4th August 1758 Three months after Date pay to me factor for & on
account of Mr James Hodges of London bookseller or my order at the

Exchange Coffiehouse Edinr Twenty four pound five shillings &
fourpence sterling Value of sd James Hodges (Signed) Will Taylor
Directed, To Mr John Paton Bookseller in Edinr (Signed) accepts
John Paton At Edinr the Twenty Second day of December (1758) The
princl Bill a Copied was where payable duly protested at the
Instance of the Drawer (writer in Edinr) against the said John
Paton acceptor for not payment of the Contents and for Interest
Dammages and Expences as Accords and Instruments taken (there) upon
in the hands of me Nottary publick Subscribing before and in
presence of Henry Eldertoun Servant in the said Exchange Coffiehouse
& Alexr Cogill Clerk to the said William Taylor witnesses to the
premisses specially called and Required (Signed) Quod vidi assero
Thomas Innes N.P.

5. Bonds granted by John Paton.

(a) From the Register of Deeds. Mack Office.

Bond John Paton to Cicill Paton and her children. 5th April 1758.

In Presence &ca I John Paten Bookseller in Edinr Grant me to have borrowed and received from Cicill Paten Eldest Lawfull Daughter of the deceast William Paten in Coudene relict of the deceast James Paton some time in Coudene and now Spouse to Robert Sime Tennant in Barkhill for herself and in name and behalf of her Children after named, All and Haill the sum of One thousand and fourty pounds Scots money which sum of One thousand and fourty Pounds Scots money forsaide of princepall with the due and ordinary a rent thereof from the term of Whytsunday next to come to the term of payt Underwritten I Bind and Oblige me my heirs Executors and Successers thankfully to Content pay and again deliver to the said Cicill Paten in Liferent during all the days of her Life for her Liferent use allenarly, and to John Margaret, Christean, Isobell and Margaret Paton her Children Procreate betwixt her and the said James Paton her first Husband equally amongst them their heirs and assignees in ffee and that betwixt the date hereof and the term of Martinmas next to come but Longer Delay with the Sum of two hundred¹ Pounds money forsaide of Liquidate Expences in case of ffaillie together with the due and ordinary a rent of the said prinll Sum yearly termly and Contenually dureing the not payment thereof after the said term of payment above written,

1. 'thousand' scored out before 'hundred'.

Consenting to the registration in the Books of Council and Session or any other Judges books Competent that Letters of Horning on Six dayes Charge and all other Executorials need full may pass hereupon, infermas Effeirs and Constitute Mr John Gillen advocate My Proors. In witness whereof I have written and Subscribed these presents on Stampt paper Att Culress the twentyfirst day of Aprile One thousand Seven hundred and threty Seven years before these witnesses Lawrence and James Johnstones both Merchts in Culress Signed Jon Paten & Laur: Johnston witness James Johnston Witness.

(b) From the Register of Deeds. Mack Office.

Bond John Paton to John Alice. 19th November 1760.

In presence &c I John Paton Bookseller in Edinr Grant me hereby to be justly addebtet resting and owing to John Alice Tennent in Waugh Milne of Cowden all and Whole the sum of one hundred pounds Scots money which sum I hereby bind and oblige me my heirs Executors and Successers whomever Thankfully to content and pay tothesd John Alice his heirs Executors & Assignees And that at and agt the term of Martinmass (1738) wt twenty pounds money foresd of Liquidate penalty and Expences in case of ffaillure Together also wt the due & ordinary Interest of thesd prinl Sum of one hundred pounds money foresd after the sd term of payt. yearly and ternaly during the not payt thereof Consenting to the Registration hereof in the books of Council & Session or any others competent to have the Strength of

a Decreet that letters of Horning on six days and all other
Execution needfull may pass thereon as Effeirs and thereto
Constitute Mr Robert MacQueen Advocate my Proors. &c In witness
hwereof (written upon stamped paper by John Marshall writer in
Muckhart) I have subscribed these presents at Cowden the twenty
sixth day of April (1737) before these witnesses Mr Geo Paton of
Middle Ballilisk & the said John Marshall Signed Jon Paton Geo
Paton witness Jo Marshall witness.

APPENDIX IVJohn Paton's Testament

From the Register of Edinburgh Testaments, H.M. Register House,
Edinburgh.

John Paton

16th May 1781

The Testament dative and Inventory of the debt and Sum of Money which was addebted and resting owing to umqle John Paton Bookseller in Edinburgh at the time of his decease who died in Edinburgh upon the day of one thousand seven hundred and years Faithfully made and given up by George Paton Clerk in the Comptrollers office in the Custom house of Edinr Lawful Son of the said defunct and only Executor dative qua Nearest in kin decerned to him and that by Decreet of the Commissaries of Edinburgh as the Same dated the twenty fifth day of April one thousand Seven hundred and eighty one years & in itself at more length proports

Follows the Inventory

In the First the said Umqle John Paton had addebted and resting owing to him at the time of his decease foresaid the Sum of ten hundred and Sixty nine pound twelve shillings and ten pence Scots and by gone Interest due thereon contained in a bond dated the Second day of July one thousand Seven hundred and thirty three years Registered in the Books of council and Sessien the twentieth day of February one thousand Seven hundred and thirty four years Granted by Mr Michael Potter Minister of the Gospel at Kippen and Michael Potter his Eldest lawful Son to George Aikman writer in Hamilton and Sheriff Clerk of Lanerk and by him assigned to the said Umqle John Paton by assignation dated the Sixth day of July one thousand Seven hundred and thirty eight years and which Sum was payable against the first term of Whitsunday or Martinmas Next after the decease of Anne Miller wife of James Thomson in Bothwellhaugh

APPENDIX VAmes, Herbert, and the Aberdeen Breviary

This appendix deals with the matter referred to in Chapter III,
pp. 136-7.

Of the three surviving copies of the second volume of the Aberdeen Breviary, not one has ever been known to possess a titlepage. William Herbert, in his edition of the Typographical Antiquities of Joseph Ames,¹ quoted what he mistakenly believed to be the titlepage, and in the Annals of Scottish Printing,² Dickson and Edmond wrote as follows regarding Herbert's error;

Herbert informs us that Ames obtained an account of this second volume from Ruddiman, who supplied him with what he evidently believed to be the title: - "Ejusdem breviarii pars aestivalis ... oppido Edinburgensi impressa ... quarto die mensis Julii, anno Domini millesimo ccccc decimo". And then he gives the colophon of the same volume, which bears the date, "quarto die mensis Junii", concerning which Herbert in a footnote says - "This probably is a misprint for Julij, as on titlepage". Ames must have misunderstood Ruddiman, for the volume in the Advocates' Library, to which this statement apparently refers, has not had a titlepage within the memory of man.

The matter is not nearly so straightforward as Dickson and Edmond believed, however. The objects of this appendix are, firstly, to indicate that the mistake did not originate with Ames at all, and, secondly, to show the true source of Herbert's error.

1. Vol. III pp. 1468-1470.

2. p. 90.

The first point is easily established. This can be done simply by referring to Ames's original edition of the Typographical Antiquities¹, which Dickson and Edmond apparently did not do. Ames's account of the Breviary is as follows;

The first book I have found mentioned by any, is, A breviary of the church of Aberdeen, printed at Edinburgh 1509. thirty five years after the introduction of this art by William Caxton. The account I have had of this, is in a letter directed to my good friend, Dr. John Mitchell, from Mr Charles Mackey, professor of history in the university of Edinburgh. "The art with us is as early as 1509 I imagine, though I am not certain, that I have found Mr Ames's voucher for it. Mr. John Ker, late humanity professor here, gave into the lawyers library an old breviary in octavo, for the use of Aberdeen, but the title page, and some sheets at the end are wanting. The first page² begins with the following words, which I excerpted from the book. "In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Breviarum ad usum et consuetudinem percelebris ecclesiae cathedralis Aberdon. in Scotia, regnante principe nostro serenissimo Jacobo, quarto, divina favente clementia Scotorum rege illustrissimo, imperii sui anno vicessimo secundo, pro hyemali parte feliciter sumit exordium".

N.B. The words abovementioned in Italic are distinguished in red Ink.

"Now as king James the IVth succeeded upon his father's death, which happened the 11 June, 1488, the year 1509 after the 11 June, is the 22d year of his reign; and 1509 is marked with a pen on the margin of the book, opposite to imperii sui anno vicessimo secundo."

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1. pp. 573-4.
 2. The quotation which follows is, in fact, from the beginning of the second part of Volume one - i.e. the opening words from the "folio p'mo" which follows "folio cxxxii" of the first section. Mackey evidently thought that these were the first words of the first part, presumably being misled by the fact that the parts of the copy in Edinburgh University Library are not bound in their proper order. See Annals of Scottish Printing, pp. 89, 96.

Since the above, I have had a further account of the second part of this book, from my worthy friend Mr. Professor Ruddiman ¹ himself, no small encourager of this undertaking, by his many searches for me at Edinburgh, and elsewhere; and we may safely conclude, the first vol. was printed at the charge of the same person, and at Edinburgh.

1510 Ejusdem breviarii pars aestivalis. At the end are these words: Per reverendum in Christo patrem, Wilelmum Abirdonen, episcopum, studiosius maximisque cum laboribus collect. non solum ad ecclesia suae Scoticanae usum percelebrem. Oppido Edinburgensi impressa, jussu et impensis honorabilis viri Walteri Chapman, ejusdem oppidi mercatoris, quarto die mensis Julii, anno Domini millesimo cccccc decimo. small Octavo.

As can be seen from the above, Ames makes it quite clear that the passage beginning, "Per reverendum in Christo patrem" is from the colophon, for he prefaces it with, "At the end are these words".

Now let us examine what Herbert has written on the subject in his revised and enlarged edition of Ames's work. It will not be necessary to quote what he wrote of the first volume of the Breviary, as this is an almost verbatim repetition of the relevant part of the passage from Ames quoted above. This is what appears in Herbert's edition concerning the second volume;

1510 Afterward, Mr. Ames himself had a further account of the second part of this Book, from his worthy friend Mr. Professor Ruddiman, no small encourager of his undertaking, by his many searches for him at Edinburgh, and elsewhere; and we may safely conclude, the first vol. was printed at the charge of the same person, and at Edinburgh. "Ejusdem breviarii pars aestivalis. per reverendum in Christo patrem Wilelmum, Abirdon.

1. i.e. Thomas Ruddiman (1674-1757), Keeper of the Advocates' Library. Herbert copies Ames's mistake in describing him as a professor, but this is corrected in a note by Paton in Herbert's Corrections and Additions (Vol. III p. 1817 note b).

episcopum, studiosius, maximisque cum laboribus collect. non solum ad ecclesiae suae Abirdonensis, verumetiam ad totius ecclesiae Scotianae usum percelebrem: oppido Edinburgensi impressa, jussu & impensis honorabilis viri Walteri Chapman, ejusdem oppidi mercatoris, quarto die mensis Julii, anno Domini millesimo cccc decimo." At the end are these words: "Laus Deo, cuius gracia finis adest presenti opusculo estivalis partis breviarii divinarum officiorum de tempore et de sanctis: ac Davitico psalterio congruenter per ferias diviso: cum invitatoriis, hymnis, antiphonis, capitulis, responsoriis, horis: feriarum commemoracio penitus per anni circulum. Necnon communi sanctorum, plurimarum virginum, & matronarum cum kalendario et nobilium festorum tabula perpetua: cum diversorum sanctorum legendis: que antea sparsim vagabantur, & nonnullis aliis adiunctis sacerdotibus quam necessariis per reverendum in Christo patrem, Wilelmum Abirdonen. episcopum, studiosius maximisque cum laboribus collect. non solum ad ecclesiae suae Abirdonen verum etiam ad totius ecclesie Scoticane usum percelebrem. Opido Edinburgensi impressa, jussu et impensis honorabilis viri Walteri Chapman ejusdem oppidi mercatoris, quarto die mensis Junii,^h anno Domini millesimo cccc decimo." On the back of this page there is a curious wooden print representing two savages at full length; their heads adorned with flowers, and they have in their hands flower stalks; their bodies are clothed with skins of wild beasts, with a girdle of flowers; and their legs bare from the ankles downwards. Betwixt those two figures stands a tree, upon which is suspended a shield Sable, with W. and C. in cypher, Argent: at the bottom between two black lines are these words, "X Walterus X chepman S." This would seem to prove that the art of printing was first introduced into Scotland from France, and probably the types &c. came from thence; for this kind of device was at that time peculiar to the French printers, and the cut agrees with Pigouchet's Salisbury and Rouen heures, except in the cypher. Gough's British Topography, Vol II; p. 644. Both parts of this Breviary are in the Advocates' library, but want the title-pages and some leaves in the middle; the first is more defective than the second. N.B. The words

^h This probably is a misprint for July, as on the title-page. (Herbert's note)

in the extracts from both parts of this breviary printed here in *Italic* are distinguished by red ink in the original. I have throughout this article followed the extracts as they were sent to Mr. Ames, but am pretty confident, from observation, that the *j* was not used at that time as a letter, only as a numeral; nor *v* in the middle of words, unless they were in capitals. Small Octavo.

These Breviaries evince Mr. Watson's ¹ conjecture to have been well founded: however, the Scotch afterwards made use of foreign printers; as indeed did some of the early English printers occasionally, especially for law-books in the Norman French.

It will be seen from the above that Herbert has followed Ames exactly up to "Ejusdem breviarii pars aestivalis". He has then omitted "At the end are these words", and quoted the last part of the colophon, clearly under the impression that it was the title. There are some orthographical variations as compared with Ames's version, including a definite error, "Scotianae". Herbert has followed Ames in the error, "Julii" for "Junii". He has next proceeded to print the whole of the colophon, introduced by, "At the end are these words". In the final part there are further interesting differences in orthography, both as compared with his own previous version and with that of Ames.² This time the month is correctly given as "Junii", and Herbert has added the footnote referred to by Dickson and Edmond.

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1. The History of the Art of Printing ... Printed by James Watson, Edinburgh, 1713. The conjecture referred to is that "we have few or none of these Books, first printed here, extant; since most of them were either Books of Saints Lives, and Legendary Miracles, or Books of the Devotions then in Vogue ..." The Publisher's Preface to the Printers in Scotland, p. 7. The Preface was actually written by John Spotiswood. (Annals of Scottish Printing, p. 2.)
 2. See the collation given in tabular form at the end of this appendix.

In his remarks following the quotations, Herbert shows that he is aware that the copy of the Breviary in the Advocates' Library lacks the titlepages of both volumes. He makes the statement that misled Dickson and Edmond; "I have throughout this article followed the extracts as they were sent to Mr Ames". It has been shown above at what point he ceased to follow Ames.

Herbert himself has drawn our attention to the source of his mistake. He refers his readers to Gough's British Topography. The acknowledgement is given in such a way that it might seem to apply only to the recognition of the similarity between the devices of Chepman and of Pigouchet. But if we turn to the British Topography,¹ we find that Herbert owed far more than that to Gough. It is, in fact, the "missing link" between Ames and Herbert.

This is what Gough wrote of the Aberdeen Breviary;

The first book printed in Scotland is supposed to be
 "Breviarum ad usum & consuetudinem percelebris ecclesiae
 "cathedralis Abredonensis in Scotia, regnante Jacobo IV.
 "principe nostro serenissimo, divina favente clementia
 "Scotorum rege illustrissimo, imperii sui anno vicesimo
 "secundo, (anno scilicet Christi 1509) pro hyemali parte
 "feliciter sumit exordium. Ejusdem breviarii, pars
 "aestivalis, per reverendum in Christo patrem Wilelmum,
 "Abirdon. episcopum, studiosius, maximisque cum laboribus
 "collect. non solum ad ecclesiae suae Abirdonensis,
 "verumetiam at tocius ecclesiae Scotianae usum percelebrem:
 "oppido Edinburgensi impressa, jussu & impensis honorabilis
 "viri Walteri Chapman, ejusdem oppidi mercatoris, quarto
 "die mensis Julii, anno Domini millesimo cccc decimo".
 Each volume consisting of two parts.^e Both parts in the

^e Ames's History of Printing, p. 573. (Gough's note)

1. Vol. II pp. 643-4.

Advocates' library. Both volumes want the title pages, besides some leaves or sheets in the middle of each, but the first is more defective than the second: at the end of the latter is the annexed colophon; the words in *Italic* are printed in red ink in the original. "Laus Deo, *cujus gracia finis* "adest presenti opusculo estivalis partis breviarii "divinorum officiorum de tempore et de sanctis: "ac Davitico psalterio congruenter per ferias diviso: "cum invitatoriis, hymnis, antiphonis, capitulis, "responsoriis, horis: feriarum commemoracio penitus "per anni circulum. Necnon communi sanctorum "plurimarum virginum et matronarum cum kalendario "et mobilium festorum tabula perpetua: cum diversorum "sanctorum legendis: que antea sparsim vagabantur, "et nonnullis aliis adjunctis sacerdotibus quam necessariis "per reverendum in Christo patrem Wilelmum Abirdonensem "episcopum studiosius maximisque cum laboribus collectis "non solum ad ecclesie sue Abirdonensis verum eciam ad "tocius ecclesie Scoticane usum percelebrem. Opido "Edinburgensi impresso jussu et impensis honorabilis viri "Walteri Chepman, ejusdem opidi mercatoris, quarto die "mensis Junii, anno Domini millesimo CCCCC. decimo".

On the back of this page there is a curious wooden print ^f representing two savages at full length; their heads are adorned with flowers, and they have in their hands flower stalks; their bodies are clothed with skins of wild beasts, with a girdle of flowers; and their legs bare from the ankle downward. Betwixt these two figures stands a tree, upon which is suspended a shield Sable ^g with W. and C. in cypher Argent: at the bottom between two black lines are these two words, "x Walterus x chepman S."

^f This would seem to prove that the art of printing was first introduced into Scotland from France, and probably the types, &c. came from thence; for this kind of device was at that time peculiar to the French printers. (Gough's note.)

^g This out agrees with Pigouchet's Salisbury and Rouen heures, except in the cypher. (Gough's note.)

The foregoing quotation shows beyond all doubt that the source of practically everything printed by Herbert regarding the second

volume of the Aberdeen Breviary is Gough's British Topography .

The only thing in Herbert not derived from Gough is the concluding reference to Watson's History of Printing. A detailed comparison between the two versions of the final part of the colophon as given by Gough and by Herbert shows that Herbert's first version (i.e. the supposed title) follows Gough's first version exactly, and that the error "Scotianae" is copied from Gough. Herbert also follows Gough very closely in his quotation of the first part of the colophon. The only alterations he makes are "cuius" and "adiunctis" for "cujus" and "adjunctis", and "&" twice for "et". The similarity between the two second versions of the end of the colophon is not so close as between the two first versions. For example, Herbert does not expand "Abirdoner" into "Abirdonensem" and "Abirdonensis", as Gough does. He is thus - presumably accidentally - closer to the original in that particular. But the differences² are not such as to give rise to any doubt that Herbert was copying from Gough, despite his curiously misleading statement that he was following throughout the extracts as sent to Ames.

It is clearly Gough who must be held responsible for the confusion between the colophon and a supposed titlepage. Gough was referred to pages 573-4 of Ames's Typographical Antiquities by Paton, and he must have misunderstood this as being an indication that he would

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1. These alterations are interesting in view of Herbert's statement that he had "throughout ... followed the extracts as ... sent to Mr Ames, but am pretty confident ... that the j. was not used at that time as a letter ...".
 2. See the full collation at the end of this appendix.

find the titlepage there. Despite the "at the end are these words" with which Ames prefaced his version of the last part of the colophon, Gough reproduced it as the title, and then followed it with the whole of the colophon from Paton's transcript. Ames's version was, according to his own acknowledgement, from a transcript sent him by Ruddiman. There are several minor spelling differences between Gough's first version and that of Ames, but against these must be set the very significant fact that the error "Julii" occurs in both, whereas Paton's transcript, represented by Gough's and Herbert's second versions, has the correct "Junii". It is easy to see how the error "Julii" arose in Ruddiman's transcript. In the copy in the National Library,¹ which is almost certainly the one from which Ruddiman made his transcript, the letter "n" in "Junii" is partly worn away, and it could very easily be mistaken for an "l".

Herbert's account of the first volume of the Breviary shows no sign of having been influenced by Gough's version - he does not, for instance, copy Gough's "anno scilicet Christi 1509".

1. National Library H.36.h.5.

Collation of the five versions of the final part of the Colophon of the second volume of the Aberdeen Breviary.

The differences in orthography and spelling between the five versions of the last part of the colophon given by Ames, Cough and Herbert are shown in the following table. Ames prints the whole passage in italics, except for "cccccc", which is in small capitals. The second versions of Cough and Herbert normally italicise the rubrics, whereas their first versions do not. Differences of italicisation are recorded in the table only where this normal procedure is not followed. Differences in punctuation are not shown.

According to the argument set forth in the foregoing appendix, Ames, Cough I and Herbert I are derived from Riddiman's transcript, whereas Cough II and Herbert II are from Paton's transcript. A comparison with the original shows that the latter is in general the more accurate.

AMES	COUGH I	COUGH II	HERBERT I	HERBERT II
<u>Per</u>	per	per	per	<u>per</u>
<u>Abridonem.</u>	Abridon.	Abridonensem	Abridon.	<u>Abridonem.</u>
<u>collect.</u>	collect.	collectis	collect.	collect.
<u>ecclesie suae</u>	ecclesiae suae	ecclesie suae	ecclesiae suae	ecclesiae suae
<u>Abridonem.</u>	Abridonensis	<u>Abridonensis</u>	Abridonensis	<u>Abridonem.</u>
<u>verum etiam</u>	verumetiam	verum eciam	verumetiam	verum eciam
<u>totius</u>	totius	totius	totius	totius
<u>ecclesiae Scotticae</u>	ecclesiae Scotticae	ecclesie <u>Scotticae</u>	ecclesiae Scotticae	ecclesie <u>Scotticae</u>
<u>Opido</u>	Opido	Opido	Opido	Opido
<u>Impressa</u>	Impressa	Impresso	Impressa	Impressa
<u>et</u>	&	et	&	et
<u>Chapman</u>	Chapman	<u>Chapman</u>	Chapman	<u>Chapman</u>
<u>Opiddi</u>	Opiddi	Opiddi	Opiddi	Opiddi
<u>Julii</u>	Julii	Julii	Julii	Julii
cccccc	cccccc	<u>CCCCC.</u>	cccccc	cccccc

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1. Manuscripts (including typescript theses)
2. Books and articles
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The arrangement is alphabetical, by authors or editors wherever possible.

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