JOHN LEYDEN (1775-1811):

his life and works.

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By the start of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Scotland had fairly entered upon the period of her "most energetic, most peculiar, and most various life"\(^1\): a period not indeed without imperfections, but blessed with much good sense, not a little good feeling, and many advantages over almost every preceding age in Scotland's history. The century had opened inauspiciously enough with memories of bitter religious strife still fresh, and with the normal poverty of the nation intensified by the disastrous failure of the Darien Scheme; nor had its first two decades, marked by the unpopular Union of 1707 and the uninspiring rebellion of 1715, held out much promise of better things. By 1730, however, material prosperity was increasing; and after the final destruction of Jacobite hopes in 1746, Scotland, having attained the age of discretion at which differences of religious and political opinion are merely argued, not fought, over, was able to concentrate on the expansion of all her resources, so that the last forty years of the century saw a remarkable improvement in the conditions, physical and intellectual, of Lowland Scottish life.\(^2\) Increase of trade and intercourse with England and abroad, exploitation of mineral wealth and development of industry, and improvement of communications and of agricultural methods and implements, greatly increased the amount of money in the country and, consequently, the value of goods and property and the comfort of the people's homes.

No less important were the alterations in manners and in the Scottish outlook on life. External indications, in dress, conversation and demeanour, of differences in rank, age and profession were passing away: a decline in individualism which despoiled social life of much that was interesting, if also sometimes grotesque. But what society lost in colour, it gained in sobriety; for if hospitality and sociability had somewhat declined, so had drunkenness, swearing and "coarseness of thought and language".\(^3\) The establishment of libraries, not only in Edinburgh, but in an increasing number of provincial towns, promoted the circulation of literature of a higher class than the

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2 J. M. Dickie, in *The Economic Position of Scotland in 1760*, takes 1760 to mark "a real turning-point in the economic fortunes of the country". (The Scottish Historical Review, Vol. XVIII, pp. 14-31.)
chapbooks (vigorous but often in doubtful taste), which, themselves not numerous in the early years of the century, had reached a sale of about 200,000 copies by 1770. Moderates and 'high-flyers' had still very different conceptions of the nature and duties of the Church; but a spirit of religious toleration had been gradually growing and improving since mid-century, accompanied by an increasingly general, active and efficient spirit of philanthropy, which manifested itself in such charitable efforts as the relief of the poor in periods of scarcity, notably in 1783, 1796, 1799 and 1800.

In the Border country, the manufacture of textile goods, especially stockings, was developing, although the industry was still closely linked with agriculture, much of the work was done by hand, and the numbers of people employed were not at first large. The chief occupation was still sheep-rearing, and the characteristic feature of the landscape was its pastoral quality, the green grass of the pasturelands forming "the sweet food of the sheep, the staple of the country". The Borderers were indeed quick to adopt farming innovations, not all of which were equally desirable. But by 1775 there was comparatively little evidence of the effects of the agricultural revolution which, by the end of the century, was to turn many acres of grazing into arable land, substituting crops of grain for moss and heather on much of the rising ground, and decimating the none too plentiful stock of trees. Nor had the policy of combining several small farm-holdings into one large one, let on a longer lease, yet caused in full measure the rural depopulation, hardship and unfortunate sharpening of class distinction which was the social price exacted for its superior efficiency.

1 John Fraser, The Humorous Chapbooks of Scotland, p.114. Libraries were established at Kelso in 1750, (the 'New Library' being added in 1778); at Hawick in 1762; at Duns in 1768; and at Kirkcudbright in 1777.
2 Somerville, op.cit., pp374-75 & 381-84.
3 Thomas Pennant, Tour of Scotland in 1772, p.79.
4 Developments lamented by John Leyden in Scenes of Infancy,pt.iv.
5 Henry G. Graham, 'Social life of Scotland in the 18th century', Vol I.,pp.201 - 27 gives a vivid, if somewhat one-sided, view of 'The Land and the People' from 1750 to 1800.
Despite the influx of money into the country, wages were still low, but living was plain and cheap, and with the steady improvement in housing and domestic conveniences of all kinds, which had benefited especially the farmers and farm-workers of the Borders, rural life, still diversified and brightened by a taste for unsophisticated games, amusements and festivities, was more pleasant than probably most earlier generations had found it. Apart from the drunken brawls and offences against morality inevitable in any peasant, or indeed in any urban, society, that life was in general quiet enough about 1775, before the political unrest bred of the French Revolution had affected the growing weaving communities. But elements of the traditional Border disregard for authority survived, not only in the prevalence of dissent from the established church and periodic discontent within it over the exercise of patronage, but also in the wide-spread smuggling trade, involving even men of position, which the inadequate police and excise forces were unable to put down, and which so thronged on the English demand for whisky that by 1801 every hamlet in the Borders had its own still and its own band of smugglers. Nor did the piety which made family worship a faithfully observed rite preclude a survival of belief in haunted houses and woods, in apparitions, omens and incantations, and, still more commonly, in witchcraft. But despite such vestiges of "wild, superstitious credulity", the country people, being served by a democratic system of parish schools, which promoted knowledge and intelligence and gave access to the professions, and having a tradition of high thinking, especially in theology, to elevate their plain living, were very far from being uneducated, and even farther from being unintelligent.

1 In 1770, Thomas Somerville paid his man-servant £4 yearly.
2 Somerville, op. cit., pp.363-64.
4 C.1776, the passer-by in Kelso's main street on a Sunday morning, could hear psalms being sung in almost every house.
5 Somerville, op. cit., pp.365-66. As late as 1775, a woman in Ancrum parish was 'scored' on the forehead as a witch. W.E.Wilson notes in his paper on Border Ghosts and Witches (reprinted from H.A.S.T. for 1947) that Dr Samuel Charters, minister of Wilton 1772-1825, preached powerfully against belief in witchcraft.
6 Somerville, op. cit., p.366.
7 Graham, op.cit., II, p.167.
8 Graham, op.cit., I, p.214, and Hume Brown, op.cit., p.344, note that the improvement in social conditions in the 18th century was accompanied by an increase of mental energy and alertness among the people.
Among the familiar names of the Border clans, Elliots and Armstrongs, Pringles and Turnbulls, Scotts and Kerrs, who made up this hardy and intelligent peasantry, appears the less familiar one of Leyden. Never common in Scotland as a whole, and no longer so even in the south, it was formerly more frequently met with, in various forms, in the Borders, and more particularly in the valley of the Teviot and in its parish of Cavers, wherein lay the village of Denholm and the lands of a branch of the ancient house of Douglas.

There being "nothing so easy as to make a tradition", an attempt to establish a connection between the Dutch city of Leyden and the Scottish surname was probably inevitable. It took the form of the legend, still current, that an heir of the Douglases of Cavers, being educated at Leyden, there engaged as a servant and brought home with him one John Caspar of that town, who became the progenitor of the "Leyden tribe". The process by which this serving-man became endowed with the armorial bearings of the Van Leyden family is somewhat suspect, but was not unnaturally believed in by the Scottish Leydens. Had they looked to the west instead of to the east, they might have found an even more romantic genealogy in Ireland. But more probable, if more prosaic, is the derivation of the surname from the Peeblesshire place-name of Leithen. And, however gratifying they might find the tales of their Dutch origin, the Border Leydens possessed, by the eighteenth century, a thoroughly Scottish background and tradition.

1 E.g. Lethane, Lithen, Leythen, Lyden, Leidden, Leydon.
2 The Old Parochial Register of Cavers, opening with an entry concerning an Adam Leyden in 1694, has many entries (apparently involving some six separate families) relating to persons named Leyden.
4 Mr John Leyden of West Kilbride (son of an Adam Leyden of Hawick and named after Leyden the Orientalist) writes to me in a letter of 24th September, 1947: "It is supposed that the father of this Leyden tribe attached himself to some of the Hawick gentry, came to this country, married, and settled down in Denholm." - John Reith, Life of Dr John Leyden, pp.65-67, sketches "with considerable confidence" (but not wholly convincingly) the connection between the Leydens and the Douglases of Cavers.
5 James Wilson, Hawick and its old memories, p.168n, gives an account of "the armorial bearings of the family... procured in Holland" by "a Captain Leyden, cousin of the poet's father"; and from a "Genealogie of the Van Leydens" in MS.971,f.170, Nat. Lib. Scot., it appears that Robert Leyden, the Orientalist's brother, also took an interest in the subject.
7 This local derivation is favoured by George F.Black, The Surnames of Scotland, p.427, and by Mr Douglas Thomson of the Scots Ancestry Research Society.
6. Long established on the Border, and doubtless to be numbered, in early days, among the "old cattle-drivers of Teviotdale", they were for the most part tenant farmers, not without an unruly element amongst them, but boasting at least one writer of verse, in the person of John Leydon, tenant of Earlsde farm in the seventeenth century, and at least two men of war: for among the prisoners taken at Bothwell Bridge in 1679 and sentenced to transportation was one James Leydon of Cavers parish, and ten years later a great-grandfather of John Leyden the orientalist took part, on the winning side, in the battle of Dunkeld. The Douglases of Cavers, whatever their original connection with the Leydens, numbered bearers of the name among their tenantry; and in the uneasy times of hill-preachings and civil strife both lairds and tenants supported the Covenanting cause. In 1682, indeed, "that excellent person, dame Katherine Rig, lady Cavers," incurred thereby a fine of £500 sterling: the raising of which sum subjected her tenants to such "finings and harassings" that seven of them, including a James Lyden, were driven to represent to the Privy Council the hardship of their position as "moveable tenants" possessing only "a few nowte and sheep". The appeal went unheeded; and had the matter not been remedied by the intervention of the lady's eldest son with the Council, the discouraged tenants "had all left the ground." As it was, however, there were still Leydens on Cavers ground after the passing of another century.

Among them was one John Leyden, a native of Denholm and a "most worthy and intelligent man", well skilled in every branch of farming, who preferred not to "undertake the charge of a farm

1 Scott, quoted by Lockhart, op.cit., IV, p.176.
2 Peebles Commissariot Records cite as being in, not of, their farms (i.e. tenants, not owners) three James Leydens, in Earlsde, 1688; in Edgerstounshiells, 1690; and in Estloidge, 1698.
3 In the late 17th century, Hawick Burgh Records record several convictions of Leythens of both sexes for such crimes as assault.
4 Died 1688. The only extant specimens of his "rude strains" are six lines on food and drink, quoted by John Leyden in his edition of The Complaint of Scotland, pp.373-74; and an epitaph on himself, his wife and their posterity, inscribed on his tombstone in Cavers Churchyard, and quoted by James Sinton in H.A.S.T. for 1911, p.51.
8 Ibid., IV, pp.54-55.
9 MS. note on b.lxxxii of my copy of the 1819 edition of Leyden's poems, which bears the name Dr. Robertson on the front end-paper.
on his own account," being firmly persuaded that the pursuit of
gain was not worth the attendant trouble and anxiety.¹ He had
married, in Isabella Scott, a wife three years his junior,² who
was descended, like himself, from Teviotdale farming stock;³ and
in 1775 they were living at Denholm in a small thatched house, now
known as 'Leyden's cottage', which still stands facing the village
green and looking across from its back windows to the soft green
Minto Hills.⁴ There, on the eighth of September, 1775, was born
their eldest child;⁵ and on the same day the baby was baptised
with the short and sober Christian name of John,⁶ borne by his
father and his father's father,⁷ and by more than one Leyden
of an earlier date.

Young John Leyden was to grow up, however, in a spot still
quieter than Denholm; for when he was only one year old, his
parents left his birthplace, to which they were to return over
forty years later,⁸ and went to live at Henlawshiel, a rudely
built cottar house on the farm of Nether Tofts, then held by
Andrew Blyth, uncle of Isabella Scott, as tenant of the Douglasses
of Cavers.⁹ There for the next sixteen years they lived
uneventful lives, the elder John Leyden working for his uncle-by-
marrige, first as a shepherd, and later, when Blyth lost his
sight, as general manager of the farm.¹⁰ And there were born two

1 James Morton, Memoirs of Dr Leyden, in the 1819 edition of
Leyden's Poetical Remains, p. lxxvii. — Leyden's father did
become a tenant farmer in later life, however.
2 She died in 1837 aged 88; he died in 1829 aged 83. (Tombstone.)
for 1867, p.105) says that Mrs. Leyden was of a 'Hudesdale family,
but gives no authority for his statement.
4 Used as the scouring-house of Dickson & Beattie's hosiery firm
at the start of the 19th cent.,... A. S. T. for 1863. P. 69) and thereafter as a dwelling-house (which it still is), the cottage was
acquired in 1896 by the Edinburgh Border Counties Association.
5 Robert Leyden's Notes, which Morton (op. cit., p.i) followed. Robt.
Leyden wrote to Scott, May 19, 1813, that John Leyden was born on
"Tuesday the 8 of September 1775"; but Sept. 8 was a Friday in
1775, the preceding Tuesday being Sept. 5.
6 Cavers Old Parochial Register for 1775 states: "September 8th,
baptised a child to John Leyden in Denholm named John". The words
"and Isabella Scott" have been inserted in pencil after 'Leyden'.
7 John Leyden's paternal grandparents were John Leyden in Denholm
and Margaret Laidlaw. (Cavers Old Parochial Register.)
8 Robert Leyden wrote to James Morton, May 2, 1818: "We leave the
Dean at Whitsunday and go to Denholm to the house where John
was born in."
9 Morton, op. cit., pp.i–ii. There was formerly an erroneous
tradition that Henlawshiel was John Leyden's birthplace. Cf.
H.A.S.T. for 1867, where James Douglas of Cavers wrongly
attributes this assertion to Morton.
10 Morton, op. cit.,p.ii.
Leyden's birthplace.
(Frontispiece, 1858 edition of his poems.)
of Leyden's three brothers and both his sisters: Thomas in 1778,\(^1\) Robert in 1783\(^2\), Isabella in 1788,\(^2\) and Margaret in 1792.\(^1\)

This change, although it did not take young John Leyden beyond the boundaries of his native parish, meant a good deal to him, as it lessened his opportunities for intercourse with other children and brought him even more directly into contact with Border tradition. His new home, although no more than three miles from Denholm, was so sequestered that no house could be seen from the front windows;\(^3\) and it stood high enough on the moor-covered western side of Ruberslaw to command a wide view of pleasant, undulating country, from the rich farmlands around Smailholm and Kelso on the north-east, to the hills of Liddesdale in the south.\(^3\) Every river and hill, almost every field and farm-house, in the neighbourhood had some association with the past which could stir a Borderer's imagination by summoning up remembrance of a ballad-told tragedy or encounter with the supernatural, a moss-trooping foray or skirmish with English invaders, a Conventicle surprised and violently dispersed. Ruberslaw itself, if it held no subterranean recesses harbouring jealous fairies like those of Windsbrugh, or armed warriors like those of the Eildons,\(^4\) had its memories of the days when Alexander Peden, that "faithful defender of the Presbyterian religion",\(^5\) and John Welsh of Irongray, the great-grandson of John Knox, preached from the rocky 'pulpit' near its summit, or in the wooded glen of Hagburn on its lower slopes;\(^6\) and in the valley below lay the dark pool of Hornshole, where, in 1514, the young men of Hawick had captured a marauder's pennon and reddened the Teviot with English blood, the stain of which was said still to tinge the water beneath the bridge.\(^7\)

The character and way of life of the Leyden family accorded as thoroughly with Scottish tradition as their cottage of

1. Kirkton Parish Register.
2. Inscription on tombstone in Cavers Churchyard. Mr Dobie notes that the names which appear on the stone do not appear in the Kirkton Parish Register and vice versa.
3. Robert Leyden to James Morton, Sept. 8, 1815. Mr Dobie conjectures that Henlawshiel, like the farmhouse of Nether Tofts, had its windows facing east, and presented a blank wall to the west.
4. Leyden dealt with these legends in Scenes of Infancy, pts. I & II.
5. The Life and Prophecies of Alexander Peden; p. 2.
6. Duncan Stewart, The Covenanters of Teviotdale, pp. 113, 116 & 117. The rock is still called "Peden's pulpit", although Peden's connection with Ruberslaw is less well authenticated than that of Welsh and other preachers.
7. For Hornshole, see George Watson in H.A.S.T. for 1922, p. 22.
Henlawshiel, "a peculiarly rude erection" with turf walls and an extremely low roof, must have suited the background of moorland and rough pasture from which it has long since disappeared. Placed "between the lower and middle classes of society", and "for a peasant... a moderate man neither poor nor rich", John Leyden's father might indeed have become "tolerably rich if... to a very rigid system of religious opinions he had not added the most severe morality", which he did not hesitate to put into disinterested practice. Capable and unassuming, valuing peace of mind more than position and principle more than money, he was the very type of all that Scotland had "best reason to be proud of in the moral worth of her virtuous and honourable peasantry"; and having inherited an ancestral pride of virtue, in place of that of riches or birth, he "piqued himself all his life, as [had] his fathers before him... on the most unblemished reputation". An adherent of the established church, he brought up his family "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord", holding family worship in the traditional style, with psalm, scripture-reading and prayer; and so strong was his desire to see his eldest son "settled as a Scottish clergyman" that that hope alone induced him to give up a plan to emigrate to America. His personal worth and professional skill gave him so high a place in the estimation of Andrew Blyth that the latter eventually assigned to him the reversion of the lease of Nether Tofts. The tenancy was valued at approximately £100 per annum; and it is a testimony to the elder John Leyden's genuine reluctance to enjoy material advantage at the expense of conscience that he elected "in pure morality and religion" to resign his claim in order to effect a reconciliation between Blyth and a long-estranged brother of Blyth's who showed singularly little gratitude for this service. Barely thirty years old when his eldest son was born, and knowing enough of a boy's taste to present that son with "The History of Jack the Giant Killer

1 James Douglas (loc. cit.) on the authority of Mrs Wight. Cavers West Lodge, a cousin of John Leyden, who had herself been in the house. According to Robert Murray, loc. cit., Leyden's father himself built this "lone and lowly cotte", on going to work for Andrew Blyth.
4 Thomas Brown to John Leyden, senior, May 3, 1819; quoted by James Wilson, Hawick and its Old Memories, p.176.
5 The statement of Reith (The Gallovidian 1902, p.178) and of Crockett (The Scott Originals, p.85) that John Leyden, junior, was brought up as a Cameronian seems unjustified. 6 Morton op. cit., p.xv.
and Robin Hood and Little John, he was indeed sufficiently interested in worldly concerns to "set great store by" a certain pale orange coat, "understood to be his marriage coat"; but the patriarchal quality of his character, with its "scriptural solemnity... and sober simplicity", suggests almost a grave man of more than middle age, like the venerable father in The Cotter's Saturday Night or the old peasant in plaid and bonnet whose appearance so impressed Dorothy Wordsworth as he walked slowly, staff in hand, over the Lanarkshire upland. It was from his father that the younger John Leyden derived in childhood both his ideas on morals and "the stamina of his opinions on most general subjects"; and so deep and lasting was the impression of the goodness and strength of his father's character that in later years he could declare: "My father, whose abilities are great either as a farmer or a steward, is still superior as a man, and... I confess the recollection of him has always reduced the character of Socrates in my estimation a little below what it is valued at in respect of its uncommonness.

The figure of John's mother is less clearly defined. But behind the idealization of the over-drawn imaginary portraits which present her as a winsome creature endowed with every high quality of character and intellect, she appears as a plain-featured country woman, who had enough musical ability to find, and give, pleasure in singing traditional Border ballads, and who, for all her sound common-sense and religious faith, could not refrain, in later years, from worrying deeply about the welfare of her adventurous first-born; so that John Leyden, when en route for Java in 1811, thought it necessary to write to his father: "Tell my mother not to be so frightened as she generally is". In bringing up her family, she had the help of her mother-in-law, Margaret Laidlaw, who, on being left a widow, had come to live in the household of her son; and it was perhaps personal experience which led John Leyden to declare later: "The general features of character are commonly impressed by the females who tend our infancy, and with whom we associate in early life". It was his grandmother who taught Leyden to read, and doubtless taught him also all the trivial but memorable scraps of verse which the oldest generation, "instructed

1 Robert Leyden's Notes. 2 James Douglas, op. cit., pp. 45-46. 3 Dorothy Wordsworth, A Tour in Scotland..., p. 25. 4 Leyden to Richard Heber, April 6, 1803. 5 Cf. Reith, op. cit., pp. 3 & 5-6 (where he quotes from "Dr James Russell (Thirlstan), writing in the Border Counties Magazine"), and W.S. Crockett, John Leyden, in Famous Edinburgh Students, p. 72. 6 Leyden to John Leyden, sen., March 20, 1811. 7 Cavers Parish Register. 8 Morton, op. cit., p. i. 9 Leyden, Biographical Sketch of John Wilson, in Scottish Descriptive Poems, p. 3.
by tradition hoar", delights to impart to the youngest: a weather-wise saw:

When Ruberslaw puts on his cowl,
And the Dunion on his hood,
A' the auld wives in Tividale
Ken there'll be a flood;

a record of fabulous adventure:
The wode Laird of Laristone
Slew the worm of Worme's Glen,
And wan all Linton parochine;

or a nursery tale containing the mysterious-sounding couplet,
Arthour Knycht, he raid on nycht,
With gyltin spur and candil lycht,

and the "ridiculous verses",
Chick my naggie, chick my naggie!
How mony miles to Aberdeagie?
'Tis eight, and eight, and other eight,
We'll no win there wi' candle light.

A still more fertile source of legendary lore was John's grand-uncle, Andrew Blyth, who was much attached to all his niece's family. Living conveniently near-by, and being naturally gratified at having a young listener 'quick in the uptake' and avid for tales of "old unhappy far-off things", Blyth took pleasure in young John's company, often sitting with him in an arbour near the farm-house, and regaling him with such fascinating stories as those of the dauntless Johnnie Armstrong, treacherously hanged at Caerlenrig (a hero whom Leyden would fain have had as an ancestor of his own); of the baby boy, captured by a reiving party from Harden, who grew up to love the harp better than the sword and who in his songs "Sav'd other names and left his own unsung"; or of the battle on Ancrum Moor at which the Scots took stern vengeance for the sack of Melrose and its abbey by the English, whose leaders, "fierce Latoun and savage Evers", were among the dead. And on winter evenings, at home or in the farm-kitchen, while the wind soughed in the thatch above, and the women sat spinning by the "red ember-light", there were songs of love and war, and ghost-stories to make the listeners draw more closely together, each ready to start at the sound of

1 James Beattie, The Minstrel, bk.I, st.xliii, l.5.
2 The Laird was granted the lands of Linton in 1174. See p.11 inf.
3 Leyden, Preliminary Dissertation to The Complaint of Scotland, p.229.
4 Robert Leyden's Notes. 5 Wm Wordsworth, The Solitary Reaper, l.19.
5 Described by Leyden in Scenes of Infancy, pt.I, as a summer-bower.
6 Morton, op.cit., p.ix.
8 Leyden, op.cit., pt.II, l.334. The battle was fought in 1545.
another's voice. So, out of doors on summer afternoons, or by the fireside in the winter dusk, the quick-witted and imaginative boy heard

Old tales... of woe or mirth,
Of lovers' slights, of ladies' charms,
Of witches' spells, of warriors' arms;
By patriot battles, won of old

and he was later to retell in his own verse more than one of these tales, recounting with energy how Somerville of Lariston made his serpent-adversary burst asunder by thrusting a flaming spear down its scaly throat; how the gallows-trees of Johnnie Armstrong and his followers yet stood leafless "Where rising Teviot joins the Frostylee"; and how "The mountain-streams were bridg'd with English dead" when "Scott and Douglas led the Border spears" to victory at Ancrum in 1545.

But Leyden was too active and independent a boy to find all his amusement in listening to stories, however enthralling. In the fields and moors around his home the "jocund sportive child" found a world of varied delights, where at all seasons there was some new path to be explored, some new phenomenon to be examined. Foam-bubbles raced down the gurgling hill-streams overhung by birches, and water-spiders danced among the reflections of alder and willow on the smooth, clear surface of the river. In shallow pools by the water-side, crows splashed and preened themselves; finches clung to spiky thistle-plants, pecking eagerly at the seeds; from the fields of standing grain sounded the hoarse, easily-mimicked cry of the corncrake; and from the uplands the scream of the "lonely lapwing", still execrated as the betrayer of fugitive hill-men in the days of persecution. In the fitful brightness of spring, blue shadows lay across lingering snow-wreaths, while moss and turf grew every day more green, until, by April, the pale sunlight fell upon king-cups and the delicate wild daffodil. Autumn saw the fires of the heather-burning spread across the brown moor, and the mist creep down the slopes to hang in shifting masses in the valleys. And in

1 Cf. Leyden, Scenes of Infancy, pt.i, ll.239-50.
2 Scott, Marmion, Introduction to Canto iii, ll.193-97.
3 Leyden, op.cit., pt.iii, ll.317-62. Leyden's account follows that given by James, Lord Somerville, in his Memorie of the Somervilles; (see Vol.I, pp.37-46 in the 1815 ed.). But Leyden enlarges on the appearance of the monster, which he describes as being yellow-stained with venom and having a "purled crest" of purple & green.
4 Leyden, op.cit., pt.i, ll.221-38 & note. 5 Ibid., pt.ii ll.327-40.
6 Ibid., pt.1, l.99. I base this paragraph on Scenes of Infancy, passim.
the dark months, from menacing snow-clouds piled high on stormy Ruberslaw, there drifted down the white silent flakes which transformed the familiar landscape into a thing of wonder. But best of all were the warm summer days, when whin-pods crackled in the sun and grasshoppers chirred in the dry tussocks; when, tired of chasing bees and butterflies over daisy and plantain, bluebell and crow-toe, the boy lay beneath the hot blue sky of noon, watching thistle-down float past in the shimmering air, and trying to guess what the grasshoppers were saying to one another. At dusk, counting the pin-points of light beginning to show in the darkening sky, he imagined, with futile longing "How sweet it were to dance from star to star"; and at moonrise he heard, in the rustling of poplar leaves in the night wind, voices not of this world. His only companion and confidant on these rambles was his shadow. The sight of its black length on the moonlit snow could momentarily startle him; but in the strong light of summer he would run races against its hastening figure; and with it he conversed, as he climbed the steep green track to the top of Ruberslaw, where the fierce "hooded erne" had its nest, or lay at ease by the burn-side, hearing the faint bleating of sheep mingle with the murmur of the water.

In this quiet and happy life, on which Leyden was to look back as a time almost wholly "devoid of woe", the quietest day of all was Sunday, when the country folk, summoned by the muffled sound of the rough-toned bell, made their way slowly and solemnly to church, where, each occupying "his old paternal seat", they joined in the "dirge-like music" of the psalms and listened to their elderly, benevolent minister discoursing of the joys of Heaven and the vanity of earthly pursuits. On the way home from church, too, the people, walking and conversing "pair by pair", still wore a serious aspect, as if "afraid of worldly things to talk". For on the Sabbath all creation seemed to keep silence:

The rooks float silent by in airy drove;
The sun a placid yellow lustre throws;
The gales, that lately sigh'd along the grove,     
Have hush'd their downy wings in dead repose;
The hovering rack of clouds forgets to move;  
So smil'd the day when the first morn arose!

1 Leyden, Scenes of Infancy, pt.1, 1.112.
2 Leyden, Serenity of Childhood, 1.13.
3 Scenes of Infancy, pt.iii, 11.9-80.
By contrast, there was bustle and gaiety enough on the rare days when the rural fair presented its noisy and novel scene to the wondering eye of childhood, that gazed "as it would ne'er have done on the purple-streamered booths, the cheerful gossiping crowds, the crafty pedlars with "glittering trinkets in alluring rows", the itinerant auctioneer bawling from his cart with "many an oft-repeated tale" and jokes adapted to his wares, the recruiting serjeant telling of distant lands and heroic deeds, and the dark, wild Yetholm gypsies,

Adroit the lines of palmistry to trace,
Or read the damsels wishes in her face. 1

This pleasant childhood of Leyden was little burdened by farm-work, his only task being the pastoral one of tending sheep for his father; 2 and it was during the long, solitary days of herding that he first acquired a taste for reading, 3 doubtless sitting on the ground with the book on his knee, screened from the wind by his plaid, like the studious shepherd glimpsed near Leadhills by the Wordsworths. 4 The first book to be taken out to the hillside with him was the Bible, which he could read tolerably well before he went to school; 3 and his favourite stories, eagerly recounted to his family, were those of strange happenings and violent deeds, from the historical parts of the Old Testament. The dark figure of the Witch of Endor appealed strongly to a mind nourished on ballad-tales of sorcery. But still more thrilling were the accounts of martial exploits: of how Samson, who could slaughter a thousand men with a piece of bone, involved his triumphant enemies in his own destruction; or, above all, of how David, a country youth with a home-made weapon, slew Goliath of Gath in all his pride. 3 For David, a shepherd-boy like himself, had killed not only a bear and a lion but also a giant, and had ruled a kingdom when he grew to manhood; and in all these activities John Leyden would have glorie.

For secular reading there were the chapbooks, then in their heyday and part of every pedlar's stock, which provided for a few pence a wide variety of stories, ranging from the crudely humorous to the gravely edifying. 5 Apart from such coarse productions as

1 Leyden, Scenes of Infancy, pt. ii, ll. 371-408 & pt. iii, ll. 363-80. Denholm had a fair in May and another in November.
2 Robert Leyden to James Morton, Aug. 24, 1815, says that John "never wrought at anything without it was herding the sheep occasionally" and contradicts Scott's statement that he was bred up to such country labour as suited his strength" (Scott, Memoir).
3 Robert Leyden's Notes. 4 Dorothy Wordsworth, op. cit., p. 23.
5 In Scottish Chapbook Literature William Harvey gives a succinct account of the history of the chapbook in Scotland. He regrets (pp. 10-11) that the humorous chapbooks have been too often regarded as typical of the whole and the more serious ones overlooked.
those of Dougal Graham, the 'Skellat' Bellman of Glasgow,¹ many of them could give a boy both pleasure and instruction; and young John revelled in their highly-coloured narratives of the Scottish wars of independence and the Covenanting struggles,² and doubtless also in the biographies of such personages as Michael Scott, Thomas the Rhymer, Mary, Queen of Scots, and Prince Charles Edward. Leyden's earliest favourites, however, were neither the patriotic Bruce and Wallace nor the zealous Cargill and Peden, but the legendary adventurers Jack the Giant Killer and Robin Hood³. Both were men of valour and of guile, who could outwit as well as outfight their tyrannical opponents; and Leyden's admiration for the latter in particular led him to learn by heart the ballad of Robin Hood and Little John.³ This preference (which William Wordsworth would surely have commended)⁴ was not unnatural; for although the wily destroyer of monsters and the open-handed defier of law and order might be alien in race, they were akin in spirit to

... a Borderer born,
And bred to fighting free,⁵
whose more remote ancestors had no doubt shared both Jack's readiness for combat and Robin's "indistinct ideas concerning the doctrine of meum and tuum."⁶

To have a sound knowledge of the Scriptures and of at least some portion of British (and especially Scottish) history and legend was good; but an acquaintance with the less liberal subjects of writing, arithmetic and Latin grammar was desirable. So Leyden was sent, in his tenth year and most probably with some financial help from Andrew Blyth, to whom he felt in adult life that he owed a debt of gratitude,⁷ to the nearest parochial school: that of the neighbouring parish of Kirkton, between which and Cavers parish there was much coming and going. And he attended this school for the best part of the next three years, walking in term-time about five miles a day over rough ground on his way to and from the little thatched schoolhouse beside the church in Kirkton village.⁸

1 Cf. The Collected Writings of Dougal Graham...ed. by George MacGregor (2 vols.1863); & John Cheap the Chapman's Library, Vol. I. 
2 Morton, op.cit., p.iii. The "popular works on Scottish history" there mentioned were probably chapbooks. (Cf.Reith, op.cit., p.10).
3 Robert Leyden's Notes. Jack figured in a number of chapbooks - cf. Harvey, op.cit., p.104, & John Ashton, Chapbooks of the 18th Century, pp.184 & 185, but those on Robin Hood were scarcer (Ashton, p.357).
4 Cf. The Prelude, bk.v,11.365-66.
5 Leyden, I am a Borderer born, 11.1-2.
8 A dwelling-house, Athol Cottage, now stands on the site.
His lessons during those years, however, were by no means un-interrupted. School-hours were long in the eighteenth century, and holidays nominally short; but in country districts, when once the master, in response to the mute hint of a corn-ear laid on his desk, had let the children go to help on the farms at harvest time, it was no easy matter to recall them.\footnote{H. G. Graham, op. cit., II, pp. 169-71.}

Leyden spent some time during these vacations with another of the Blyth family, Thomas Blyth, tenant of Whitriggs farm;\footnote{George Tancrède, Rulèwater and its people, p. 108.} but when his father was busy supervising the reapers, Leyden had to return to his old task of herding,\footnote{Robert Leyden's notes.} and there is rather bitter personal experience in his anxiety, voiced in letters to his father in 1798 and 1799, that his brother Robert should not suffer under a similar handicap.\footnote{Leyden to John Leyden, sen., Oct. 4, 1798 & Aug. 7, 1799. See p. 165 infra.}

More serious still were two longer breaks, also occupied in herding and in deputising, on occasion, for his father, which were caused by the death of his first, and the quick departure of his second, teacher.\footnote{Morton, op. cit., pp. iii-iv.} The former, Thomas Wilson, died within six months of John Leyden's first attendance, so that the school remained vacant "all the summer following".\footnote{Robert Leyden's notes. Writing to Scott, May 19, 1813. Robert Leyden stated that Leyden had attended Kirkton school for only a quarter of a year when Wilson died. Wilson was there in Dec., 1785, but was dead by the end of June, 1786. (Kirkton Heritors' Minutes.)} The latter, Walter Scott, succeeded Wilson within a year, being appointed in November, 1786;\footnote{Kirkton Heritors' Minutes.} and from him Leyden learned "a smattering of the rudiments" of Latin, progressing "the length of the verbs".\footnote{Robert Leyden to James Morton, Nov. 6, 1815.} But after some twelve months Scott, finding the accommodation provided insufficient for him,\footnote{Statistical Account of Scotland (1796), Vol. X, p. 80. Scott was appointed on Nov. 16, 1786, complained about the accommodation in March, 1787, and had gone by Dec. 1787. (Kirkton Heritors' Minutes.) He later became schoolmaster in Cockpen parish. (Robert Leyden to Scott, May 19, 1813.)} went elsewhere to take up a post worth more than the twelve pounds per annum to which the Kirkton income, "including salary, perquisites and school wages", amounted,\footnote{Leyden to James Morton, Nov. 6, 1815.} and the school was again left teacherless: no uncommon fate for a country school in Scotland before the passing of the 'Schoolmasters' Act' in 1803.

This irregularity of instruction was not all loss, however, as Leyden himself recognized, for he could read while herding, as of yore, and think about what he read, since a shepherd's life "admits of much reflection" and is accordingly "agreeable to a mind that has acquired some materials of thinking."\footnote{Leyden: The Complaynt of Scotland, Prelim. Dissertation, p. 225.} The need to work out

\[\text{\footnote{1 H. G. Graham, op. cit., II, pp. 169-71.}}\]
\[\text{\footnote{2 George Tancrède, Rulèwater and its people, p. 108.}}\]
\[\text{\footnote{3 Robert Leyden's notes.}}\]
\[\text{\footnote{4 Leyden to John Leyden, sen., Oct. 4, 1798 & Aug. 7, 1799. See p. 165 infra.}}\]
\[\text{\footnote{5 Morton, op. cit., pp. iii-iv.}}\]
\[\text{\footnote{6 Robert Leyden's notes. Writing to Scott, May 19, 1813. Robert Leyden stated that Leyden had attended Kirkton school for only a quarter of a year when Wilson died. Wilson was there in Dec., 1785, but was dead by the end of June, 1786. (Kirkton Heritors' Minutes.)}}\]
\[\text{\footnote{7 Kirkton Heritors' Minutes.}}\]
\[\text{\footnote{8 Robert Leyden to James Morton, Nov. 6, 1815.}}\]
\[\text{\footnote{9 Statistical Account of Scotland (1796), Vol. X, p. 80. Scott was appointed on Nov. 16, 1786, complained about the accommodation in March, 1787, and had gone by Dec. 1787. (Kirkton Heritors' Minutes.) He later became schoolmaster in Cockpen parish. (Robert Leyden to Scott, May 19, 1813.)}}\]
problems unaided put him on his mettle, and gave his naturally penetrating and tenacious mind a valuable 'toughening' training, which enabled him the more easily to overcome later obstacles. Even when a teacher was available, if Leyden was at any time puzzled by a question, "he never wished any further explanation than the present difficulty, but was always anxious to find out the rest himself". And he had the advantage of being a quick learner, able to make up leeway even in a subject of which he was never very fond. So when he began the study of arithmetic with Andrew Scott, the third and last of his Kirkton masters, and a man who delighted in the "science and practice of music" and especially in Scottish songs, ballads and melodies, he made "astonishing progress", working out all the questions in Dilworth's Assistant in little more than five months, and overtaking several pupils who had started to study arithmetic a considerable time before him.

Before the end of his second session at the parish school, Leyden discovered that Kirkton provided also a less orthodox but more entertaining source of instruction in the person of Walter Boa, the blacksmith, "an eccentric character and rather an intelligent man", who possessed not only "a good deal of information and humour of its kind", but also several curious books. These he was willing enough to lend; and John, who came to spend much of his leisure time at the smiddy, listening to the smith's harrowing tales of the Inquisition, was favoured with a reading of the History of the Inquisition, "the sufferings of William Lithgow, the Scots Chronicle, and several other amusing books", including a volume of the Arabian Nights Entertainments, obtained "with some difficulty". "A slender abstract of the Arabian Tales" is "a precious treasure" to almost any boy. To John Leyden it was also probably a fateful one; for the gorgeous East to which it introduced him was to prove the Delilah of his adult imagination.

1. Scott, Memoir; cf. Scott to his son Walter, March 17, 1821 (quoted by Lockhart, op.cit., VI, p. 301) on the value of unaided study.
2. Robert Leyden's Notes.
3. Remarks on...Dr John Leyden in the Teviotdale Record, Oct., 1858. (See p. 40 inf.)—Andrew Scott, who thought very highly of Leyden, (ibid.), later taught at Cavers, but eventually gave up teaching to become a law clerk in Edin. (Robt Leyden to Scott, May 19, 1813.)
4. Thomas Dilworth, The schoolmaster's assistant: being a compendium of arithmetic...in four parts; first published in 1747.
6. Described in Lithgow's Totall Discourse Of the Rare Adventures & painfull Peregrinations of long nineene Yeares Trauayles. (1632)
7. John Monypennie's Abridgment of summarie of the Scots chronicles
8. But with less than Scott stated in his Memoir. See p. 482.
Even more stimulating than these enthralling prose narratives were the poetical works borrowed from obliging neighbours: Sir David Lyndsay's poems (then to be found in almost every cottage in Scotland), Milton's Paradise Lost, and Chapman's translation of the Iliad. There is no record of Leyden's immediate reaction to Lyndsay, whose claim to the authorship of The Complaynt of Scotland he was later to uphold with more ingenuity than judgment; but the appeal of the others to his imagination and ambition was irresistible. In his admiration for Milton, he "pored upon him night and day almost", resolving "within himself that he would try to equal him as a Poet if he lived, some day or other". The "high flights" of Chapman, which "quite delighted him", had the still more important effect of "turning his attention to the Languages"; for, with an instinctive sense of the inadequacy of a translation, which he early formed an aversion to using if he might study the original, he felt that he could never be satisfied until he should be able to read the story of Troy in the original.

Along with these aspirations after literary distinction and linguistic knowledge, John Leyden, like many another 'lad o' paints, cherished "a great anxiety to be a Minister... and always wished to be examined when the Minister of the Parish came to the Tofts for that purpose". His parents, whatever they might think of their son's other ambitions, fully approved of this, and determined that he should not be handicapped by any deficiency of education. Accordingly, as Kirkton school afforded insufficient grounding in the classics for a prospective Divinity student, John became, in his thirteenth year, a member of the small class of six or seven boys who were taught Latin and a little Greek by the Rev. James Duncan, the forthright, conscientious Cameronian minister in Denholm, of whose character Leyden always retained a high opinion, reckoning him, with some condescension, "an honest independent-minded man" with good intentions, although with a mind of no great compass, to which the acquisition of ten new languages, each as difficult as Latin and many "very much more so", would appear "very strange".

1 Morton, op.cit., pp.iii & iv.
2 John Pinkerton, Ancient Scottish Poems, I, p.xvii.
3 Robert Leyden's Notes.
4 Leyden to A.F. Tytler, June 12, 1801.
5 Probably the Rev. Thomas Elliot, minister of Cavers, 1763-1808; but possibly the minister of Kirkton, i.e. the Rev. Benjamin Dickison or Dickinson (at Kirkton, 1787-1800), or his predecessors, James Hay (1785-87) or Alexander Gordon (1775-85).
6 Leyden to his father, Nov.20, 1805. Duncan (1754-1830) was the last Cameronian minister in Denholm. (Cf. David Walker, The Border Pulpit, pp.160-66.) His son James (1807-61) is stated to have prepared a life of John Leyden, Scott's Fasti, II, p.144, and an edition of his works (Historic Nat.Club, 1863-68).
In two years of diligent and enthusiastic study under this master who in more respects than one resembled Goldsmith's village preacher,\(^1\) Leyden gained a considerable acquaintance with Latin and a slight knowledge of Greek.\(^2\) And there is a hint of his own early experience in the advice on elementary Latin studies which he gave his cousin James Morton over twelve years later, counselling him to acquire "Cordery's colloquies with Latin on the one side and English on the other"\(^3\) and to read Caesar "immediately after the Declensions, Conjugations and Rules of Syntax", and declaring:

"The Latin Nouns and Verbs any person can understand, and the rules of syntax are merely the rules of common sense, and if you always make a point of comprehending the meaning of every word or sentence before you pass it, you will not find the examples more difficult of application than the common rules of arithmetic to the cases contained under them."\(^4\)

His change of school was responsible indirectly also for encouraging Leyden's study of languages; for it led to his acquiring a copy of Calepini Dictionarium Octolingue, one of the many editions of the polyglot dictionary compiled by Ambrogio Calepino.\(^5\) This copy belonged to a man from whom Leyden's father was purposing to buy a donkey, to enable his son to ride to and from his new and more distant school in Denholm\(^6\); and Leyden, by insisting that the book be included in the transaction (which he viewed otherwise with some disfavour), succeeded, with a great deal of difficulty,\(^7\) in getting possession of a work which must have fostered his bent for comparative philology.

Early in his second year at Denholm, Leyden acquired another volume which, although of less immediate use to him, held even more intrinsic interest than the lexicon. On January 7, 1790, the Rev. John Cranstoun, the aged minister of Ancrum and erstwhile friend of James Thomson the poet, died; and at the sale of his library soon afterwards, John Leyden, already a practised book-hunter, was not only an attender but a purchaser, buying a considerable number of books.\(^8\) While packing these, he discovered and drew from among a parcel of waste papers in the library room a manuscript volume with loose and disarranged leaves.\(^9\) The executor of whom Leyden

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\(^1\) Morton, op. cit., p.i.v. Cf. The Deserted Village, 11.137–92.

\(^2\) Robert Leyden's Notes.

\(^3\) The Colloquia of Mathurin Cordier, alias Corderius (c. 1480–1564).

\(^4\) Leyden to James Morton, July 6, 1802. (Ms. 3360, Nat. Lib. Scot.)

\(^5\) The dictionary was first published in 1502. In later editions the number of languages given varied from two to eleven. The eight were Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Italian, German, Spanish and English.

\(^6\) Duncan most probably held his class in his house or in part of his church. (Thomas Common to James Sinton, April 26, 1910.)

\(^7\) Robert Leyden's Notes, contradicting Morton's statement (op. cit. B.v) that the book's owner offered it into the bargain.

\(^8\) Note by John Leyden in Adv. Ms. 5, 2, 14, f. ii, Nat. Lib. Scot.

\(^9\) Leyden to Alex. Campbell, Oct. 27, 1797. (Laing MS. II.333. E.U. Lib.)
enquired whether this volume was to be sold, seeing that the boy seemed to value it as a curiosity, told him to take it "in a present", adding that he supposed it had belonged formerly to some Border schoolmaster; for it comprised a small seventeenth century collection of songs, airs and psalm-tunes, of a kind formerly not uncommonly compiled for their own use by country schoolmasters with a taste for music and poetry. This treasure Leyden had bound as carefully as possible; and, embellished with his own notes, it was to prove of interest and service to his literary friends in later years. The titles of the other books acquired by Leyden at this sale are not recorded; but among them may well have been his MS. Lyra-Viol Book, a collection of airs compiled in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and noteworthy mainly because most of its contents were written in tablature, the remainder being in "clumsy modern notation". The original volume, with any notes which Leyden may have inscribed therein, has disappeared; but from George Farquhar Graham's copy of its tunes in tablature, an idea can be formed of its interest for a precocious lad of antiquarian tastes.

Leyden's devotion to books and learning by no means impaired his active enjoyment of the more vigorous pastimes and less decorous exploits of his class-mates, two of whom, Gavin Trotter and James Purvis, were also destined to seek their fortune in India. On fine autumn days, there was no resisting the temptation to bid Adieu to Latin terms and Greek, To trace the banks where blackbirds sung, And ripe brown nuts in clusters hung, Where tangled hazels twined a screen Of shadowy boughs in Denholm's mazy Dean. And Leyden, always anxious to display physical as well as intellectual prowess, entered with equal zest into the less idyllic pleasures of... the mimic fight, And, proud to feel his sinews strung, Aloft the knotted cudgel swung; Or fist to fist, with gore embued, The combat's wrathful strife pursued, With eager heart and fury keen, Amid the ring on Denholm's bustling green.

1 Leyden to Alex. Campbell, Oct. 27, 1797; and note by him on f. ii of this MS., now Adv. MS. 5.2.14. In both, he antedates his acquisition of the MS. by two years.—E. U. L. has a MS. account (? by David Laing) and contents-list of this "MS. Cantus", which is mentioned in W. Chappell's A Collection of National English Airs II, 129, & on p. vii of the Preface to the New Club Series reproduction (1879) of Forbes's Cantus. It was bought by the Advocates' Library in 1838.
2 G. F. Graham, Introduction to his transcript of the tunes in tablature made in 1844, which is now Adv. MS. 5.2.19, Nat. Lib. Scot.
3 Leyden later used this volume in his edition of The Complaynt of Scotland, listing 30 of its airs in the Prelim. Dissert., pp. 255-60.
4 wrongly called Turnbull in the 1819 ed. of D. H. M. Cf. P
5 Leyden, To Mr James Purvis, 11.12-16 & 18-24. Cf. P
These were happy years, with their congenial studies and their rambles and horse-play. But life was a serious matter for a shepherd's eldest son, who felt himself bound to look after his juniors and who, having his way to make in the world, was already determined to make it a way of unusual distinction. So the tempest sleet of fretful cares began to beat about John Leyden's head. And in the November following his fifteenth birthday, he set out from his Border home, like James Thomson seventy-five years before and Thomas Carlyle nineteen years later, "to attend the classes" at the University of Edinburgh. His father "set him about twenty miles on the road with a horse" (perhaps proceeding by the 'ride and tie' method), and then turned back, leaving the boy to cover the rest of the way by himself on foot; and for all his high ambition, John Leyden felt his eager hopes give way to "boding fears" as he trudged on towards the city, feeling the "cold wind of the stranger" on his face, seeing unkindness in the look of every unknown passer-by, and pausing time and again to gaze back along the road that led home to the hills and woods of Teviotdale. His wonted self-confidence gave way before his growing sense of responsibility, until his very shadow, now his sole companion, took on the aspect of an inexorable spirit, admonishing him to uphold inflexibly his ancestral tradition of proud integrity.

Thus, chastened for a time by home-sickness and misgivings, Leyden entered the city of which he was to become, within the next twelve years, one of the "social shows" and literary prodigies. He had no acquaintances and no letters of introduction to anyone in Edinburgh, excepting his mother's brother, a cabinet-maker named Thomas Scott, with whom he was to stay at the West Port end of Lady Lawson's Wynd; but having a good Border tongue in his head that could "talk both fast and free", he soon "found out the places he wanted...although completely a stranger". The situation of his uncle's house in the half-rural suburb of Lauriston might well have been as follows:

1 Leyden to Richard Heber, 6 April 1803. (MS.939.N.L.S.)
2 Leyden, To Mr James Purvis, 11.27-36 & 1.30.
3 Robert Leyden's Notes. The University session then lasted from November to May, with a short break at Christmas. Leyden was a trifle above the average age for a first-year student in the 18th century. Cf. Dr A. M. Clark's examples in Sir Walter Scott and the University. (University of Edinburgh Journal, Vol.V, p.8, 1932-33)
4 Cf. Memorials of James Hogg, ed. by Mrs Garden, p.300.
5 Scenes of Infancy, pt.IV, 1.19-32.
6 Lord Cockburn, Memorials of his time, p.173.
7 Leyden, I am a Borderer born, 1.18.
8 In the Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol.VI, p.568, there was uncertainty whether to reckon Lauriston as a suburb (as was done) or as "the country".
console Leyden for his exile from Border scenery and help to revive his ambitious hopes. It was at the opposite end of the Grassmarket from Candlemaker Row, where the Hawick carrier, Leyden's main link with home, was accustomed to lodge with one Scott, reaching Edinburgh on Wednesdays and leaving again the next day.\(^1\) North of it stood the Castle on its dark rock, and to the south lay the "delightful region" where the unenclosed lands of Braid and Blackford and many other properties stretched away to the Pentlands and "the deserts of Peeblesshire".\(^2\) Nearby, in the tree-shaded Meadows which formed their academic grove, walked and talked and meditated the literary, scientific and legal worthies of the city;\(^3\) and not half a mile away stood the University, for years past the distant goal of the boy's ambition. The academic success for which he craved was within his grasp; no fear but John Leyden would show that his reach was long and his grip firm.\(^4\)

1. Edinburgh Almanack for 1793.
3. Ibid., p.51.
4. Cf. Leyden to Archibald Constable, Oct. 23, 1805: "I have found it [Madras] exactly the field for me, where, if I stretch out my arms, I may grasp at anything - no fear but I show you I have long hands."
Within its seven-mile circumference, the Edinburgh of 1790-91 contained much to make a country-bred youth stand and stare. In the past forty years, the ambitious "career of improvement" originally suggested in 1752 by that "noble-minded citizen... George Drummond", and carried on almost without a check into the next century at a cost of £3,000,000, had called into being a New Town, to relieve the unhealthy congestion of the Old and to enhance the city's dignity and beauty. North of the long 'turtle's back' ridge of the Old Town, with its high, crowded lands, away beyond the valley, partially drained of the Nor' Loch and spanned by the North Bridge and by that "abominable incumbrance" the slowly-accumulating earthen Mound, there lay the precisely-planned area bounded by Queen Street and Princes Street, Charlotte Square and St Andrew Square: an area of spacious thoroughfares and elegant buildings, although perhaps a trifle dull with its "long straight lines... rectangular intersections" and uniform, unadorned facades. As yet, however, although George Street had possessed a much-vaunted Assembly Room since 1788, "fashionable everything" still clung to "the new part of the old town", to George Square and its environs, where the best legal society lived, and where, in the handsome Rooms in Buccleuch Place, there lingered "the last remains of the ball-room discipline of the preceding age". Even in the Old Town proper, the Cowgate, destined to become within the next thirty years "the last retreat... of destitution and disease", still boasted, in St Cecilia's Hall, Edinburgh's "only public resort of the musical" and "most selecty fashionable place of amusement"; and in the Canongate the gorgeous carriage of the venerable Lord Chief Baron, Sir James Montgomery, passed to and from his stately residence of Queensberry House, which was to become, within the same space of time, an asylum of destitution.

1 William Creech, Fugitive Pieces, p.66.
2 W.M.Gilbert, Edinburgh in the 19th Century, pp.10 & 15.
3 James Boswell, A Tour in the Hebrides with Dr Johnson, p.38.
4 Hugo Arnot, History of Edinburgh, p.233, suggests and develops the simile.
5 Lord Cockburn, Memorials of his Time, p.276.
6 Ibid.,p.275. - Cockburn regretted that more inspired use was not made of the magnificent site of the New Town.
7 Ibid.,p.27.
9 Ibid.,pp.176-77.
Ever since 1753, when some ruinous houses in the High Street had been removed to make room for the Royal Exchange, the first of the improvers' projects, the construction of the new had too often involved the demolition of the old. By the end of the century, the intensified innovating enthusiasm of a "new commercial generation" was to begin that defacement of Edinburgh which included the destruction of the nunnery at Sciennes, of the wooded pleasure grounds of Bellevue, and of the ancient Wryttes-Houses on Bruntsfield Links which were "brutishly obliterated" to make room for Gillespie's Hospital. But in 1790 many features of old Edinburgh's architecture, and of her way of life, survived alongside the invading new. From the North Bridge one looked down on the magnificent Trinity College Church and the commonplace-looking Trinity Hospital, both the three hundred year old foundations of the widowed Mary of Gueldres, consort of King James the Second. Beyond the recently-completed South Bridge, the "magnificent New College", the foundation-stone of which had been laid with great civic and masonic pomp on November 16, 1789, was beginning to assume the imposing shape designed for it by Robert Adam. Around it lay almost entirely open ground covered with grass fields or gardens, in at least one of which appeared "blue and yellow beds of crocuses rising through the clean earth in the first days of spring". And in its midst stood the "very mean" old University buildings, described apologetically to Dr Johnson by Principal Robertson in 1773 as Hae miseriae nostrae, whose lamentable condition, together with their inadequacy for greatly increased numbers of students, had sealed their doom. In the sequel, Teviot Chambers, the south block of these antique academic dwellings and classrooms, remained standing until 1822, and another remnant (the last) continued to house the Library till 1825:

1 W.T. Fyfe, Edinburgh under Sir Walter Scott, p.152.
2 Cockburn, op. cit., pp.167-68.
3 Begun on August 1, 1785, and completed in 1788. — Henry Cockburn, going to the High School in 1787 for the first time, had to pass over the Bridge's unfinished arches on planks, to his diversion.
4 Creech, op. cit., p.74.
5 Cockburn, op. cit., p.6. David Allan's well-known etching gives a lively and somewhat satirical representation of the scene.
6 Cockburn, op. cit., pp.6-7. The crocuses grew in the garden of Dr Alexander Monro, secundus.
7 Boswell, op. cit., p.38.
8 There were c.500 students in 1763; 1,090 in 1788-89; 1,255 in 1791; and 1,305 in 1792.
while the new Palladian fabric, which was to be "the prettiest thing in the island", had to wait almost a century for its final completion on Playfair's revised and modified plan. But in 1790 all was high hope and pride, with a subscription list which already exceeded the most sanguine expectations.

Hard by the Exchange and crammed in between the north side of St Giles' Cathedral and the tall range of the Luckenbooths stood the Krames, a "low narrow arcade of booths", "all glittering with attractions... fascinating to childhood... like one of the Arabian Nights' bazaars in Bagdad"; and a little to the west, a few yards from the "black and horrid walls" of the ancient Tolbooth, lawyers in black gowns and white wigs perambulated among the wares of the jewelers and cutlers who traded in the northern end of the Outer Parliament House. Unassailed by any competition from the New Town, where the erection of shops was long frowned upon by magistrates and residents alike, the Old Town's picturesque but unhygienic market-system continued to flourish, all those trading in any one commodity setting up their booths within some fixed and limited locality. So butchers dissected carcases in the reeking Flesh Market Close; "dirty boys or dirtier women" dragged fish along the ground of the "steep, narrow, stinking ravine" that was Fish Market Close; and round the Tron Church there "congregated with stools and tables" "a college of old gin-drinking women" who complacently washed their fruit and vegetables, before sale, in the gutter-water that flowed down the High Street. Above the Grassmarket, at whose western end was held the cattle market, a new reservoir at Heriot's Hospital and another on the Castle Hill testified to recent improvements in the water supply; but for another twenty years the hardy race of water-carriers were to minister to the chronically "thirsty and unwashed" city, diligently bearing to their customers' lofty flats the little casks filled at the public wells then "pretty thickly planted in the principal streets".

1 Andrew Dalzel to Robert Liston, Feb., 1790; quoted by Cosmo Innes in his Memoir of Andrew Dalzel, which forms Vol. I of the two-volume edition of Dalzel's History of the University of Edinburgh published in 1862, p. 81. Dalzel gave Liston further glowing reports of the progress of the building and of the subscriptions in subsequent letters. (Ibid., pp. 83-85 & 90.)
2 The dome and the figure of 'Youth' were added only in 1883.
3 Cockburn, op. cit., p. 100.
4 Ibid., pp. 229 & 99-100.
5 Ibid., pp. 405-7. There were probably not six shops in all the New Town west of St Andrew Street even in 1810.
6 Fyfe, op. cit., p. 269.
7 Cockburn, op. cit., pp. 405-6.
8 Ibid., pp. 353-55.
by the citizens, were the battered veterans, familiarly known as the 'Toon Rottens', who made up the City Guard, that "drunken burgher force" whose duty it was to guard the peace of Edinburgh by patrolling the streets (as yet innocent of watchmen proper), formidably equipped with red uniform, musket, bayonet and "genuine Lochaber axe".  

But with the increase in population, and the consequent "overflowing from the old town to the new", which obliterated many old peculiarities, there came fundamental changes in the character and manners of Edinburgh society. By the last decade of the century, "the old suns were going down", although there remained such survivors of Scotland's "great philosophical age" as Principal Robertson, Joseph Black, Hugh Blair, John Erskine, and Adam Ferguson; and such diverse representatives of the warm-hearted, strong-minded "race of excellent Scotch old ladies" as the exquisite Lady Don and the masculine and self-taught 'Suphy' Johnston.  

Birth, rather than wealth, was still the main criterion of social consequence, and those who made their living by trade were of little account as individuals, in society or politics; but the general increase of prosperity, which enabled middle-class families to keep a manservant, and often a carriage, was rapidly encroaching upon "prescriptive gentilities". With the improvement of trade, to which the receipts of banking houses and the revenue of the excise bore witness, the lower classes, enjoying higher wages and standards of living, became increasingly "eager to copy the manners and fashion of their superiors"; for Edinburgh, although essentially an "unmercantile place", had been so successful in developing the manufacture of such various commodities as "shawls and cassimeres", buttons, starch, glass, paper, umbrellas, soap and candles, that by 1790 many products formerly imported were being exported.  

That working-class standards of conduct had not risen proportionately was shown by a greater tendency to unruliness and discontent, and by greater licence in personal behaviour,  

1 Cockburn, op. cit., pp.183-84 & 322-23.  
2 Ibid., pp.26 et seq.  
3 Ibid., p.52.  
4 These celebrities died, all at a good old age, in 1793, 1799, 1800, 1803, and 1816, respectively.  
5 Fyfe, op. cit., pp.40 & 136.  
6 Creech, op. cit., pp.69 & 92.  
7 Ibid., pp.69 & 82; and pp.93-95, 102 & 111.  
8 Cockburn, op. cit., p.332.  
10 Ibid., pp.102 & 107. Despite the rise in wages, "disturbances frequently happened for a still further increase".
reflected in an increase of crime, of which the series of "daring robberies and shop-breakings" carried out by Deacon Brodie and his gang in the winter of 1787 formed part. Indeed, by 1791, when the expense of the "correction-house" had been for some years ten times as much as in 1763-64, it was found necessary to begin building a large new Bridewell. The winter of 1791-92, however, was remarkably free from trouble, no-one being accused of a capital offence, and no theft amounting to forty shillings being "publicly known", so that the jail then contained only 39 persons imprisoned for small debts or petty offences. And, all in all, Edinburgh's manner of life, if much less grave than that of thirty years before, with its family worship and generous church offerings, was beginning to improve upon the "looseness, dissipation and licentiousness" of the 1780's, which had itself been a reaction against the "decency, dignity and delicacy" of the former generation.

In middle-class and fashionable society, the old incongruous mixture of strict decorum and coarseness of manners was giving way to habits at once more frivolous and more 'genteel', which were reflected in the introduction and rise of such trades as those of the haberdasher and the perfumer. Young women were instructed in fashionable accomplishments rather than in domestic duties, now preferably performed by a housekeeper. The old scruples about play-going were so far forgotten that by 1792 Edinburgh supported two regular theatres; and Saturday night, once regarded as too near the Sabbath for such indulgence, became the most popular time for attending the playhouse. Private balls, followed by elegant suppers, were more in favour than the public assembly, where "indiscriminate public right" was beginning to intrude. And with the more frequent, and less excessive, exercise of hospitality, drinking had grown "rather out of fashion among genteel people", while most of the younger generation found themselves unequal to the deep potations of such still-flourishing convivial clubs as the 'Ante Manum'. - Swearing, formerly almost universally indulged in was now left to the lower classes and, although the cockpit

1 Creech, op. cit., pp.104-5, 107-10 & 112. - The University Mace was among the objects stolen in October, 1787.
2 Ibid., pp.100-1. Robert Chambers (Traditions of Edinburgh, p.161) comments on the "kind of Laodicean principle" by which periods of rigour and laxity alternate in Scottish manners.
3 Creech, op. cit., p.77.
4 Ibid., pp.110-11.
5 Ibid., pp.75-76 & 112-14. The theatres were that in Shakespeare Square, and the 'Circus' in Leith Walk, which was converted into a theatre in 1792.
7 Cockburn, op. cit., pp.115 & 110.
constructed in 1783 for public cockfighting matches continued to be frequented, the equally brutal sport of boxing received so little encouragement that an Englishman who opened a school and gave exhibitions in 1790—before which year "professed bruisers" were unknown in Edinburgh—was forced within two years to abandon teaching "this folly...borrowed from the south."1

Such was the city to which John Leyden came as a gauche and sensitive lad of fifteen, and in which he settled down to study for his chosen profession of the ministry. There was small danger that even the novelty and variety of life in "a place of so much amusement and distraction"2 would lure him from his books; for, as a poor student without social graces or connections, and with his family's hopes and his own unbounded ambition to satisfy, he had little opportunity and less inclination to neglect the traditional duty of cultivating literature sedulously on a slender allowance of oatmeal. So he set himself to run with distinction his academic race; and on December 7, 1790, matriculated for the first time as a student of the University within which, during the next twelve years, he was to attend classes in every faculty save that of Law.3

In traditions, atmosphere and methods of instruction, Edinburgh, the Mecca of Border students, was the Scottish University best suited to one of Leyden's temperament and tastes. Unlike the other three Scottish universities, founded by Papal Bulls in the fifteenth century, it was a secular and post-Reformation foundation, dating from 1583, when King James VI had granted a charter empowering the Town Council to establish a College, with the advice of the local ministers.4 From this "humble and abject start"5 as the 'Town's College', staffed by two masters, it had developed into a flourishing university,6 "the first in Scotland in number both of teachers and of pupils";7 and by 1790, it numbered among its twenty-five

2 Rev. Michael Russell, View of the System of Education... of Scotland, p.166.
3 Matriculation Album of Edinburgh University, Vol. II (1786-1803). There were then four faculties, of Arts, Law, Medicine and Divinity; and to attend classes in three of them was not uncommon.
4 For the "origins and outset" of the University, see Grant, op. cit., I, pp.97-159.
5 Grant, op. cit., I, p.134.
6 Grant (ibid, passim) emphasises the distinction between college and university. Edinburgh's curriculum and standard of teaching had been fixed at university level from the start (ibid, I, p.136); but the "great organic change" from college to university was effected in 1708 by the substitution of the professorial system for that of 'regenting' (ibid, I, p.259).
7 Russell, op. cit., p.16.
professors such notabilities as Principal William Robertson,\(^1\) Dugald Stewart, John Robison and Joseph Black: men who by their abilities gave Edinburgh its just claim to a place of "distinction and superiority" among the universities of Britain.\(^2\) A tacit acknowledgement of this claim was afforded by the presence of the many students who came from England and abroad,\(^3\) attracted by the "most ample instruction"\(^4\) which Edinburgh provided, especially in philosophy and medicine, and which was conveyed, not by the more limited and text-book-bound tutorial system favoured by Oxford and Cambridge,\(^5\) but through public lectures, designed to communicate as wide a view as possible of the subject in hand, and to stimulate the student to follow up ideas for himself.\(^6\) This method of teaching was particularly well suited to the metaphysical inquiries towards which the mental activity of Edinburgh students was then very much, though not exclusively, directed: and directed so enthusiastically that "every mind was in a state of fermentation".\(^7\) In no other university was industry more general, reading more fashionable, or ignorance and indolence more disreputable.\(^7\) And this desirable state of things proceeded, not from official compulsion, but from keen intellectual rivalry and a genuine zeal for knowledge; for Edinburgh, as a University which had long before declined to be encumbered with the "embarrassments" of a strictly-regulated Collegiate life,\(^4\) imposed little physical or mental restraint upon those attending its classes. The maintenance of strict discipline had always been hampered by the fact that the scarcity of accommodation in the College made full residence impracticable; and even the regulation of 1583 which enjoined the wearing of gowns had been virtually "a dead letter from the first".\(^8\) So by 1790, early attempts to enforce these points having long since failed, the students presented "rather a citizen-like than an Academic appearance",\(^8\) from their lack of any "particular livery",\(^9\) and were "at perfect liberty to mix with the citizens at all hours", as taste or inclination might prompt them.\(^9\) On matriculation,

1 Robertson was Primarius Professor of Divinity, but did not lecture
2 Russell, op.cit., p.102.
3 The most whole-hearted of these was surely Lord Webb Seymour, who pursued his studies at Edinburgh from 1798 till his death in 1819.
5 Grant, op.cit., I, pp.269-71, contrasts the stagnation of learning in the English universities at this period with Edinburgh's "much fresher" and more highly specialized teaching.
6 Russell, op.cit., pp.90-97, contrasts the two systems and admits the advantages of the latter in dealing with "abstruse inquiries".
the student was required to sign no more specific declaration than a promise to regard above all "verae Pietatis studium", to be diligent in the accustomed studies of the curriculum and submissive to all the professors, to take no part in any dissension or disturbance, and to show a grateful interest in the university for the rest of his life. And along with this liberty of opinion went freedom to adopt whatever order or course of study the student's own discretion, or that of his friends, might dictate, and to be as regular or irregular as he chose in his attendance on lectures. Before taking any degree, indeed, the student "must have attended certain classes prescribed by the statutes of the University, and submit to be examined "on his proficiency; but by 1790, although graduation in Medicine was increasingly sought after, graduation in Arts was well-nigh in abeyance. So long as Edinburgh had retained the old system of instruction, "rotating Regents", each of whom took his own class of students through all the subjects of the four-year curriculum, and presented them for laureation at the end of it, graduation had been the rule. But with the change to teaching by "specialised Professors" each dealing with his own subject only, "a good deal of Lehr- und -Lern Freiheit" had been introduced, with the result that "teaching and learning soon grew to be thought of more importance than graduation". This belief, supported by the fact that the bestowal of the M.A. degree was often a mere matter of form, had led to so marked a decline in Arts graduation that during the second half of the eighteenth century the average yearly number of graduates was one or two. Among the "valiant, though abortive" efforts made by the Senatus to counteract this trend had been the framing of new regulations for the degree in 1738 and 1778; the granting of it on unusual grounds in both years; and a recommendation (invalidated by the General Assembly's refusal to ratify it) that graduation in Arts should precede entry to Divinity Hall. But so little were the wishes of the Senatus 

1 Summary of the Latin declaration subscribed on matriculation. Bower (op.cit., III, p.vii) exaggerates in stating that at Edinburgh no "oaths, subscriptions nor tests" were administered.
3 Grant, op.cit., I, p.263. The change from regents to professors was made at Edinburgh in 1708, and at Glasgow, St Andrews and Aberdeen in 1727, 1747 and 1754 respectively.
4 Ibid.I,p.265. There had even been an honours system, the very thoroughness of which had made it unpopular. (Ibid.I,pp.152-53.)
5 Ibid.I,p.264.
6 Arnot, op.cit., p.412.
7 Grant, op.cit., I,pp.277-81. In 1738 five degrees were granted for the composition and defence of theses. In 1778 four were given on that ground and three bestowed honoris causa on professors.
regarded that from 1778 on "all desire for the M.A. degree seemed to have expired", so that attendance on the Arts classes became purely voluntary, except for prospective Divinity students, who were required by the Assembly to complete a "full course of philosophy".  

In these circumstances, a regular Arts curriculum could hardly be said to exist, the tendency being for a student to go through merely "an aggregation of separate classes", spread over three or four years, rather than an integrated course; and this situation was aggravated by the fact that Edinburgh, unlike the other Scottish Universities, held no "public and formal" annual examination on "the studies of the preceding year". In practice, however, the traditional order of subjects was generally adhered to, Latin and Greek being followed by logic and rhetoric, moral philosophy, mathematics, and natural philosophy. As many or as few of these classes as the student chose could be taken in any one year; and only in the first three did oral examinations and essay-writing form part of the scheme of work. For most students, the moral philosophy class formed the real climax of the course; and so far were mathematics and natural philosophy from benefiting by their advanced position, that, despite the brilliance of their professors, they were frequently neglected by youths who, having pursued their "favourite exercises...of metaphysics and morals" under the eloquent Stewart, viewed with contempt "mathematics and all the noble sciences" founded thereon.

So adult and liberal a system of education, with its emphasis on the acquisition of the substance of knowledge rather than the shadow of a formal degree, might provide insufficient stimuli for the dull or lazy youth to whom study was always an evil, and a necessity only when punishment and disgrace were to be avoided.

1 Grant, *op. cit.*, I, p. 281.
3 Ibid., pp. 158-59.
4 Only Aberdeen adopted a different order, placing mathematics and natural philosophy before logic and moral philosophy.
5 Russell (*op. cit.*, p. 164) cites disapprovingly instances of four classes (including moral and natural philosophy) being taken in one session. John Leyden took four classes in his third session.
7 Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 147 & 146.
8 Russell (ibid., p. 97) objects to it as being "only fit for grown-up gentlemen".
9 Russell, who apparently believed that most Edinburgh students came into this category, constantly laments Edinburgh's lack of such stimuli.
But it was ideally suited to such a student as Leyden, who, combining "rare industry and perseverance with an ardent love for...knowledge", took advantage of the freedom which it afforded, not to neglect his studies, but to extend their range. Leyden's theory that one could safely erect a 'scaffolding' of knowledge in subject after subject, leaving the more solid 'masonry' to be run up later when one pleased, was viewed with suspicion even in that period of catholic and unspecialized study. But in practice, his quickness in learning and excellent memory, together with his adherence to a regular scheme of work, enabled him to pursue this seemingly perilous course with impunity. Although he took a much keener interest in linguistic and philosophical subjects than in scientific ones, all was grist that came to his mill; and in the University Library, such circulating libraries as that run by James Sibbald in Parliament Close, and the collections of his acquaintances, he found grist in plenty. From the start, however, he prudently followed a regular plan of study, from which for several years, he seldom departed, allotting a certain portion of time to preparation for each class, and "devoting what remained to reading English". And thanks to the speed with which he learned, what remained was actually the greater part of his time. The "rapidity with which he read a book was often a matter of astonishment" to others, for he could scan an entire volume before a fellow-student was half-way through, while, more remarkably, he could in the process assimilate its contents thoroughly enough to be able to give a "very minute account of the subject" when questioned on it. So he was enabled to make the best of both worlds: to indulge fully his fondness for "desultory and general reading", and still to perform with diligence and success the set work of his classes.

In his first session, Leyden's set work was that of the junior class in Latin and the junior and senior classes in Greek.

1 Russell, op. cit., p.27.
2 Scott, Memoir of... Leyden.
3 Sibbald had bought, in 1780, the well-stocked library formerly run by Allan Ramsay.
4 Morton, op. cit., p.vi.
5 Robert Leyden's Notes. Version 'B' of the Notes says "third way through".
6 Robert Leyden wrote to James Morton, 8 Sept., 1815: "I have his [John Leyden's] class Tickets, and he attended the 1 & 2 Greek and the 1 Latin in 1790." - In the Matriculation Album for 1790, Leyden's name appears (as 'Joannes Leydon' and 'John Leydon' respectively) under the junior and senior Greek classes only; but the Album's entries were not exhaustive.
With both subjects Leyden had already some acquaintance; and it may be doubted whether he added very much to his stock of knowledge in the "noisy mansion" of the junior Latin classroom, presided over by Professor John Hill, who, having gained the Chair of Humanity at Edinburgh in 1775 by means of a somewhat mysterious transaction with the previous holder, occupied it until his sudden death in 1805. An amiable man, with a great flow of spirits and fund of humour, Hill unfortunately lacked the art of exciting his pupils' attention, and "held the reins of discipline very loosely", being much more skilled to distinguish the nice shades of difference in Latin'words than to rule the lively horde of "young gentlemen just come from the grammar-school", who made up the bulk of his junior class, and whom he had to face for two hours daily. He read with them parts of Cicero, Livy, Virgil, Terence and Horace, paying much attention to rules of syntax and parts of speech; prescribed frequent Latin-English and English-Latin exercises; examined as often as the size of the class permitted; and, above all, dwelt at great length on his favourite topic of Latin synonyms on which he published a substantial work of considerable merit, abridged from his discourses delivered in class. This emphasis on linguistic subtleties would appeal to Leyden; and he "stood very high in the class", but without particularly attracting the Professor's attention. For "amid the riot" of a class so very irregular in discipline that it presented a "constant scene of unchecked idleness and disrespectful mirth," a good Scholar was not easily noticed from the noise.

The Greek classes, each of which met for two hours daily, were very differently conducted: for Professor Andrew Dalzel, while as amiable and as popular as Hill, was the possessor of a "gentle, soothing, discreet yet firm manner" which enabled him to maintain a great deal of authority, and to overawe any forward boy and que

1 Oliver Goldsmith, The Deserted Village, 1.195.
2 See Bower, op. cit., III, p.188.
3 Ibid., III, p.189.
4 Scott, Autobiography; quoted by Lockhart, op. cit., I, pp.55-56.
5 Arnott, op. cit., pp.405-8.
6 'The synonyms of the Latin language alphabetically arranged, with critical dissertations upon the force of its prepositions... 4to, Edinburgh, 1804. Printed by James Ballantyne.
7 Robert Leyden's Notes.
8 Cockburn, op. cit., p.17.
10 Bower, op. cit., III, p.137.
any incipient tumult by a mere "look, a pause, a single word gently intoned". An "absolute enthusiast about learning, particularly classical and especially Greek," he had, since his election to the chair of Greek in 1772, concentrated all his energies on succeeding in his profession. "His soul was in his duty. He identified his happiness with the success of his class and his students, and with restoring the study of Greek in Scotland." This purpose he more than fulfilled, raising his subject from the depths to which it had fallen under his "infirm and inefficient" predecessor, Robert Hunter, to a more prosperous and important position than it had previously enjoyed in any Scottish University. And his abilities as a "judicious compiler and an accurate critic" enabled him to augment his fame as a teacher by publishing textbooks so excellent that they not only produced "the most beneficial effects on his own students", for whose use they were originally designed, but also introduced Dalzel to many learned correspondents, and established his reputation on a firm basis for life.

Being almost as interested in the career and welfare of any deserving student as he was in all things pertaining to literature and to Greece, Dalzel felt, in discovering "any good quality in any humble youth", all the delight of a successful seeker after uncharted lands; and he was not slow to notice and commend John Leyden. Leyden-at fifteen was still a "little lad" with a boyish aspect, "a very intelligent face and most sparkling eyes". For all his plain, rough clothes, he was no more outlandish-looking than the generality of"country students at the first classes"; but besides having a loud, sharp voice and a strong Border accent, he was "obstreperous in his manner" and "unpolished in his address". And so, when first "called up" in the Greek class "to decline a Noun and give some of the rules", he evoked, by his "provincial tone", readiness and bold manner of answering, a "kind of laugh" from the ex-High School students who formed the majority of his class-mates.

1 Innes, op.cit., p.64.
2 Cockburn, op.cit. p.18.
3 Innes op.cit., p.49.
5 Cf.Innes, op.cit., p.56. Dalzel attracted record numbers of student.
7 These included Prof.s John Hunter, St Andrews; John Young, Glasgow; Karl Bottiger, Weimar; and Christian Heyne, Gottingen.
9 William Erskine, loc.cit.
10 Robert Leyden's Notes. Robert Leyden complains (ibid.) that Scot in his Memoir of Leyden described this incident "quite in a ludicrous manner and not correctly".
and who, being ever ready to ridicule those who had not had "the same opportunities of cultivation with themselves," were "more disposed to make merry with the awkwardness" of Leyden's deportment and "to mortify the vanity of his pretensions, than to subscribe to what seemed to be his own opinion of his talents." Whereupon Dalzel, being always "very indignant to see any Student put to the blush," and noting with approval the promptness of Leyden's answers, bluntly warned the scoffers "to take care how they laughed," since their victim "appeared to have that which a great many of them wanted". This admonition was fully justified, for before the session's end Leyden ranked as "the best scholar in the Class, and got from the Professor Bene Optime [sic] several times": a distinction achieved by no one else in the class. And Leyden was to receive further encouragement and assistance from the same source; for Dalzel, who was a "kind adviser not only in the class, but at his own house and everywhere, for those who wanted his friendship and were worthy of it," "felt a pride" in so brilliant a pupil, and remained Leyden's friend after he had ceased to be his teacher.

It was most probably in the junior class that Leyden experienced this initial discomfiture and subsequent triumph; for it was there necessary for the very elements of the language to be grammatically taught, in consequence of the long-cherished academic idea that it was a heinous thing for any schoolmaster to infringe the University monopoly of teaching Greek. Since the early 1770's, when the Rector of the High School had gained permission to instruct his senior classes in the rudiments, a fair proportion of boys had acquired a smattering of Greek before they came to College; but there were still many, ignorant of the very alphabet, who required more "positive teaching" than the size of the class allowed. The enthusiastic Dalzel did his best, however, compiling for his junior class his Fragmenta Grammaticae Graecae ad usum Tironum..., and striving with "patient industry" to ensure that the principles of general as well as particular grammar were constantly inculcated, and that the students were minutely

1 Robert Leyden's Notes.
2 William Erskine, loc.cit.
3 Innes, op.cit.,p.64.
4 Arnot, op.cit.,p.407.
5 Innes, op.cit.,p.56.
7 Cockburn, op.cit.,p.17. There were 80 students in the junior Greek class in 1790.
8 Bower, op.cit.,III,p.137.
examined, as often as possible, upon the texts read and explained: namely, part of the New Testament, Xenophon, Lucian, some odes of Anacreon and a book of the Iliad.  

Leyden would no doubt find more to interest him in the senior class, wherein those students who were, like himself, in their first year of attendance were "arranged apart from the more advanced ones" and examined on easier authors. Here Dalzel had more scope for his stimulating methods of lecturing, including the illustration by modern parallels of the works read and grammatically and critically explained, which comprised parts of Herodotus, Thucydides, Demosthenes, and other prose writers, several books of Homer, Theocritus’ Idyllia, and a tragedy of Sophocles or Euripides. The lectures in which he best proved his value as a "general exciter of boys’ minds", were those on the history, government, manners, antiquities, philosophy, literature and art of the ancient Greeks, with copious illustrations from the classics and modern times, to which he devoted one hour every Tuesday and Thursday. For while, as an enthusiast in his profession, Dalzel could enter with heartiness into the minutiae of Greek grammar, he had an eager desire to communicate to his pupils not merely an accurate knowledge of the Greek language, but also an enthusiasm for the past glories of Greece, and an appreciation of literature of all ages. So, adhering to no rigidly fixed plan he took pleasure in communicating, in his "slow, soft, formal voice", information "of the most amusing and interesting nature", which afforded the most exquisite delight to those with any taste whatever for knowledge. There was in Dalzel’s address "a witchery... which could prevail alike over sloth and over levity" so that he "must have been a hard boy whom these discourses... did not melt": and John Leyden would not be the least susceptible of the youthful hearers whom they inspired with a "vague but sincere ambition of literature, and with delicious dreams of virtue and poetry".

1 Arnot, op. cit., p. 407.  
2 Ibid., p. 408. It was customary to attend the senior Greek class for several years, as Leyden himself did.  
3 Cockburn, op. cit., p. 18.  
4 Bower, op. cit., III, pp. 137-38. Dalzel’s ‘Substance of Lectures on the Ancient Greeks and on the Revival of Greek Learning in Europe’, published in two volumes in 1821, with a preface by his son, John Dalzel, contained 37 lectures arranged in 4 sections. Lectures 1–33 dealt successively with the political situation, the manners and character, and the polite learning of the Greeks; and the last four lectures were on the revival of Greek learning in Europe.  
5 Bower, op. cit., III, p. 139.  
From 1763 on, every student who cared to matriculate by paying half a crown into the funds of the University Library received "a ticket entitling him to all the privileges of a Civis for one year"; and among those privileges was that of taking out any book from the Library for a fortnight, upon depositing a sum of money equal to its value. Matriculation being voluntary, less advantage was taken of this arrangement than might have been expected, perhaps because by the date of matriculation (c. December 10) the session was fully a month old, and because, thereafter, the Library was open for borrowing only for two hours on Monday, Tuesday, Friday and Saturday of each week. Leyden, however, made considerable use of these comparatively limited facilities, borrowing nineteen books between mid-December and the end of April: an average of one per week. The list of these contains few titles of outstanding interest; but it serves to illustrate Leyden's preference for literary subjects, his interest in distant or little-known places, and his desire to acquire a background of general reading. Only three of the books bore directly on his class-work: the Exercitationes in optimos auctores Graecos cum gemino indice Graeco et Latino of Jacobus Palmieri a Grantesmesnil; the "famed and laborious" Bibliotheca Latina of Johann Albert Fabricius; and Henry Felton's Dissertation on reading the classics and forming a just style. Of the rest, most were standard works known also to his fellow students: Dr Johnson's and Thomas Pennant's Tours in the Scottish Highlands; the first two volumes of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, which included such varied items as William Collins's Ode on the popular superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland; a dissertation by John Maclaurin to prove that Troy was not taken by the Greeks; Remarks on the Astronomy of the Brahmins, by John Playfair, and Henry Mackenzie's Account of the German Theatre; David Mallet's short Life of Francis Bacon; John Toland's defence of Leyden's early

1 Grant, op.cit.,II,pp.176-77. The Matriculation Album contained 'Chirographa eorum Discipulorum...qui Bibliothecam auxerunt.'
3 Grant, op.cit.,II,p.177; & Univ.Lib.Receipt Books. In 1794, the number of borrowing days was reduced to two a week, Monday and Friday being reserved for returning books; but in 1795, Thursday was added to the number of borrowing days.
5 Published 1697. But Leyden would probably use the "improved and amended form" brought out in 1773 by J.A.Ernesti, which is one of four different editions which Leyden might have borrowed from the University Library.
6 Communicated to the Society by the Rev.Alex.Carlryle of Inveresk.
favourite, Milton; the first volume of Dr. Robert Henry's History of Great Britain, written on a new plan (of describing domestic life and social and commercial progress, as well as political events); volume 5 of Buffon's Histoire Naturelle; the Guardian in two volumes; James Macpherson's Fingal, an ancient epic poem in six books, together with several other poems composed by Ossian... translated from the Gaelic language; the first volume of Hugh Blair's celebrated Lectures on Rhetoric; and Lectures on the Art of reading in which Thomas Sheridan, writer on education and elocution, dealt with the reading aloud of prose and verse, and sought to inculcate correct pronunciation and phrasing. A little more off the beaten track were "Gibbs Short Hand" (perhaps consulted as an aid to note-taking); Sir Thomas Browne's "Vulgar Errors"; The history of Japan...written in High Dutch by Engelbert Kaempfer...and translated by J.G. Scheuchzer; and Archbishop Uno von Troil's Letters on Iceland containing observations on the civil, literary, ecclesiastical and natural history...To which are added...letters...concerning the Edda and the elephantiasis...etc.

"After the classes were over", Leyden, doubtless glad to exchange the busy city for his native countryside, returned to Henlawshiel, there to spend the long summer vacation reading Latin and Homer. The start of that vacation was marred, however, by an event in strong contrast to its subsequent even and studious tenor. For Leyden, journeying cheerfully home from Edinburgh, "brought out the measles with him" and his sister Isabella, then the youngest member of the family, caught the infection and died of it, at the age of three, on 28th May, 1791. That Leyden had already been...
made conscious of "the horrors of the tomb"\(^1\) appears from the sonnet beginning 'Still on my soul that awful hour shall rise,'\(^2\) in which he looks back upon his reaction, in childhood, to a death in the household: most probably that of his paternal grandmother, Margaret Leyden, nee Laidlaw, who had lived with her son and his family throughout her widowhood. At that time, "bounding home from the red-blossom'd heath" to find the cottage tenanted by "the corpse-like form of death",\(^2\) the boy had been appalled by all the circumstance of rural mourning:

"The sheeted bed of melancholy white,  
The death-watch, and the dog's long dreary howl... 
The sable bier, the wailing female cry  
When slow the sad procession mov'd away”,

and, worse still, by

"The ghostly terror lest the parted soul  
Should glide before the shuddering watch at night".\(^2\)

And, having long mused and hoped that he would never die, he had come to realize that henceforward the knowledge of death's inevitability must be "the canker-worm of pleasure's flower".\(^2\) The shock of his sister's death, intensified as it must have been by the sense of his own indirect responsibility, was more severe, and its effect more subtle: Attending the funeral "in a state of listless and sullen apathy",\(^3\) he shuddered to think that the child, with her red cheeks and auburn hair,\(^4\) should lie beneath the long rank grass and sombre trees of the churchyard; and shrank from the sound of the earth falling upon the coffin.\(^3\) His mind was darkened, so that, turning his back on the grave, as if on the world itself, he felt his soul sink within him and the desire of death rush over his mind, making annihilation seem tolerable.\(^3\) And quitting the graveside to walk alone by the Teviot in the silent splendour of the calm summer evening's sunset, he cherished the conviction that for him, "The fear of death, the world, was left behind".\(^5\) Thanks to his natural vivacity, this feeling soon became less intense; but the cheerfulness of youth, hitherto his unfailing defence against sorrow, did not fully reassert itself.\(^3\) Instead, "melancholy acquired the ascendancy" in his constitution.\(^3\)

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1 Leyden, Elegiac Lines, 1.12. For this poem, see pp. 69 & 79 inf.  
3 Prose introduction to Elegiac Lines.  
4 Elegiac Lines, st. 7 & 9. This was John Leyden's own colouring of hair and complexion.  
5 Leyden, Scenes of Infancy, pt. I, 1.190.
so that in later years, for all his desire to be accounted "a pretty tough chap" endowed with exuberant high spirits, he was rather to be reckoned among those "whose souls were melancholy" although their minds were gay.

Neither mental nor physical stress, however, could keep John Leyden from his books. He had "brought out with him from Edinburgh a selection of Ballads chiefly relative to the Border"; and already the "great fondness for ancient Ballads" which he had entertained from early childhood was prompting him to take down verses from the recitation of the country folk, and to alter a little, on occasion, such passages as did not make sense "in the common recital". But this taste for the poetry of the Borders was not indulged at the expense of Leyden's preparation for next session's University classes, for he still, as in term time, "regularly read a stated portion of Latin and Greek every day".

In fine weather, seeking a place less confined and more suitable for study than a cottage which housed two younger brothers, he resorted to a wooded glen about a furlong from his home: a retreat where the only sound was that of the burn which ran down "in mazy windings" to meet the Teviot. And there, about half way up the bank above the water, he fashioned "a rude sort of bower, partly scooped out of the earth and covered with fern and rushes", in which to lie and read undisturbed.

Being eager to turn every hour of the vacation to good account, he also generally read all the way going and returning "if he happened to go two or three miles from home on a visit"; and he was thus so often to be seen with a book in his hand that later, in composing a "mock epitaph... made on himself for amusement", he selected this as the distinguishing feature of his appearance and accordingly warned the reader:

"And if his ghost should chance to wander, Ye'll ken him by a book in hand, sir."

Most of such visits as he paid were probably undertaken in search

1 Leyden to Archibald Constable, October 23, 1805.
2 Prof. George Gordon in a Long Lecture delivered at St Andrews University, placed Scott, Christopher North, Hogg, Leyden and Lockhart in this category. (Alumnus Chronicle for January, 1928. Cf. Thomas Carlyle's admiration for Goethe's 'gaiety of head and melancholy of heart'.
3 Robert Leyden's Notes.
4 John Leyden's note to his copy of the ballad Thomas o'Winesberry in Adv. MS. 5.2.14, f. 29. The copy is dated June 15, 1791.
5 Morton, op. cit., pp. vii-viii. In the 1875 (Cent.) ed. of Leyden's poems, p. xi, this retreat is described as being in Denholm Dean, where indeed a spot where Leyden studied is still pointed out.
6 These two lines, quoted in Robert Leyden's Notes, seem to be the only extant portion of this 'epitaph.'
of books, as his thirst for knowledge left him little time "for ceremony or common talk"; and, whether or not he made use of the Public Library which Hawick had boasted since 1762, he still had recourse to the bookshelves of his acquaintances. One of these, John Scott, schoolmaster at Ancrum from 1777 to 1804, furnished him with works on such subjects as mathematics, navigation, and astronomy, which he perused at their owner's house, entering with an abrupt request for the desired volume, and soon becoming so engrossed by its contents as to be oblivious of his surroundings. Doubting, like Leyden's unnamed fellow-student, whether John could adequately enjoy or understand what he read so hurriedly, "incessantly turning leaf after leaf, after a short glance at each," the cautious schoolmaster once ventured to suggest that it would be more profitable to take the book home and study it at leisure. But this proposal Leyden promptly shewed to be superfluous, by demanding an oral examination on the contents of the book, in which his answers, even to questions on the more difficult subjects proved to be "substantially correct".

Even six-month vacations pass quickly when spent in congenial surroundings and pursuits. And November, 1791, found Leyden returning to Edinburgh, ready to conquer worlds beyond the Greek and Latin classes, and no longer assailed by the homesickness which makes the "fresher" feel as lost as "a cow in a fremmit loaning". His first session had proved, perhaps not entirely to his own surprise, that he was intellectually more than a match for most of his contemporaries. It had also shown, less gratifyingly, that these contemporaries were ready to laugh openly and unrestrainedly at whatever they considered absurd, including his own speech and manners. Whether or not he ever allowed himself to be goaded into physical retaliation — a reaction not unlikely in one of his ardent temperament —, Leyden was much more sensitive to ridicule than he would have cared to admit. But, being also proud and resolute, he embarked on the new session determined that, whilst his peculiarities might excite mirth, his abilities should command admiration and applause.

1 Remarks on... Dr John Leyden, an unsigned article, evidently written by a son of the late schoolmaster of Ancrum; in the Teviotdale Record & Jedburgh Advertiser, c. October, 1858. Unlike the rest of the article, which is not fully reliable, this anecdote is given from the recollection of John Scott, and not from the knowledge of his son.

2 Ancrum Heritors' Minutes.

3 Scott, in his Memoir, states that Leyden came to blows with those who laughed at him; but the circumstance is mentioned nowhere else.
Continuing the classical studies so diligently kept up during the summer, Leyden attended the senior classes in Latin and Greek, and probably enjoyed doing so, since ancient history, literature and antiquities ranked among his favourite subjects and were studied with considerable ardour. In Latin, Hill, being an enthusiast for the "delicate mechanism of the Latin language", read prelections upon "the darkest and most philosophical parts in Horace and Juvenal", as well as upon authors rarely, if at all, 'read in schools. He delivered, moreover, three lectures a week, giving "a character of the Latin classics, and an explanation of the principles of their composition", with a sketch of Greek influence on Latin literature; "a short history of the Latin tongue, and the changes it has undergone"; and "a compendious system of Roman antiquities", illustrating every aspect of Roman life, and including, as an "absolutely necessary" appendage, some study of ancient geography. Extending his remarks to literature and language in general, he also gave a survey of 'Universal Grammar', embracing such topics as the faculty of speech, the structure of human language, the "just arrangement of the parts of speech", and the parts of speech themselves: a feature which in itself would make Leyden feel that Hill's advanced course was "better worth attending than the Junior". Nor were Hill's students, most of whom had already spent a year in the lower class, permitted to be merely passive listeners, being obliged not only to write essays on aspects of the subjects lectured upon, but also to read aloud their productions in public.

In the Greek class, too, advanced students were required to compose exercises on prescribed subjects relating to Greek history, literature and civilization, and to deliver discourses in the awe-inspiring presence of the Principal and other Professors. But by Leyden's time, part at least of this ordeal was spared them, the elderly Principal Robertson having, on account of deafness and ill-health, given up his visits to the "literary classes" since 1787–88. Dalzel, although now in the thick of his "nineteenth Academical campaign", was feeling "no diminution of vigour either in body or mind" or in his zeal for his students' welfare. And, having

1 Matriculation-Album.
2 Leyden to Alex. Fraser Tytler, June 12, 1801. (MS. 3383, Nat. Lib. Scot)
3 John Hill, Heads of Lectures for the use of the highest class of Students in Humanity in the University of Edinburgh, p. 60; and passim. These lectures were arranged in three sections: 'Of Roman Antiquities', 'Of Roman Literature', and 'Of Universal Grammar'.
4 Arnot, op. cit., pp. 407 & 408. 5 Reith, op. cit., p. 41.
6 Bower, op. cit., III, pp. 95 & 98.
7 Dalzel to Liston, Nov. 19, 1791; quoted by Innes, op. cit., p. 90.
found Leyden most amply endowed with the "genius and application" which he loved to encourage, he obtained for him tutorial work among less advanced students. The possession of this source of income must have gratified the self-reliant Leyden, who, taking very seriously his responsibilities as an eldest son, disliked having recourse to his father for money. And so well did he use all such opportunities that, being blessed with abounding energy and the strength of mind to live always within his income, whatever that might be, he could boast, upon leaving for India, that since the age of fifteen, he had carried on all his studies and researches at his own expense.

Encouragement of this kind came also from the only other of Leyden's professors who bestowed on him "particular notice". This was James Finlayson, a leading Moderate minister and authority on ecclesiastical history and policy, who had been joint professor of Logic since 1787 with John Bruce, becoming sole professor in 1792. For all his severe and forbidding aspect and his reserved and formal manner, Finlayson took pleasure in helping promising students and besides procuring pupils for Leyden to tutor, employed him as his own amanuensis: a capacity in which Leyden could exhibit to advantage his neat, clear handwriting. Finlayson's lectures, too, must have been of service to Leyden, who valued them enough to transcribe them for his own use; for, although neither the professor nor his class was "logical in any proper sense of the word", they were more stimulating than any exposition of the mere rules of reasoning could have been, and were accordingly held in high general esteem. Following the example of his popular predecessor whose lectures on pneumatology (in its general sense of psychology) had been much admired, Finlayson set himself to "classify and explain the nature of the different faculties, and... to point out the proper modes of using and improving them": a proceeding quite appropriate to the logic course of the time in Scottish universities which dealt rather with moral science than with logic proper, being based on neither the Aristotelian nor any other system of reasoning, but on the philosophy of Thomas Reid. A "grim, firm-set, dark, 1

1 Bower, op. cit., III, p.138. 2 Morton, op. cit., p.ix. 3 Leyden to Heber, April 6, 1803. 4 Bower, op. cit., III, pp.146-47. Finlayson was also minister of, successively Borthwick (1787); Lady Yester's (1790); Old Greyfriar (1793); and the High Kirk (1799). 5 Cockburn, op. cit., pp.19-20. 6 Robert White, Supplement to Scott's Biographical Memoir of John Leyden in the 1856 edition of Leyden's poems, p.74n. 7 Russell, op. cit., p.113.
clerical man, stiff and precise in his movements, and with a
distressing pair of black, piercing, Jesuitical eyes, he was "no
speaker, and a cold, exact, hard reader"; but for this he made
amends by the good sense of his matter, which opened up the
intellectual world to his young listeners. Seeking "to teach the
best method of investigating and communicating truth", Finlayson,
in his lectures as in all else, "never wavered from the point
which he was anxious to establish". Opening with a short history
of philosophy, he proceeded to divide his subject into four great
branches, his main topics being: the human understanding, its
faculties and their improvement; the objects towards which our
intellectual powers are directed, the principles of classification,
a general division of the sciences, and the turn of mind best suit-
ted to the study of each; the discovery of truth by the application
of the faculties to natural objects, the nature and evidence of
truth, and the sources and avoidance of error; and, finally, the
communicating of truth to others "with perspicuity and precision",
the origin and progress of language, the principles of universal
grammar, and the proper conduct of a conversation, debate or
"continued discourse". This mixture of philosophy, psychology,
and rhetoric, combining abstract analysis with practical advice,
could hardly fail to hold Leyden's interest; and although Finlayson
neglecting his earlier intention of frequently appointing exercises
did not work his class half enough at composition, Leyden produced
for him at least one essay, on the promising subject of Imagination
which ran to the length of thirteen small quarto pages.

Less to Leyden's taste was the class of Mathematics, which
he also attended, somewhat earlier than was customary, in his
second session. Unpopular with Edinburgh students in general,
despite its inclusion among the essentials for the M.A. degree,
Mathematics was a subject to which Leyden in particular was never
much devoted. Nor was his aversion overcome even by the admirable
teaching of "that most delightful philosopher", John Playfair, who
in addition to possessing "immense scientific erudition, a calm
intellect, and a clear style", was so considerate as to be "at all
times accessible to his pupils for explaining things left short
in the class, and removing doubts or difficulties that occurred in

5 Robert Leyden's Notes. The Matriculation Album entry for Decem-
ber 13 & 15, 1791, states that 'Joannes Leydon' attended the
classes of 'Litt.Hum.2. Litt.Gr.2. Log.'
6 Leyden to A.F.Tytler, June 12, 1801.
7 Cockburn, op. cit., p.256. 8 Grant, op. cit., II,p.302.
their reading at home." \(^1\) So it is probable that Leyden confined himself to the lowest of Playfair's three courses, in which were expounded the first six books of Euclid's Elements, with the chief propositions of the eleventh and twelfth, and the elements of plain trigonometry and practical geometry, and did not venture upon the second class, with its elements of algebra, spherical trigonometry and conic sections, or upon the third, with its doctrine of fluxions applied to "the more difficult problems of pure and mixt mathematic\(\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\) nor did he attend the three-month summer session which Playfair held in addition to the winter session of six months. \(^1\) Nevertheless, although Leyden himself owned that he could not much applaud his proficiency in Mathematics, he was proficient enough to be later invited to teach the Mathematics class at St Andrews University during the indisposition of its professor, James Vilant; and though Leyden declined the invitation, he did so "for reasons entirely unconnected with Science". \(^3\)

Having four classes to attend, and tutorial and secretarial duties to perform; Leyden apparently found it expedient to relate his reading fairly closely to his set subjects. Again, only three of his borrowings from the University Library bore upon the classics of Science: Basil Kennet's *Romaee antiquae notitia*; volume one of the *Archaeologiae Graecae* of Archbishop John Potter; and the fourth volume of Charles Rollin's comprehensive *Histoire ancienne des Egyptiens, des Carthaginois, des Assyriens, des Babyloniens, des Médes, des Perses, des Macédoniens, et des Grecs*. Most of the remaining nineteen had reference to the Logic course, in either its philosophical or its literary aspect: Thomas Reid's chief works, the *Enquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense*, the *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*, and the latter's "ethical complement", *Essays on the Active Powers of the Human Mind*; \(^5\) James Beattie's *Essay on the nature and immutability of truth in opposition to sophistry and scepticism*; \(^6\) Isaac Watts' *Logick*; or, the right use of reason in the enquiry after truth. With a variety of rules to guard against error..., and its supplement, *The improvement of the mind*; James Harris's *Philosophical Arrangements*; Alexander Gerard's

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1 The Life...of Henry, Lord Brougham, written by himself, I, p.66. Play-\(\text{\textsuperscript{3}}\)Fair was Professor of Mathematics from 1785 to 1803.
3 Leyden to A.F. Tytler, June 12,1801.
4 Archbishop of Canterbury, 1737-1747. -The Univ.Lib. Receipt Book describes these books as "Kennet's R.Antiquities" and "Potter's Antiquities" respectively.
5 Published in 1764, 1765, and 1788 respectively. Described in the Lib.Receipt Bk as "Reid's Inquiry","Reid's Int:Essays", and "Reid's Active Powers".
6 Borrowed twice by Leyden, on December 9,1791, and April 16,1792.
Essay on Taste; the lectures of the "immortal Blair"; the second volume of Robert Dodsley's literary periodical The preceptor: containing a general course of education (which included a discourse by W. Duncan on The elements of logic); and, in the province of literary history, volume two of Thomas Warton's History of English Poetry, and the first four volumes of Samuel Johnson's Lives of the Poets. For the rest, Robert Henry's History (volume three) and the first two volumes of the ever-useful "Edinburgh Transactions" again claimed his attention; and towards the end of term he regaled himself with volume one of John Moore's View of society and manners in France, Switzerland and Germany, and with the History of the five Indian nations of Canada, by the Hon. Cadwallader Colden.

Leyden found time, however, for at least one extra-academical activity. Finlayson's lectures and the text-books of Sheridan and Blair gave much information on the correct speaking and reading of English, the most effective "conduct of a discourse in all its parts" and the best "means of improving in eloquence". And Leyden, his self-confidence and desire for distinction being stronger than his fear of ridicule, resolved to try to put the precepts of public speaking into practice. Disregarding for the present the various University societies which existed to promote the "collision and blending of minds... requisite... for the full development of the human faculties", Leyden became a frequent attender at the weekly meetings of "the Pantheon, a public disputing society something like the Forum". Founded in 1773 as the successor, and at first the namesake, of the Robinhood parliamentary debating society, the Pantheon, whose object was to foster improvement in public speaking, enjoyed great reputation and considerable vogue during most of its thirty years' existence as a literary society in which "a set of juvenile Ciceros" debated "the grand concerns of the nation". After sundry vicissitudes, and despite the competition afforded by the Theatre, the Circus, and every other place of public exhibition and amusement in Edinburgh, as well as by the College debating societies, the Pantheon, after considerable reorganisation, had made a fresh start in November, 1788, and continued, until about 1800, to hold its meetings at 8 p.m. each Thursday from October to May in its renovated meeting-place of St Andrew's Chapel in Carrubber's Close.

1 The Univ. Lib. has both the 2nd ed. of the Essay (1764, with dissertations by Voltaire, d'Alembert and Montesquieu) and the 3rd ed. (1780, with a fourth section on "the standard of taste").
3 Published in 1779, the other 6 in 1781.
4 Vol. I was borrowed on Apr. 13, 1792, vol. 2 on March 2 & 31, 1792.
5 Father of Sir John Moore and author of Zeluco.
6 Headings in Blair's Lectures, II.
7 W. Erskine, op. cit.
Tickets of admission cost sixpence each, and the meetings, which were advertised a week in advance in the Edinburgh Advertiser and other newspapers, attracted attendances of anything from one hundred to three hundred people, including not a few ladies, whose presence had the double advantage of enlivening the proceedings and augmenting the funds. The topics of discussion were arranged well in advance, more than half of the two hours' debating time being occupied by set speeches delivered by four of the small number of active members, who performed this duty in rotation. From 9 to 9.45 p.m., however, the debate was thrown open to the other members and to the 'strangers' present, the principle being that the members, while welcoming outside assistance, should be able to carry on without it, if necessary. In practice, assistance could usually be looked for from the "resident ordinary speaking visitors", of whom John Leyden may well have been one, since he seems unlikely, from his youth and his many other avocations, to have been a full-fledged member of the Pantheon. And as the rules which governed visitors' conduct and privileges did not curb their freedom of speech, "the Spark of Youthful genius, unrestrained," was at liberty to "break forth into the flame of Eloquence, or rest in the equally useful path of Solid reasoning".

It was not unusual for speeches in verse to be read, and Leyden, following this fashion, delivered not only several prose speeches, but also original "pieces of verse in the Scots language which caused a good deal of merriment".

This year's long vacation was spent in work probably less congenial, though more remunerative, than the private studies of the previous summer. His tutoring in the past session had given Leyden some experience in instructing others, and he now obtained a temporary post as assistant teacher to James Paris in the little 'Luggie' school which stood at a bend in the road near Clovenfords, a village in Stow parish and on the Cadon Water, some

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1. It was recommended that the number of active members should never exceed thirteen.
3. These were sometimes published in current publications.
4. Robert Leyden's Notes. None of these seems to be extant. - Alex. Campbell (Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland, p. 312) records having heard Alexander Wilson, a pedlar-poet, express his views "in excellent Scotch verse" at a Pantheon debate.
5. He was still at Stow on Feb. 24, 1807, when he wrote to Dr. John Lee on church matters. (MS. 3432, Nat. Lib. Scot.) James Morton wrote to Dr. Anderson, Sept. 15, 1815: "I did not find time to go to Mr. Parish."
three miles west of Galashiels; so that he was probably not at home when his younger sister, Margaret, was born on June 3, 1792. At Clovenfords Leyden laboured throughout the summer in the small thatched building by the roadside, whose site is marked now only by a mural tablet of grey granite commemorating Leyden's connection with it. The long school hours leaving him little leisure for reading, Leyden determined to make the most of each day by rising very early in the morning, and to this end devised an ingenious kind of water-clock, comprising a bowl full of water, a smaller, empty bowl and some strands of worsted which siphoned the water from the one bowl into the other until it overflowed and roused Leyden by dripping on to his face as he lay in bed. Whether or not he proved skilled to rule in the classroom itself, Leyden found there at least one promising pupil, in the person of John Lee, a boy four years his junior, who possessed much of his own intellectual vigour and versatility, and even more than his own affection for books; and who, going up to Edinburgh in 1794, and spending ten years in the study of Arts, medicine, divinity and law, was eventually to crown a full and varied career by becoming the "learned and lovable" Principal, first of St. Andrews, and then of his own, University. While at Clovenfords, too, Leyden made the acquaintance of an ambitious young man, who had, like Lee, a good deal in common with himself. This was James Nicol, later to become a clergyman and a dialect poet of some note; as yet, in his twenty-third year, still following his father's trade of shoemaking in his native Innerleithen, about nine miles up the Tweed from Clovenfords. With him Leyden "began a poetical correspondence in the Scottish dialect" but this, like many another project born of youthful enthusiasm, was soon abandoned, and its subject-matter and precise form are now alike unknown.

The harvest-vacation would set Leyden free in time to make some preparation for his third University session. This, the last

1 Robert Leyden's Notes. The school is sometimes described as being at Caddonlee, because it stood "on Caddonlee ground at Caddon Hill, some 200 or 300 yards from Clovenfords" (James Small, Note on Caddonlee School, in Hist. of the Berwickshire Rats. Club, VIII, p. 72.
2 Kirkton Parish Register.
3 Set in a stone dyke above the road, the tablet bears the inscription: "A lamp too early quenched" - Sir Walter Scott. Site of 'The Luggie', where John Leyden taught, 1792. It was unveiled on August 15, 1910, by Archibald Donaldson, the school's last surviving pupil. The name 'Luggie' is derived from the ear-shaped bend in the road beside which the school stood. (Cf. R.A. Stimpson, The Luggie... in the Southern Annual, Dec. 1861, p. 43.)
4 Information from the late Miss Eliz. Donaldson of Clovenfords, dau. of Miss Donaldson (above cit.) describes this device as a sort of clock-work, which tilted a cup of water. Cf. Keith, op. cit., p. 45.
5 Nicol (1769-1819) was Principal at Edinburgh from 1840 to 1859.
6 Vee (1778-1859) was Principal at Edinburgh from 1840 to 1859.
7 Morton, op. cit., p. 8.
stage of his Arts course, was devoted mainly to "the different Philosophical classes"1 of Rhetoric, Moral Philosophy and Natural Philosophy,2 with the addition of senior Greek,3 to which those attending the class for the third time were admitted gratis, in accordance with the general custom at Edinburgh University.4

Although Hugh Blair remained Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres from 1760 till his death in 1800, the active duties of the professorship had been performed since 1784 by William Greenfield, Blair's colleague both in this Chair and in the High Church of St. Giles.5 A man of considerable ability, and no mean preacher, Greenfield, who had contributed to Henry Mackenzie's Lounger, was versatile enough to publish a paper on the use of Negative Quantities in the solution of Problems by Algebraic Equations, as well as an anonymous volume of Essays on the Sources of the Pleasures derived from Literary Compositions.6 He divided his course of lectures on "polite literature and eloquence"7 into two parts, dealing first with general principles, and then applying these in a critical review of the chief kinds of composition and of some of the best authors in each kind. In part one, reducing the great ends of written or spoken discourse to emotion, instruction, and persuasion, he considered these in turn, showing how best to rouse and make use of the emotions, to convey information effectually and agreeably, and to convince the understanding; while in addition he dealt with the nature, improvement, decline and standard of taste, and, separately, with the language, under the heads of purity, perspicuity, harmony, elegance and animation.7 In all this, however, Leyden probably found little new, being already acquainted with the lectures of Finlayson, and with those of Blair, then considered to contain "the most judicious and best digested system" of literary criticism ever published.8

More impressive must have been Dugald Stewart's lectures on Moral Philosophy, a subject which, as one of Leyden's favourites, received from him "considerable attention".9 For these lectures,

1 Robert Leyden's Notes. - He adds "Rhetoric, Natural History, &c"; but Leyden did not study the latter until later. See p.167 infra.
2 Morton, op. cit., p.viii. He also adds Natural History.
3 Matric. Album (Dec. 11 & 13, 1792) states that 'John Leyden' this session attended the classes of Litt. Dr. &c. Phys.
4 Arnot, op. cit., p.408; and Christison, Autobiography, pp.135-36.
5 Grant, op. cit., II,p.358. It was then customary for an elderly professor to retire (still retaining his salary) from the active duties of his chair, which were performed by a junior professor who received the students' class fees. (Bower, op. cit., III, p.158.)
8 Bower, op. cit., III, p.17.
9 Leyden to A.F. Tytler, June 12, 1801.
delivered by "one of the greatest of didactic orators,"1 afforded "the most solid instruction...in the most attractive form",2 and constituted for Edinburgh students "the great era" in their mental progress.1 The son of a profound geometrician, and the possessor of "very miscellaneous talents, cultivated with the greatest care",3 Stewart had held the Chair of Mathematics at Edinburgh for ten years before succeeding Adam Ferguson in that of Moral Philosophy in 1785. In the latter, he proved himself unsurpassed as a moral teacher, being "classical, literary, clear like a mathematician", and "rather inclined to the topics lying between mental science...and jurisprudence...than to the profounder questions of metaphysics".5 Avoiding polemical matter and dry details, "invisible distinctions, vain contentions, factious theories and philosophical sectarianism",1 he devoted himself to moral themes, expounding, with consummate eloquence, a system of philosophy which was essentially that of his former teacher, Thomas Reid. Having expressive features, a singularly pleasing voice, an exquisite ear, and a simple and elegant style of gesture, Stewart was an excellent reader, with a "professorial but gentlemanlike" manner in lecturing;1 and to an "intellectual character...marked by calm thought and great soundness", a thorough acquaintance with his own subject, and wide and well-digested general knowledge, he added the still higher qualifications of "an unimpeachable personal character, devotion to the science he taught, an exquisite taste, an imagination imbued with poetry and oratory, liberality of opinion, and the loftiest morality."1 He was thus well equipped, despite his lack of "genius or even originality of talent", to expatiate on his chosen topics of the "general constitution of moral and material nature, the duties and the ends of man, the uses and boundaries of philosophy, the connection between virtue and enjoyment, the obligations of affection and patriotism, the cultivation and the value of taste, the intellectual differences produced by particular habits, the evidences of the soul's immortality, the charms of literature and science, in short all the ethics of life".1 And so effectively did he do so, introducing apt quotation and illustration, and exalting everything by his fine aesthetic and moral taste, that he "riveted the attention even of the most volatile student"6 and imbued his hearers with principles which remained their surest guide.

4 Cockburn, Life of Francis Jeffrey, p.49.
5 Grant, op.cit., II, p.341.
6 Scott, Autobiography; quoted by Lockhart, op.cit., I, p.43.
"for study or for practice", throughout life. That this "great inspirer of young men" had also a strong turn for quiet humour and an attachment to liberal politics would recommend him particularly to his students; and although, from his aversion to all controversy, Stewart "very often declined to see his pupils after the class rose", he received with kindly hospitality those whom he favoured with an invitation to his pleasant house in the Canongate: among whom, however, there is no evidence that John Leyden was numbered.

If the Chair of Moral Philosophy thus boasted a professor with a "brilliant reputation for literature, eloquence and philosophy", that of Natural Philosophy was occupied by one of the most accomplished scholars and eminent philosophers of the eighteenth century: the far-travelled John Robison, who added talents as linguist, draughtsman, musician and conversationalist to his very accurate and extensive knowledge of the mathematical and physical sciences. Having in 1774 resigned his Professorship of Mathematics at Kronstadt in order to come to Edinburgh, Robison remained there until his death in 1805, successfully combining profound philosophy with a varied active life, despite his hypochondria, uncommonly acute sensibility, and "fits of constitutional... low spirits". Although his acknowledged great abilities were set off to advantage by the prepossessing aspect of a "wise elephantine head and majestic person", a face "expressive of talent, thought, gentleness and good temper", and a grave and dignified manner, Robison was not completely successful as a lecturer; for, despite his "great fluency and precision of language", he spoke too fast and in too uniform a tone, for his reasoning to be easily followed. Moreover, judging the assimilative powers of others by his own quickness of apprehension, he assumed the necessary mathematical propositions as demonstrated, giving only such explanation as might show "at least the probability of the doctrines" and "such students as had not made very considerable progress in the mathematics" were further disconcerted by the fact that he performed comparatively few experiments, although the apparatus at his disposal was the most complete of its kind in the country. Following the general scheme

of his capable predecessor, Dr. Russell, Robison confined himself, in his lectures, to Mechanical Philosophy, considering only the appearances "exhibited in the sensible motions, and actions of the sensible masses of matter": namely, those in "astronomy, vulgar mechanicks, hydrostaticks, pneumaticks, magnetism, electricity and optics"; and for the benefit of "engineers and artizans" he paid particular attention to the practical application of his subject. As a supplement to his regular course, he gave a series of lectures including accounts of the attempts made to explain in mechanical terms the internal constitution of bodies, and the phenomena in "chemical mixtures and in the vegetable and animal oeconomy", and for those desiring a knowledge of natural philosophy which might be confidently applied to "the arts of life", he provided a separate course in which he discussed with great accuracy the mathematical propositions assumed in the ordinary class, and dealt with the writings of the most eminent mechanical philosophers since Newton, making peculiarly interesting and instructive remarks on the history of science. Whether or not Leyden advanced beyond Robison's ordinary class it appears, from his confessing to being little acquainted with Astronomy, that he bestowed small attention on at least one part of the course. His knowledge of the subject as a whole, however, was sufficient to warrant his being asked, in later years, to teach Dr. James Brown's Natural Philosophy class at Glasgow, "during the valetudinary state" of its professor; and his reasons for declining this offer were, like those for which he declined to take the Mathematics class at St. Andrews, "entirely unconnected with Science".

Of the twenty volumes borrowed by Leyden this session from the University Library, half comprised such standard works as Edmund Burke's Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas on the Sublime and Beautiful, Thomas Warton's History of English Poetry (volumes two and three), one volume of John Rowning's Compendious System of Natural Philosophy, and Johann Jakob Brucker's Institutiones Historiae Philosophicae. The rest, apart from one or two volumes of Lord Monboddo's curious Origin and Progress of Language, fall into three significant groups. "Perceiving the

1 Arnot, op.cit., pp.411-12. 2 Playfair, loc.cit. 3 Leyden to A.F. Tytler, June 12, 1801. 4 Entered in the Univ.Lib.Rec.Bk as 'Rowning's System.vol.1st'. The "system" was in four parts, dealing with Mechanics, Hydrostatics and Pneumatics, Optics, and Astronomy. 5 Entered as 'Bruckeri Institutiones.8vo'. First published it reached a 3rd ed., with a continuation by F.Born, in 1798. 6 Entered as 'Origin of Language.vol.2d', '2d' being written over '1st'. There were six volumes in all.
necessity of studying History, particularly Oriental and Northern, upon a large scale, Leyden read, and probably revelled in, Dr John Smith's Galic antiquities: consisting of a history of the Druids... a dissertation on the authenticity of the poems of Ossian, and a collection of ancient poems, translated from the Galic of Ullin, Ossian, Orran, etc.; Paul Henri Mallet's Introduction a l'histoire de Dannemarc, où l'on traite de la religion, des lois des moeurs et des usages des anciens Danois; Principal Robertson's Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India; and Jean Baptiste Chevalier's Description of the plain of Troy, translated by the author's (and Leyden's) patron, Professor Andrew Dalzel. Turning to the literature of modern Europe, Leyden became acquainted with the Lusiad and Don Quixote (both in translation, apparently, as he neither studied Spanish nor "read the Lusiade of Camoens in Portugueze" until after beginning his theological studies); and he read Ariosto, most likely in T.H. Croker's edition of Orlando furioso... in Italian and English, which doubtless contributed to the knowledge of Italian which Leyden possessed before the start of his fourth University session. And, looking towards that session, he perused the first four volumes of Nathaniel Lardner's monumental work on The Credibility of the Gospel History... and Robert Lowth's influential Praelectiones Academicae de Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum, which probably made a special appeal to him by treating the sacred poetry as literature to be judged by the criteria of literary criticism.

Nor was his preparation for next year's theological studies confined to the reading of these text-books; for, besides applying himself "with considerable ardour" to "the Antiquities of the Greeks, Romans, Jews and Oriental nations", he also began to study Hebrew, although he probably did not as yet attend the Hebrew class. This subject, being reckoned not essential even for Divinity students,
had long been neglected at Edinburgh; but for the past forty years it had been in the capable hands of James Robertson, the "first really qualified" holder of the Chair of Hebrew and Oriental languages. In 1792 George Husband Baird became joint-professor, only to be succeeded on his appointment as Principal in July, 1793, by William Moodie, minister of St. Andrews Church, Edinburgh, who continued to hold both his academical and ecclesiastical posts until his death in 1812. Despite his delicate health, Moodie was an excellent preacher, an elegant scholar, and a kind and conscientious professor who "showed the greatest anxiety to encourage a taste for oriental literature" among his students. Being skilled in Persian, as well as in Hebrew and Chaldaic, he was commissioned about 1795 to teach other Oriental languages besides Hebrew, and created a precedent by conducting "a Persic class privately", which must have been valuable, as Moodie's knowledge of the language was "extensive and his pronunciation correct".

It is doubtful, however, whether this Persian class was ever attended by Leyden; at any rate, although he had acquired some knowledge of Arabic and Persian by 1801, he had not by then studied the pronunciation of either language.

The variety of his third-year studies did not keep Leyden from prosecuting his efforts to "accustom himself to speak in public extempore". "It was a discussing age" in Edinburgh; and in the University especially it had long been customary for the students to assuage their characteristic cacoethes disputandi by forming societies wherein they read and criticized essays, and held debates on literary and philosophical topics: a practice of great use in sharpening the wits and "imparting resource and promptitude", but apt also "to encourage petulance and presumption, and to foster a brood of captious and conceited wranglers". "The variety of subjects discussed, the perfect freedom of starting and defending any opinions however remote from those generally received, [and] the character and estimation... gained by distinction in such exercises, cherished and kept alive a most salutary curiosity"; and the professors, recognizing this, generously patronized the societies, despite the fact that their own opinions and doctrines, as expressed in their lectures, were "freely canvassed" therein by the students.
In addition to attending the meetings of the Pantheon and of other societies whose names are not recorded, now joined an academic Literary Society which "met once a week in one of the rooms of the college, for improvement in literary composition and public speaking and which is probably to be identified with the Juvenile Literary Society founded by Henry Brougham in 1792. This included in the small number of its members the most eminent of Leyden's student contemporaries, critical young men harder to please than the Pantheon audiences; and Leyden's first attempts to speak in this company were very unsuccessful, so that he more than once suffered "the mortification of being laughed at by his associates," as he had been in the Greek class two years before. He was eager, however, for the "prize of reputation" which in such assemblies "usually falls to the glib and fluent speaker, especially if he has some real ability and learning to second his tongue." Ability and learning he undeniably possessed, for, being "universal in his enquiries", he had quickly amassed a stock of knowledge for which he came by degrees to be "viewed with respect by every class of students", and which he delighted to display, garnished with "such original observations of his own as circumstances suggested", in conversation and discussion. So in the pursuit of eloquence Leyden's "perseverance was not to be overcome". Practising the advice which he himself gave to an able but over-diffident friend and fellow-member, "from an excess of modesty", refused to speak in the Society, he determined that he would not "through dread of the ridicule of a few boys" let slip the opportunity of learning the art of oratory, but would by dint of "constant practice at last be able to harangue. And so well did Leyden indeed learn to harangue, that by the time he entered on his theological studies he was able to speak in public with ease and fluency"; and at St Andrews four years later he was to prove himself "by far superior to any other speaker" in the Theological Society, by reason of his unlimited command of words and his ability to "speak for any length of time on almost any subject".

1 Robert Leyden's Notes. 2 Morton, op. cit., pp. x-xi. 3 The Juvenile Literary Society, which had at first 21 members, held its opening meeting on Dec. 22, 1792. It met in the mathematico-classroom of the University at 7 p.m. on Mondays during the session. (Horner, op. cit., pp. 1-13.) - Brougham (op. cit., pp. 94-96) gives details of the Society's rules, etc., taken from the original minute-book; but this book is now unfortunately lost. 4 Fyfe, op. cit., p. 83. 5 Erskine, op. cit. 6 Morton, op. cit., pp. xi-xii. The identity of Leyden's diffident friend is not revealed. James Reddie or Alex. Murray (whose speech had been laughed at at school) might perhaps be the person. 7 Prof. Thomas Duncan, quoted by William Hanna, Mémoirs...of Thomas Chalmers, I, p. 22.
The Literary Society was of still greater importance to Leyden in another respect, for it was the "real hotbed" of his intercourse with his most talented fellow-students, who there "first began to know him." And "he was no sooner known than the strength of his mind, his ardour for knowledge, his kindness of heart, and simplicity of manners, won even those who had at first been repulsed by the homeliness of his exterior." Not all of his University acquaintances were made there, of course. He had already met at least two students, David Scot and James Pillans, whose tastes resembled his own, and on whom he made a deep impression. The former, later to be Professor of Hebrew at St. Andrews and one of the most accomplished oriental scholars in Britain, had happened to meet Leyden when the latter first came to Edinburgh, and thirty years later, was to include a sketch of Leyden's character and poetry in his Essays on Various Subjects of Belles Lettres. The latter, a future eminently successful Rector of the High School and Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh, came into contact with Leyden merely because Leyden occupied a "very humble lodging" in the tenement in which Pillans lived with his father. But neither of these associations was intimate or long-lasting, for Scot afterwards lost touch with Leyden, when the latter grew familiar with people to whom Scot was an entire stranger; and Pillans, Leyden's junior by three years in age and by two in academic standing, saw nothing of him after their college days, although to the end of his long life he retained a vivid recollection of Leyden as "a man of pleasing manners" with a "very handsome face" which "might have served as a model for the statue of Apollo" and which Pillans felt he could have sketched from memory fifty years after Leyden's death. The Literary Society, however, introduced Leyden to "many distinguished young men", for among its members were: Henry Brougham, precocious grand-nephew of Principal Robertson, and future Lord Chancellor of England; the diligent and learned James Reddie, whose modest and retiring nature led him to prefer the Town Clerkship of Glasgow to any loftier but more exacting post; John Murray, son of Lord Henderland and himself to become Lord Murray, and to succeed Francis Jeffrey as Lord Advocate in 1835; the grave and high-principled

1 Thomas Brown to James Morton, Jan. 6, [1816?]. (MS. 3381, N. L. S.)
2 Erskine, op. cit.
3 Scot, Essays, p. 182.
4 Published 1824. The essay on Leyden's poetry occupies pp. 175-96. Scot edited Alex. Murray's History of the European Languages (1823).
5 Speech by Pillans at the inauguration of the Leyden monument at Denholm on Oct. 19, 1861; as reported in The Scotsman, Oct. 22, 1861, and in the Kelso Chronicle, Oct. 25, 1861.
6 Robert Leyden's Notes. He specifies Brown, Brougham and Jeffrey.
7 Brougham, op. cit. I, pp. 240-43. Reddie was later to give Leyden professional assistance. See p. int.
Francis Horner, whose character "made him almost the representative of virtue itself";¹ Thomas Brown, subsequently Dugald Stewart's successor, and "a person of great and peculiar powers",² who was already exhibiting his talent for metaphysics in the discussions he loved, and who, like Leyden, was "ambitious to excel in everything he undertook";³ William Erskine, later distinguished as an orientalist, the translator of the bulk of Baber's Memoirs and the historian of India under Baber and Humayun;⁴ Francis Jeffrey, future editor of the Edinburgh Review and "greatest of British critics";⁵ and three students whose goal, like Leyden's, was the ministry: Robert Lundie, son of the well-loved Cornelius Lundie of Kelso, where he himself was to be minister for twenty-five years;⁶ the amiable William Gillespie, who, in his Galloway parish of Kells, was to remember that "excellent and worthy fellow" John Leyden with "the warmest expressions of attachment";⁷ and Thomas Logan, student of both medicine and theology, and "well known to his friends for the logical acuteness of his understanding",⁸ who, as minister of Chirnside, was to display (in the opinion of Leyden's brother) such "great abilities and extensive knowledge both in languages and Philosophy" as would have made most "stiff dictating and pedantic ministers sneak off like new flain Mice, or like snails into their shells".⁹ Leyden's relations with all these clever young men were not to be unfailingly harmonious; and if he indeed left in MS. an account of his contemporaries, with the proviso that it should not be published while any of them remained alive,¹⁰ there was probably good reason for the precaution. Brougham he came to consider "the most unprincipled and selfish" of all his associates;¹¹ and with Robert Lundie he had a bitter quarrel, followed by a reconciliation. But with Brown and Erskine he formed friendships of peculiar intimacy;¹² and in Logan, whose "openness [sic] candour and good nature void of affectation" would attract him, he found a friend to be highly valued,¹² although not always addressed in terms of respect.

¹ Cockburn, Memorials, p. 298. Horner was a leading member of the juvenile Lit. Soc., which he joined in 1784. (Horner, op. cit., i, p. b.)
² Cockburn, op. cit., p. 346. 3 Rev. David Welsh, Life...of Thos. Brown, p. 84.
³ Not to be confused with William Erskine, Lord Kinnedder.
⁴ Cockburn, Jeffrey, p. 1. From 1807 till his death in 1832.
⁵ M. Gillespie, ed. Dr. Robt. Anderson, Mar. 9, 1804 & Sept. 19, 1804. (MS.)
⁷ Gillespie was at Kelso, 1800-1825.
⁸ Robt. Leyden to James Morton, Aug. 24, 1815. (MS. 3381, N. L. S.)
⁹ Robert Murray, quoted in 1875 (Kelso) ed. of Leyden's poems, p. cxvn, made this statement on the authority of Leyden's brother Andrew.
¹⁰ John Leyden to Wm. Erskine, Sept. 15, 1804. (MS. 971, Nat. Lib. Scot.)
¹¹ Morton, op. cit., p. xi. — Leyden seems readily to have fallen into a strain of facetious, invective when writing to Thomas Logan. Cf. the quotations from his letters, infra.
On his return to the country for the long vacation, Leyden lived for the greater part of the summer at Nether Tofts with his grand-uncle, Andrew Blyth, whose recital of Border tales had delighted him as a child, and towards whom Leyden "always entertained a high sense of gratitude... for his kindness". Although continuing to reside in Nether Tofts, Blyth had this year given up the farm. Accordingly, Leyden's father, being no longer shepherd and manager to the tenant of Nether Tofts removed at Whitsun, 1792, from Henlawshiel, the home of Leyden's childhood, to Whiteriggs, which he was to leave for Cavers village at the next Martinmas term. For all his strenuous activity in the past session, Leyden had no intention of ceasing from mental fight during the vacation, especially as he was on the threshold of his four-year course in theology, which to him meant rather a widening than a narrowing of his range of study. Preferring, as in his first vacation, to work out of doors whenever possible, he betook himself to "a bourtree bush down at the burn that runs past the Nether Tofts, where he had a chair: a gloomy retreat, and very still, save [for] the burn purling past", and in this shelter "he sat all that summer", often spending the whole day there, reading a great deal and studying very closely.

At least one subject, however, was not studied in solitude. The son of a Glasgow minister called Bell was then staying at the near-by farm of Effledge; and with him Leyden became very intimate, so that the two boys learned French together, and used to tease Andrew Blyth very much about the still-vexed questions of liberty and equality. For was Leyden, the born controversialist, content with this; for he also argued with his grand-uncle on the yet more debatable topic of whether Adam had power to stand or not. This controversy, in which Leyden himself supported the affirmative, attracted the attention of "all the lang heads in the country", calling forth a good deal of argument on both sides, and lasting so long that it was eventually agreed to refer it to the Minister of the Parish, the Rev. Thomas Elliot. This, however, was never done; and the end of the great dispute, if end it had, is not recorded.

1 Robert Leyden's Notes.
2 John Leyden wrote to his uncle, Thomas Morton, on Aug.4, [1794]: "Andrew Blyth resides in Nether Tofts still."
3 Robert Leyden to James Morton, Sept.8,1815. (MS.3381,N.L.S.)
4 This may have been the same retreat as the "summer bower" in which Leyden had sat as a child with Andrew Blyth. Cf.p.10 sup.
5 Perhaps a minister of some seceding body, since Scott's Fasti yields no likely candidates.
Leyden's zeal for theological discussion was soon to be directed to more serious ends. Having now gone through the "full course of philosophy" which the General Assembly required all Divinity students to complete before entering Divinity Hall, he embarked, in the autumn of 1793, upon the first of the four sessions of theological studies which formed the "term of regular attendance...previous to obtaining licence" as a preacher of the Gospel. In the Faculty of Divinity, graduation had never been introduced, although the honorary degree of D.D. was occasionally conferred; and Divinity was the only compulsory subject, attendance on the other two classes, Hebrew and Church History, being optional. Leyden's enthusiasm for learning was too genuine, however, to be adversely affected by any lack of external compulsion. So for the next four years he applied himself with his usual vigour to the work of all three of the regular classes, and to very much else besides.

Of Hebrew, now taught by the new professor, William Moodie, Leyden had already some knowledge, which may or may not have been acquired within the Hebrew class-room. And he became a member of the Hebrew Society, which flourished until 1795-96, when Leyden was obliged to report regretfully to Robert Lundie that the Society had "sunk down in peace to the mighty dead of old on account of the absence of the greatest part of its Members". Divinity, as presented by Professor Andrew Hunter, Leyden probably found less attractive. A minister of the Tron Church since 1786, and Moderator of the General Assembly in 1792, Hunter, who was far above mediocrity as a preacher, had been much indebted to family influence for his professional advancement. In the church courts he was listened to attentively as a speaker with a very ready command of language, an excellent character, and the most pure and sincere motives; but it was as a "private gentleman and a Christian" that he appeared to the greatest advantage. Having become joint-professor of Divinity in 1779, he held the chair until his death in 1809, delivering lectures whose chief defect was not want of matter, but lack of novelty in arrangement and illustration.

1 Bower, op. cit. III, pp. 30-31, where he quotes from the "Abridgment of Acts of Assembly under Article Probationers".
2 Ibid., III, p. 206. The alternative to four years' "close attendance" at the Hall was to pursue Divinity studies for six years.
3 Grant, op. cit., I, pp. 337 & 338.
4 The Divinity Hall Registers before 1830 are lost. I base my account of Leyden's Divinity career on his letters and on Morton.
5 Leyden to Lundie, Jan. 14, 1796. 6 See Bower, op. cit. III, 204-6.
7 His colleague, Dr Robert Hamilton, died in 1807, aged eighty.
Using as his text-book Prof. Pictet of Geneva's shorter system of Divinity, Hunter took his students through a course lasting, in full, for four years. His general practice was to give a critical lecture on Monday, and lectures on the system on Tuesday and Wednesday; to examine the students on the system on Thursday; and to hear their discourses on Friday. These discourses, of which every candidate for the ministry had to write a certain number, on subjects proposed by the Professor, were read aloud in class by their author and then criticized by his fellow-students, the Professor thereafter adding his own comments on the discourse itself and on the students' remarks. Both as lecturer and as critic, Hunter showed that he was by no means deficient in learning; while in the latter capacity he displayed admirably "the liberality of his views and his Christian temper", always noticing, in terms "very agreeable to the author", everything worthy of commendation, and stating any objection to the matter or delivery of a discourse in so conciliating a way that it was almost impossible for its author to take offence, although Leyden did so on at least one occasion. In his lectures too, although himself "a decided Calvinist", he gave his opinions on controverted points with modesty and candour, setting forth the arguments on both sides very firmly and impartially, but never failing, in summing-up, to make it clear on which side he considered the balance of evidence to be. An amiable and deeply religious man, he was extremely attentive to his students, being always ready to assist them in any way, even to the point of giving money, tactfully and unobtrusively, to those in need. But, although "perhaps no man in a public station ever passed through life more respected, or with a more unblemished reputation" than Hunter, his "literature and talents were greatly underrated" by a certain class of his pupils, who disliked his Calvinistic view of Scripture doctrine. Moreover, being himself mild, simple and pious, he "was a great admirer of soft, stupid, and indeed ignorant students, and saw many things improper and blamable in those who were otherwise": an attitude not unnaturally resented by those who, like John Leyden, were "otherwise".

Leyden must have found a more inspiring preceptor in his Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Dr Thomas Hardie, who was an independent, honest and talented man, a good preacher, and an extremely popular lecturer.
Edinburgh, and Moderator of the General Assembly in 1793, Hardie had been appointed in 1788 to a Chair of Church History which had been treated as a sinecure for nearly thirty years by his predecessor, Robert Cumming. Edinburgh students had thus been unable, for a generation past, to attend lectures on this important branch of theological education. But Hardie, by contrast, not only delivered a course of lectures on what might best be called the Philosophy of Ecclesiastical History, but contrived to make his class one of the best attended in the University, and to excite an unprecedented spirit among his pupils. He allowed no notes to be taken of his lectures, perhaps from an unfulfilled intention of publishing them; but both his matter and his manner as a lecturer were probably after Leyden's own heart, for Hardie "took a broad view of his subject and expressed himself in a bold and independent style" upon all relevant topics, exhibiting most strikingly the ignorance of the early (and especially the dogmatic) opponents of Christianity, and lashing with an unsparing hand and "refined satire" the follies and vices of such clergy as "under the mask of superior sanctity... set at defiance the immutable maxims of truth and righteousness". For all the weakness of body which lessened his activity, the tone of Hardie's mind was "naturally manly, and he had the faculty of transfusing this into his manner" in preaching and lecturing. Nor did his discourses lack comic relief, for his representations were sometimes "irresistibly ludicrous", the effect being enhanced by his own preservation of the most rigid gravity.

Leyden's theological studies were arranged and extended, however, along his own independent lines. Soon perceiving that "whoever confines his studies to Theology will neither excell [sic] in that science nor in any other", Leyden found that his subject "seemed to divide itself into three branches, viz.: the Original Languages, the Philosophy of the Human Mind, and the History of Opinions or Ecclesiastical History"; and to these he applied himself with considerable assiduity during his four years at the Divinity Hall. Having "early imbibed an aversion to the perusal of a translation "where the original was available, he in that time "not only ran over a great number of the Greek and Roman writers sequioris eavei, but found it convenient to acquire such a knowledge

1 Hardie, who had found preaching in the large High Church too exhausting, was consumptive and died in 1798, in his 51st year. An elegy to his memory, signed A.M.Edinburgh, 22d Feb.1799, appeared in the Edinburgh Magazine for March, 1799.
2 Bower, op.cit.,III,pp.275-76. 3 Leyden to Tytler, June 12, 1801.
of the Hebrew Dialects" as might always enable him to consult
eriginals and judge of translations; and to this end he studied
"Syriac, Arabic, the different stages or dialects of Talmudic or
Rabbinical Hebrew", and some Ethiopic. During this period, too,
his attention to two groups of languages unconnected with
his theological course, and indeed unrecognized in the University
curriculum of his time. For besides learning Spanish and reading
the Lusiad of Camoens in Portuguese (an activity which may have
led him to translate from that language De Matos' sonnet To Cam-
oens), he acquired some knowledge of the ancient and modern
Teutonic Dialects, as Icelandic, Saxon, Gothic, Dutch & German,
being attracted to the latter group perhaps as much by antiquarian
as by literary and philological interest.

Leyden now had access to the Library of the Divinity Hall,
which was open for borrowing on Mondays and Thursdays in term-time
and on Wednesdays during the vacation; and from it he borrowed,
between December 12, 1793, and March 20, 1794, no fewer than
thirty volumes: almost twice as many as he took out from the
University Library in the same session. Of these thirty volumes,
the majority naturally bore on divinity, most of them being either
expositions and translations of the Scriptures, including Robert
Lowth's version of Isaiah, John Calvin's Commentaries on 'the
last Books of Moses, arranged in the form of a harmony, Fridericus
Adolphus Lampe's Commentarius analytico-exegeticus tam literalis
quam realis Evangelii secundum Joannem, Dr James Macknight's
"new literal translation" of St Paul's Epistles to the Thessalon-
ians, Zachary Pearce on "the four Evangelists and the Acts of
the Apostles", George Campbell's well annotated translation of the
Gospels, and one of the ten volumes of John Gill's Exposition of
the Bible; or parts of such solid works as Peter Bayle's Dictionary
Joseph Priestley's General history of the Christian Church to the
fall of the Western empire, Jacques Saurin's Sermons sur divers

1 Leyden to A.F.Tytler, June 12, 1801.
2 Leyden also made a spirited ed translation, beginning 'High in the front of conquering hosts
  to ride', of De Matos' sonnet 'Vá o de valor, vão de fortuna armados
3 Erroneously entered as Thursday, Dec. 11, in the Div. Hall Bk Reg.
4 Entered as 'Calvins Harmony' in the Div. Hall Bk Reg.
5 Leyden borrowed the 3rd of Lampe's 3 vols. on Jan. 27, 1794, and
  another on Feb. 10. And on Jan. 30 he took out an exposition of St
  John's Gospel by George Hutcheson and another by Newton.
6 Entered as 'Macknight on ye Thess.' It included a commentary.
7 Leyden borrowed 'Pearse on ye Gospels vol. 1.' on Jan. 9, 1794, and
  'Pierce's Com. vol. 2d.' on Jan. 13. The commentary was in 2 vols.
  and included a new translation of 1st Corinthians.
8 Bayle's Dictionnaire historique went through many editions. That
  used by Leyden was probably the 10 vol. translation, London, 1734.
  He borrowed part of this work again on December 22, 1796.
textes..., \(^1\) Thomas Burnet's *De statu mortuorum et resurgentium liber*, the *Synopsis criticorum biblicorum* in which Matthew Poole summarized the views of one hundred and fifty critics, and the writings of divines like Henry Hammond of Chichester and the celebrated John Newton. On and after March 6, however, with the session's end in sight, Leyden borrowed in succession the first two volumes of *Asiatic Researches* and volumes 2, 4, and 5 of James Bruce's lavishly illustrated *Travels* to discover the source of the Nile.

Leyden's borrowings from the University Library demonstrated his determination not to confine his reading to theology. Five of the sixteen did bear on that subject: John Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, \(^2\) the second half of Johann Lorenz von Mosheim's *Institutionum historiae ecclesiasticae... Libri IV*, Richard Arnald's *Critical Commentary upon the Books of Tobit, Judith, Baruch... Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon*, one of the works of Johann Heinrich Hottinger the elder, \(^3\) and a volume of Hugo Grotius's religious writings. \(^4\) Of the rest, one group comprised books literary, linguistic and antiquarian in appeal: Milton's poems, the fifth of Robert Dodsley's six volumes of poems "by several hands", the last volume of Lord Monboddo's *Origin and Progress of Language*, \(^5\) and the first volume of *Scottish Antiquarian Transactions*. The remainder dealt in various ways with life at different periods in countries more or less remote: Thomas Leland's *History of Ireland from the invasion of Henry II*, \(^6\) Niels Horrebow's curious *Natural History of Iceland*, containing an account of the burning mountains, minerals, vegetables..., Guiseppe Baretti's *Journey from London to Genoa*, volume one of the famous *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce dans le milieu du quatrième siècle avant l'ère vulgaire*, which had taken Jean Jacques Barthélemy thirty years to write, Francisco Saverio Clavigero's *History of Mexico*; and, more significantly, the first volume of Alexander Dow's *History of Hindostan*, \(^8\) and Anquetil Duperron's translation of the

1. Leyden borrowed the fifth of Saurin's twelve volumes of sermons.
2. Founded on Jean le Clerc's *Life of Erasmus*.
3. Entered as 'Hottinger &c: The Univ.Lib. has no work by J.H.Hottinger the younger, & only a late ed. of Johann Jakob Hottinger's *Helvetische Kirchengeschichte*; but it has many works by J.H.Hottinger the elder (1620-67).
4. Entered as 'Grotij Opera.vol.2dum: in folio'. Grotius's religious works were collected and reprinted in 3 volumes, folio.
5. Leyden had borrowed vols.1 & 2 of this work on 2nd March,1793.
6. 3 vols.,1773. Leyden borrowed vol.1.
7. Entered as 'Horrebow's Iceland'. Translated from the Danish.
8. Entered as 'Dow's Hindostan'. Vols.1 & 2 were translated from the Persian of Ferishta; and in vol.3 Dow continued the history from the death of Akbar to the time of Aurungzebe.
This session's activities also afforded Leyden considerable practice in English composition, much of his time being taken up in attending societies for public speaking and in writing essays. The system which permitted Divinity students to tear to pieces the discourses read aloud by their classmates gave him an opportunity to exercise his critical faculties, and possibly to pay off old scores; and he soon distinguished himself in this field, becoming "a very severe critic and dreaded by many". While continuing to attend the meetings of the Literary Society, he now joined the Theological Society. Founded in 1776 for the discussion of questions interesting to the Faculty of Divinity, this Society confined its membership to Divinity students, and its debates, naturally enough, to "theological questions or such as are connected with theology." But Leyden's appetite for controversy, unsatisfied even by his "active and able" membership of these two associations, led him also to go frequently "to oppose a Socinian Society" in company with several others, among whom were Thomas Logan and, very probably, Thomas Brown, the latter of whom shared Leyden's fondness for showing his talents in defending an untenable position, so that he often "distinguished himself by his ingenuity as the advocate of error". For a Divinity student to attend, from whatever motive, the meetings of this unorthodox society was perhaps a trifle imprudent at a period when the College of Edinburgh was reputed, however unjustifiably, to be "tainted by infidelity", and when suspicion of religious heterodoxy was intensified by fear of social upheaval: a fear which, against the background of the notorious sedition trials of 1793-1794, was then making "the French Revolution and its supposed consequences" the staple of Edinburgh conversation. But Leyden, like many of his College associates, favoured the Whig cause, to which his political principles, "from his presbyterianism,... at first strongly inclined", and he was never averse to dismaying those whose religious opinions were more...
rigidly conventional than his own. Indeed, although he scrupulously avoided any thing which could be construed into the remotest disrespect to Natural or Revealed Religion; to the truth of which he was always ready to lend a willing assent, he was yet fond of tottering on the brink of heresy, of starting opinions which it required all his ingenuity to defend, and of startling the bigots by bold positions which they were not prepared to admit. Leyden was thus often regarded with a suspicious and a "jealous eye; and he was too confident in a knowledge of his ground, and in his own powers and address, and perhaps too fond of the pleasures of the warfare, ever to decline a combat".

In the winter of this session he formed a new connection which had "a considerable influence on his associations of friendship and youthful study"; for it was then that he was introduced to Dr Robert Anderson by William Ritchie, a fellow student of Divinity, with whom Leyden, who generally found it expedient to divide the expense of lodgings with a companion, was later to share bed and board for a time. Born at Carnwath in 1750, Anderson, after studying both divinity and medicine at Edinburgh, and taking his M.D. degree at St. Andrews, had begun to practise as a physician in Alnwick; but, on making a marriage which gave him financial independence, had returned to Edinburgh, and there devoted himself to the literary pursuits which were to occupy the rest of his long life, and to bring him a gratifying measure of reputation. By 1793 he was settled, comfortably enough, with his family at Heriot's Green, and was busying himself not only with his fourteen-volume edition of The Works of the British Poets, with Prefaces Biographical and Critical, but also, according to report (which in this case spoke truly) with editing the Edinburgh Magazine, a monthly "Miscellany which afforded a vehicle for the discussions of literature and the effusions of poetry". These employments drew on him the attention of Leyden, who was then, after the manner of ambitious students, "aspiring to composition in literature and poetry", and who was to find the Edinburgh Magazine a convenient repository for his poems, twenty-seven of which...

1 Wm Erskine, op.cit. 2 Dr Anderson to Jas. Morton, Dec. 26, 1815. 3 B. 1770, Ritchie was minister of Athelstaneford from 1805 till his death in 1846. Not to be confused with the older Wm Ritchie who was Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh, 1809-1830. 4 By 1797, Anderson (who died in 1830) could be apostrophised thus: 'O Anderson! of vast capacious mind... For genius, learning, far is spread thy fame... The Lily and the Oak, A Fable by J. B. Banks of Lochleven', in the Edin. Mag. for March 1797 (Vol. IX, pp. 216-17). 5 Vols. 1-13 appeared 1792-1725, Vol. 14 in 1807. 6 Anderson edited it from 1784 to 1803.
appeared in its columns between 1795 and 1799. Anderson, much impressed by Leyden's powers and manners, was pleased to make so promising an addition to the group of young men who gladdened his social circle, and whom he viewed complacently as his literary protégés. Leyden accordingly became "a constant and welcome partaker of the simple hospitalities" of the older man's fire-side, and of the society to be found there, which, being literary in its interests and liberal in its politics, for Dr Anderson was "in earnest and firm principle a Whig" — was no doubt much to his liking. The other members of Anderson's family, attracted by the liveliness of this "rustic youth from Teviotdale", whose eye beamed with intelligence, and who would, they felt sure, rise high above the adverse circumstances of his lot, enjoyed his company, whether he was sitting by the hearth at Heriot's Green, delighting them "by his frank open-hearted manner, and pouring forth his various stores of knowledge", or joining in the summer walk, or little rural excursion, from which his cheerful animated face was seldom absent. Anderson himself took a particularly warm interest in this "object of his early election", becoming so fond of Leyden that he was partial even to his failings, and felt a parental solicitude in all his concerns; and Leyden reciprocated this by regarding Anderson, from their first acquaintance, with feelings of friendship and kindness. These cordial relations were not to remain altogether unstrained, for Anderson, with all his benevolence, was quick to take offence at any real or imagined slight offered him by his protégés: while Leyden, secure in the consciousness of "retaining the essence of friendship", was, on his own confession, sometimes apt to be "culpably negligent in the ceremonial". He was to owe much to Anderson, however, both for his own advice and encouragement, and for introductions to many of the men of letters, in Edinburgh and further afield, with whom Anderson maintained a voluminous, if erratic, correspondence. And Leyden, never an ingrate, despite his resentment at any attempt to over-estimate his indebtedness to anyone, did not scruple to affirm

1 Dr Anderson to James Morton, Dec. 26, 1815.
2 Margaret Anderson (Dr Anderson's eldest daughter) to Mrs Cathérine Anderson (nee Whytt), Jan. 5, 1812. (MS. 3381, Nat. Lib. Scot.)
3 A. F. Tytler to Dr Anderson, July 28, 1808. (Adv. MS. 22.4.10, N. L. S.)
4 John Leyden to Dr Anderson, April 5, 1803.
5 Florence McCunn, Sir Walter Scott's Friends, p. 159, says of James Hogg: "There was room in Hogg's nature for gratitude... though it was not of the essence of his nature as it was of Leyden's". — Thomas Brown (to James Morton, Feb. 15, 1816) opined that Leyden would have been unwilling to admit Anderson's claim to be Leyden's "patron or literary instructor", but cf. p. infra.
that he held Dr Anderson in the highest respect as his literary father and as one of the few persons to whom Leyden had owed obligations, "at a time when these were very unfortunate", which nothing in the world could ever make him forget. ¹ ²

The summer vacation of 1794 began inauspiciously enough, for when Leyden left Edinburgh about the beginning of April, he was not well, owing to a complaint in the head (probably brought on by over-much study), which continued to trouble him for several months. And on reaching home, he found that although his father was on the whole satisfied with the situation at Cavers which he had held since the last Martinmas term, he was not in the least satisfied with the Leyden family's new dwelling in Cavers village; a crudely constructed cottage, later used as a wright's shop, which had its fireplace oddly situated in the back wall. "Not a convenient house at all", it was particularly inconvenient for John Leyden, such narrow quarters being little conducive to study. He found a quiet and spacious retreat, however, in the near-by parish church of Cavers, a gloomy old building, nearly surrounded with a thick grove of lofty beeches and elms, and frequented only on the Sabbath. Having obtained the key of the church by the minister's order, - a step hardly necessary, since "the door was scarcely ever locked at all", Leyden proceeded to study in this sanctuary on weekdays. He was also allowed admittance, during certain hours in the morning, to the well-stocked library of Cavers House, the ancestral seat of the Cavers branch of the Douglases, which adjoined the church and village. Leyden's imagination was stirred by the historical associations of "Green Cavers, hallow'd by the Douglas name"; and in the library, then housed in the bow-windowed 'Blue Room' on the second floor, he found many valuable works in Old English and foreign literature, including a copy of Lord Berners' translation of Froissart's Chronicles, which captivated his attention. But on the whole he made surprisingly little use of this privilege for some unspecific reason which may be connected with the fact that Leyden was later to describe the laird of Cavers as a wretch who had trampled upon him when he was friendless. ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸

1 Leyden to Dr Anderson, April 5, 1803.
2 Leyden to Thomas Morton (his uncle), Aug. 4, [1794]. - By that date, Leyden's head had been "pretty well for some weeks".
3 James Douglas, op.cit., pp. 45-46. - It was c. 50 yds E. of the cross.
4 Robert Leyden to Jas. Morton, Aug. 24, 1815. He contradicts Scott's statement (Memoir) that Leyden entered the church by the window.
5 Morton, op.cit., pp. xiii-xiv. ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ Scott, Memoir. - Erskine's statement (op.cit.) that Leyden found this book in his father's cottage seems less likely.
As became a divinity student with a taste for philology, Leyden paid much attention to Hebrew at this time, even corresponding in that language with one of his college friends. He now took an active part in the family devotions conducted by his father, frequently offering up, with eloquence and fervour, the comprehensive concluding prayer. And it was also his custom, every evening on leaving study in the church, to bring his Hebrew Bible home with him under his arm, so that he could follow the Hebrew text while his father read out the nightly passage of Scripture from the English translation.

Leyden spent much time, too, in the equally congenial, and rather less arduous, occupation of poem-making. He had tried his hand at this "profane and unprofitable art" before: but now he began his poetical career in earnest, producing a considerable number of pieces, many of which were subsequently to find a place in the convenient columns of the Edinburgh Magazine. He even inspired his brother Robert and his cousins, Thomas Scott and James Morton, to vie with him in turning out "prize odes to Spring", among which may be numbered at least some of his own verse-translations on this theme. His original poems dating from this period fall into two groups: those in Lowland Scots, of which only two are extant; and those in English. In the former, the successors of his Pantheon effusions, Leyden, naturally enough, handles the Scots dialect fluently, both in the octosyllabic couplets of the fragmentary epitaph on the Cavers gravedigger, and in the Burns stanzas of his address To the Printer of the British Chronicle, Petitioning for more Poetry and less Politics. Leyden had a relish for churchyards: and there is nothing surprising in his grimly-humorous commemoration of the sexton who, after burying

... wi' his spade and shoul,
Mony wise men and mony fool,
was at length laid in a grave of his own making, when

Death came ahint wi' little din
Or e'er he wist a' ketch'd him in.

The sentiments of his petition to the printer (written apparently early in October, when his vacation was drawing to a close) present,

1 Morton, op.cit., pp.xiv-xv. Morton does not name the friend, although he had himself seen Leyden write such a letter.
2 Leyden quoted this phrase in Scottish Descriptive Poems, p.8. It was a favourite with Scott. Cf.p. inf.
4 So described in Robert Leyden's Notes. Evidently the same poem as that on the sexton here quoted from MS.3388 (Nat. Lib.Scot.), f. 73r, which bears a copy in Leyden's own hand, signed 'Banks of Tiviot. J.L.' of the poem's last 12 lines.
5 The copy of this poem in Leyden's hand in MS.3388, f.73r, is dated Oct.8, '94. The Chronicle was published at Kelsy, 1783-1803.
however, a contrast to his usual delight in violent action for in it he portrays himself as one who, wearied by

...the Drum's door surly sound
Gawn duffin', doublin', round and round, 1

and by repeated tidings of how

...soldiers under murderin' pattles 2
Lie flat's a flounder,
implores the printer to give up "deaving fowk wi' wars and tattlet
and to replace his tales of blood by descriptions of flowery
meads and rural scenes more congenial to the Muse. 3

Of the English poems of this vacation, the facetious Bellicosum facinus recounted in Hudibrastic measure and manner
the doughty deed of an unvaliant Dutchman, whose boasted feat of
having severed the leg of a French adversary was rendered less
glorious by the fact that his victim already

...lay weltering in his gore, 4
And had his head cut off before.

The Fairy and the Elegiac Lines on Leyden's sister, however,
with their local setting and supernatural element, showed their
author as a lover of solitary walks, susceptible to "superstitious
impressions" 5 (which perhaps never quite lost their influence on
him), 5 and given to fanciful and often melancholy thoughts.
Passing by night over Ruberslaw moor, as "the waning moon by
intervals sent forth a faint ray, which was partly absorbed and
partly reflected by the white-grey cairns and withered stumps of
heath", he could still be seized by "that involuntary terror
which the ancients termed a panic", and begin to start at the
whistling wind and imagine that he saw dim figures moving in the
surrounding darkness. 6 And with the fading of this momentary
night-fear, and the recollection of strange tales heard in child-
hood, came the idea of describing in verse the "storied dance
and moonlight walk" of the "wanderers of the earth and air": 7
a task to which as The Fairy shows, his powers of fancy were by
no means unequal. It was during such evening walks over the
uplands or by the hazel-shaded river bank, that Leyden felt most
the force of that inclination to melancholy which had beset him

1 Cf. John Scott of Amwell's The Drum, which appeared in Scott's
Poetical Works, 1782, and which comprised two stanzas, each
beginning: "I hate that drum's discordant sound
Parading round and round and round."

2 Cf. Robert Burns, To a Mouse, 1.6.

3 MS. 3383, f. 73, has a copy of this poem in Leyden's own hand,
dated 'Oct. 8th 94'. It comprises six stanzas in all.

4 MS. 3383, f. 74, has a copy in Leyden's hand of 11.1-38 of this
poem, dated 'Oct. 13th -94'.

5 Scott, Memoir.

6 Leyden's Introduction to The Fairy, in which he distinguishes
between the Fairy and the Elf. 7 The Fairy, 11.52 & 13.
since his sister Isabella's death three years before. It was at its strongest when he walked, as he was fond of doing at sunset, or when the long grass was chequered by moonlight, beneath the trees which shadowed her grave in Cavers churchyard; and it was there, on an autumn evening "when the hum of life was still", ¹ that he composed the Elegiac Lines which, accompanied by a prose introduction "of simple pathos", ² were to form his first poetical offering to Dr. Anderson. Even a fragmentary story in rather stilted prose, dated 'Novr 494' and entitled The Sexton, is set in an ancient nettle-grown churchyard, where the narrator sits on a tombstone watching Charles the sexton, "a little thin person of a withered sallow appearance", turning over "the small crumbling dust": the dust of a dead miser with a soul "as narrow as an elsin-iron", against whom the sexton obviously bears deep malice. ³

It is seldom, however, that Melancholy marks indelibly for her own a youth of nineteen; and Leyden's spirits were resilient enough to let him find recreation in practising athletics, and, a trifle unexpectedly, in playing practical jokes. He was ambitious to win fame, not only as a brilliant scholar, but also as "a fearless player at single-stick, a formidable boxer, and a distinguished adept at leaping, running, walking, climbing, and all exercises which depend on animal spirits and muscular exertion"; ⁴ and being "of middle stature, of a frame rather thin than strong built, but muscular and active", he was not ill fitted for such pursuits. ⁴ He had ample opportunity, too, in this and other vacations, to display his prowess in the athletic contests held at the local summer fairs; for Denholm, Hawick, Jedburgh, Kelso and St Boswells all had their fairs, which took place mostly in July and August, and which were as much social as commercial events. Nor did he display his prowess in vain. Never slow to detail his own feats, physical or intellectual, he afterwards took pleasure in relating how he had "often contended at putting the stone on the common haugh at Hawick, and at St. Boswell's fair and Jedburgh too", and had sometimes been victorious; ⁵ and years after he had

1 Leyden's introduction to Elegiac Lines.
2 Dr Anderson to James Morton, Dec. 26, 1815. Leyden dates this poem 'Autumn 1794'; and Robert Leyden (Notes) says that he first saw it during this vacation. But there exists a shorter version of 10 octosyllabic quatrains (MS. 3383, ff.61-62, & B.M. Add. MS. 26558, f.34); most of whose stanzas have some counterpart in the longer poem; and it seems probable that this shorter version, entitled Elegiac on a Sister, may have been written somewhat earlier.
3 MS. 3383, f.72, in Leyden's hand. The fragment also contains some moralising on the 'simple annals of the poor'.
4 Scott, Memoir.
ceased to spend his vacations at home, he could still throw a putting-stone to a respectable distance, giving it "the proper scientific heave... with that ease and seeming strength and elasticity of motion" afforded only by much practice, so that it at once appeared that he was no novice in the art, although he never equalled the athletic attainments of that William Leyden, son of a cousin of John's, who was later to win fame throughout the Borders as 'Leyden the Denholm athlete'.

Leyden's practical jokes called for more ingenuity, if less exertion, than his physical feats. Undertaken partly to satisfy his love of reputation and his not wholly extinguished animal spirits, they were also intended, for the most part, to preserve the desirable solitude of his place of study, the parish church of Cavers, which was already reputed to be haunted, and where a former parish schoolmaster of Cavers, James Oliver, had once been taken for the Devil by a passing stranger as he sat there reading the Bible and meditating by lamplight. In the Borders, as in other country districts, there still lingered vestiges of the old belief that the Universities gave instruction in the "black art"; and it was Leyden's aim to convince the villagers that of Edinburgh, as of Oxford, it could indeed be said:

Magicians dwell there who work all sorts of evil,
Such as laying of spectres and raising the devil,
and also that he himself, being
... grounded in astrology,
Enrich'd with tongues, well seen in minerals;
Had all the principles magic doth require.

Having assiduously spread stories of his own attainments as an apprentice sorcerer, Leyden proceeded to demonstrate his powers in a series of hoaxes (not all equally well vouched for), some of which are still spoken of by the older inhabitants of Cavers, although local interest in both Leyden and his pranks would seem to be somewhat on the wane. Apart from the minor exploit of jangling chains among the branches of "the Deil's tree", which grew by the roadside near Denholm Dean, he directed his efforts towards increasing the awe with which his more credulous neighbours regarded churches in general and their own in particular; for there

1. Laidlaw, loc.cit.
2. He won many prizes for jumping at Border gatherings, including St Ronan's Games at Innerleithen, to which Prof. John Wilson (Christopher North) often went, which may explain the idea (cf. Notes & Queries, 2nd ser., Vol. III, p. 369) that John Leyden was a personal friend of Wilson (b. 1785).
9. Mr John Turnbull, Denholm, to Dr Debie, Nov. 23, loc.cit., states that this tree (now felled) was in the Dean itself.
prevailed in the South of Scotland a "reverence for places of worship, scarcely consistent with the simplicity of the Presbyterian forms of religion".1 And the long, narrow Church of Cavers was excellently suited to his purpose; for although of no great antiquity, having been built about 1662 on the site of a pre-Reformation church, it contained the burial-places of two local families of note. That of Elliott of Stobs was in the north aisle, that of Douglas of Cavers under the east gallery; and between the latter and the body of the church lay "a rubbissy place, where the gravedigger's tools and other stores were kept", entered by a very low door from the church, and itself giving access by a still more gloomy-looking door set in a flimsy partition wall, to the Cavers burying-place, which like the storehouse was lighted only by an arrow-slit window in the north wall.2 It is problematical whether Leyden ever actually alarmed the neighbourhood by attaching 'under cloud of night'3 a phosphorous-smeared and clamorous black sow to the rope hanging from the bell at the church's west gable.4 But he certainly frightened at least three of the villagers by other means, with the help of a confederate (most probably his brother Robert) stationed in the convenient 'rubbissy place' within the church.5 One of the three, a young man, was persuaded by Leyden to push his foot in through the arrow-slit window, to test Leyden's assertion that the foot could not then be withdrawn; nor indeed could it, thanks to the prompt action of the accomplice who stood inside "with a noose ready to entangle the unlucky foot".2 Leyden's pièce de résistance, however, was 'raising the dev'il': a feat which he performed at least twice, for the successive edification of his Uncle's man, George Miller, and of the coachman from Cavers House,6 who had declared that he would not be daunted by Leyden's necromantic abilities.2 The method was this: Entering the church with his victim at dusk, Leyden drew a circle on the

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1 Footnote to Scenes of Infancy, pt. ii, 1.110.
4 1875 (Cent.) ed., pp. xxvi-xxvii. Cf. Reith, op. cit., pp. 61-62, who adds that the sow was the beadle's & fed in the churchyard. - Caver tradition does not preserve this story (Mr. Grant, loc. cit.). For similar stories, cf. Robert Chambers, The Book of Days, II, p. 476 (on Samuel Foote's causing an Oxford college church bell to be rung by cows), and Will Grant, Pantland Days and Country Ways, p. 35 (one drunken farm-hand's tying a white goat by the nose to the bell-ropes of the Old Kirk of Glencorse).
5 James Douglas, loc. cit., says the accomplice was the same in every instance. Douglas got this information from Andrew Wight, a cousin of the Leydens, who had it from the accomplice himself.
6 Robert Leyden's Notes, 1875 (Cent.) ed., p. xxv, turns the doubting coachman into a credulous butler. Robert Murray, in EAST for 1867, pp. 181-83, gives a highly-coloured and evidently apocryphal version, in which Leyden performs before the assembled "people of the neighbourhood".
open space of floor in front of the pulpit, and gravely directed his companion to stand inside this circle and on no account to quit it. Then, going up into the pulpit, with a suitably mysterious-looking volume open in his hand, Leyden (doubtless enjoying himself to the full) muttered, crescendo, incantations in an unintelligible tongue, ending, when the victim was in a proper state of nervous expectancy, with a shout of 'Satan, come forth!' \(1\) Whereupon, with due clanking of chains, there emerged from the grave-digger's tool-house a sinister figure draped in black: which neither Miller nor the coachman, fortunately, waited long enough to recognize as the necromancer's brother, attired in the parish mort-cloth. \(2\) For neither, whatever might be his reflections in the clear light of the next morning, was proof, at gloaming and in a place of tombs, against Leyden's skilful stage-management.

His indulgence in such exploits, together with the report of his athletic prowess and his wide learning, must have made Leyden a figure of interest to the children of Kirkton school, which he still revisited now and then, putting the experience gained at Clovenfords to good use in helping the Kirkton schoolmaster, Andrew Scott, by whom he had himself been taught seven years before. \(3\) The role of the distinguished former pupil was one which would gratify Leyden; and, all in all, despite its unpromising beginning, this vacation probably seemed to Leyden, as it did in retrospect to his brother Robert, one of the happiest summers of his life, its periods of hard study and of poetic melancholy being offset by not a little recreation and heart-easing mirth: so much mirth, indeed, that on one occasion, probably in church, the Leyden brothers and their cousins were perforce "all placed in different corners" so that they might not see one another for laughing. \(4\)

The start of another University session, however, recalled Leyden to Edinburgh to continue his Divinity studies, with which he this year combined a fourth session's attendance on one of his favourite classes, senior Greek. \(5\) This brought him again into direct contact with his old mentor, Professor Dalzel, who now recommended him as a tutor to several families, with whom Leyden accordingly began private teaching. \(4\) And how far this teaching

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1 1875 ed. (Cent.), p.xxvi.  
2 James Douglas, op.cit., p.46.  
3 1875 (Cent.) ed., p.xxvii, which would seem to base its statement on first-hand information, since it says that Leyden made on the minds of the pupils an impression "which the cares and crosses of eighty years have, in some cases, failed to eradicate". - Scott was still at Kirkton on Nov. 4, 1796, but had left it, most probably for Cavers, by May 12, 1797. (Kirkton Heritors' Minutes.)  
4 Robert Leyden's Notes.  
5 The Matriculation Album entry runs: 'John Leydon. Litt.Gr.2', without a specific date.
influenced his reading this year may be guessed from the fact that of his eight borrowings from the University Library, five were of histories of Greece and Rome,¹ the other three being Hutcheson’s Inquiry into the original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue,² Thomas Stanley’s Historia philosophiae vitae, opiniones, resque gestas, et dicta philosophorum sectae cujusuis complexa,³ and the second volume of Croker’s translation of Ariosto. From the Divinity Hall Library, however, Leyden borrowed thirty-three volumes (at least three of which he had read before),⁴ making considerable use of the fact that two volumes might be taken out at the same time.⁵ Again, the largest group comprised theological works, such as Jonathan Edwards’ essay on Original Sin, the third volumes of William Warburton’s The divine legation of Moses demonstrated and of Richard Watson’s six-volume Collection of theological tracts John Jortins Remarks on ecclesiastical History,⁶ Dr Hugh Hamilton’s An attempt to prove the existence and absolute perfection of the Supreme unoriginated Being in a demonstrative manner;⁷ Praeadamitae (on St Paul’s Epistle to the Romans, V,12-14), and A vindication of the doctrine of Scripture, and of the primitive faith, concerning the Deity of Christ, written by Dr John Jamieson in reply to Joseph Priestley’s History of Early Opinions.⁸ But there were also books of reference (John Parkhurst’s Hebrew and English lexicon, and a volume of the Encyclopaedia Britannica); books on general philosophical subjects, including Priestley’s Lectures on history and General Policy and on oratory and criticism, the first volumes of James Beattie’s Elements of moral science, of Francis Hutcheson’s posthumously-published System of moral philosophy, and of William Enfield’s The history of philosophy... drawn up from Brucker’s Historia critica philosophiae;⁹ and three works perhaps of particular interest to Leyden: an exposition of the Principles of Translation; the first volume of Richard Joseph Sullivan’s A view of nature, in letters to a traveller among the Alps. With reflections on

1 Mitford (vols.1 & 2) and Gillies (vols.1 & 2) on Greece; Ferguson (vols.1-3) and Gibbon (vols.1 & 2) on Rome.
2 In two treatises, on "Beauty, Order, Harmony, Design"; and on "Moral Good and Evil". It reached a 5th ed. in 1755.
3 3 tom., Venetiis 1751. Entered as "Stanley’s Lives".
4 Lowth’s Praelectiones and Isaiah; and "Pierce’s Paraphrase", which Leyden borrowed again on Jan.3, 1797, as "Pierce on Corinthians".
6 Entered as "Jortin’s Remark vol.1".
7 Leyden borrowed "Hamilton. Existence of God" on Thurs., Feb.12, 1795; having borrowed on Feb.9 another work on the "Existence of God".
9 2 vols., 1791. Leyden had borrowed this volume on Feb.20, 1794; and on April 22, 1797, he borrowed "Enfield’s Bruckerus" from the University Library.
10 Probably Alex. Fraser Tytler’s Essay thereon, published 1791.
atheistical philosophy, now exemplified in France, and the
Travels in Syria and Egypt... 1783, 1784 and 1785 of Constantin
François Chassébœuf, Comte de Volney.

Studying Divinity and teaching the classics left Leyden
ample time, however, to engage in social intercourse with his
friends; and the evenings passed at the house of his bosom friend
Thomas Brown must have been particularly to his taste. Brown,
now in the third year of his Arts course, "was unwilling to go
abroad", no doubt because he was living very comfortably at home
in St Patrick Square with his sisters and his widowed mother. But
he was very willing indeed to entertain such friends as Horner,
Leyden, Reddie and Erskine; and thus many of his college acquain-
tances came and spent their evenings with him, sitting deep in
"some never-weary old debate", until the midnight taper and the
fading fire burned out unheeded in the small hours of the morning.

Mix'd in the flowing theme of truth and mirth,
Thought sprang from thought, one equal, mutual birth,
as they ranged over every topic of literature, philosophy and
theology, sustained by innumerable cups of tea: a favourite drink
with both Brown and Leyden, the latter being variously reported as
having drunk, on occasion, eighteen and thirty cups. So they
spent peaceful and happy hours in amicable argument about it and
about, all

... pleas'd to mingle, at each setting sun,
The wondrous wisdom, which a day had won,
And prouder of some sage's new-learn'd name,
Than he who own'd and rais'd it into fame;

and each ready, "with changeful strife untir'd", even to war with
"fancies which himself inspir'd". Being, like all young debaters,
wiser than the wisest tome they read, they of course

Doubted in critic pride, where truth was strong,
Or boldly prov'd even demonstration wrong;
Or for some system mouldering in its grave,
Some fifty-times confuted foil, brave,

Urg'd all [their] logic's mighty war to bleed,

and John Leyden would not be the least contentious of these happy
warriors.

1 Leyden borrowed vol. 1 on March 2, 1795, and on March 23, Dec. 5 &
Dec. 26, 1796. There were 6 vols. in all.
2 Leyden borrowed vol. 2 on Jan. 12, 1795, and vol. 1 on March 23,
1795, & June 29, 1796. The French original appeared in 1787.
3 Robt. Leyden to Jas. Morton May 25, 1815. 4 Welsh op. cit., p. 29.
5 Brown, b. Jan. 9, 1778, was the youngest of 13 children, eight of
them girls, of whom two had died young.
6 Thomas Brown, To James Reddie, Esq. 11. 20-24.
7 Brown To a friend in India, 11. 151-64. In a later version, en-
titled To William Erskine, Esq. of Bombay, 11. 161-3 were improved.
8 Robert Murray, op. cit., p. 162; and An Editorial Diary in The
Glasgow Herald for July 27, 1749. Scott, Memoir, simply says that
Leyden "sometimes drank very large quantities of tea."
Leyden also continued to spend many pleasant evenings in the home of the hospitable Dr Anderson; and if the intellectual atmosphere at Heriot's Green was perhaps less stimulating than that of St Patrick Square, there was all the more chance for Leyden to dominate the conversation. And this chance he took, holding forth to the admiration of the Anderson family, and especially to that of the eldest daughter, Margaret, who took a sympathetic interest in Leyden's career, remembering him affectionately in later life as a sharer in the happiness of these tranquil days, and vainly numbering among her pleasures of hope the thought of his returning from the East "laden with wealth and honours fairly won". 1 Nor were Leyden's social talents confined to conversation; for he could also be relied upon to produce on occasion such a neat and appropriate set of verses as the eight-line Inscription for a Letter Case written "for a Letter Box which Miss Eliza Sommerville of Stirling was making when on a visit at Dr Anderson's". 2

As the frequent and welcome guest of Dr Anderson, Leyden had the opportunity of meeting at his house other young men of literary tastes; and among these this winter was Alexander Murray, a shepherd's son from Galloway, whose background and interests much resembled Leyden's own, and who was later to become Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages at Edinburgh, 3 and to write a History of the European Languages. Born within two months of Leyden, and destined to die within two years of him, Murray, like Leyden himself, was to spend his life in a determined pursuit of knowledge, and particularly of such a knowledge of comparative philology as should illustrate the nature and history of human speech and the affinities of mankind, and so facilitate the intercourse of the species; 4 for both Murray and Leyden regarded languages and philology as "only instruments to the science of morals, to political knowledge, to history" and to poetry. 5 Murray's boyhood experience, too, had been similar to Leyden's in many points. Having early read, with great ardour and curiosity, the historical parts of the Bible, and especially of the Old Testament, he committed to memory so much of his reading that he soon "puzzled the honest elders of

1 Margaret Anderson to Mrs Catherine Anderson, Jan. 5, 1812. It is sometimes hinted that Margaret's interest in Leyden was rather romantic than friendly. But the evidence hardly proves this.
2 Note (unsigned) on f. 69v of MS. 786, Nat. Lib. Scot. The poem itself, written carefully in Leyden's hand and initialed "J. L.", is on f. 68r. It begins: "Swift Messengers! no farther move."
3 He succeeded Moodie in this Chair on July 8, 1812.
the church with recitals of Scripture and discourses about Jerusalem, and at fourteen was a zealous opponent of Socinianism. In his short and irregular periods at school (where his pronunciation of words was at first laughed at and his whole speech made a subject of fun), he acquired some knowledge of Latin, Greek and French; and he made still more important linguistic discoveries for himself in such bought or borrowed books as Salmon's Geographical Grammar, "a small Welsh History of Christ and the Apostles", Ainsworth's Dictionary, which "had all the Latin words and the corresponding Greek and Hebrew", and Bailey's English Dictionary, which included some Anglo-Saxon in its "vast variety of useful matters". Murray's method of studying languages was to lay down a new and difficult book after it had wearied him, "to take up another, then a third; and to resume this rotation frequently and laboriously": for he subscribed to Leyden's 'scaffolding' theory, holding that, although desultory study is in general a bad thing, "a lad whose ambition never ceases, but stimulates him incessantly, enlarges his mind and range of thought by excursions beyond the limits of regular forms". From the age of ten, he had spent such pocket-money as he possessed on ballads and penny-histories which he pored over while herding cattle on the hillside, revelling in "all heroic and sorrowful ditties", and studying closely "Sir David Lindsay, Sir William Wallace, The Cloud of Witnesses, The Hind let loose, and all the books of piety in the place". But the great epoch in Murray's juvenile reading was his first perusal, in 1790, of Paradise Lost, a poem which was to influence and inflame his imagination ever after, even to the point of leading him to try his hand at writing an epic poem himself. At length, after tutoring in several isolated families in Galloway; attending for a time an evening school at Bridgend of Cree which had a good selection of books; writing verses, mostly in Scots dialect, and often in burlesque style; making several translations; and getting good advice on publishing from Robert Burns, Murray contrived, in his 19th year, to come to Edinburgh. And having satisfied Principal Baird and Professors Finlayson and Moodie of his

2. W. S. Crockett, in stating (Famous Edinburgh Students, p. 73) that Leyden acquired this book in childhood, quotes this phrase of Murray's, and may probably have confused the two. Cf. p. 18 sup.
3. Begun in the autumn of 1792, its subject was King Arthur; and Homer and Ossian were contributory influences; but Murray destroyed it in the summer of 1793, having reached the end of Book 7.
4. Murray had hoped to finance his going to Edinburgh by publishing his poems and a translation of a MS volume of lectures on Roman writers by a German professor, Arnold Drackenburg.
abilities, he embarked on the Arts course at the University as the protegé of Baird and Finlayson, with the ministry as his ultimate goal. It was in the first year of this course that he met John Leyden; and the two, having a great deal in common, formed a friendship which was to be so long and intimate that seventeen years later, on the death of his "indefatigable and invaluable" friend Leyden, whom he judged to have "more literature of the classical, antiquarian and oriental kind" than any other man of his acquaintance, Murray could write to Robert Leyden:

"The news of your brother's death were very severe for me. The loss of an old and intimate friend, and one of the most eminent scholars in the world, in the prime of life and advancing to that full degree of usefulness which would have done so much good, will be felt by all who stood to him in that relation in which you know we were from the first years of our attendance at the University. Though separated by our situations in life, our pursuits were perhaps so nearly connected, that, had he lived, the friendship which subsisted between us would have produced advantages of which it is now vain to speak."  

Murray, "a little shivering creature, gentle, studious, timid and reserved," and considerably Leyden's junior in academic standing, always entertained the warmest regard for Leyden, who, on Murray's own testimony, was among the first to recommend Murray as a teacher "when he was destitute enough," and who was later to introduce Murray to Walter Scott as one of the most profound Oriental scholars in Britain. The two friends entered ardently into the study of "Hebrew and the Oriental languages, as well as explaining and finding out the idioms of the Latin and Greek"; and in debate they "often carried the subject to a great length the one in opposition to the other", frequently engaging in "very ingenious disputes on the origin of different languages and the derivation of words". They had, indeed, an equal respect for each other's linguistic abilities; for Leyden "once said in Dr. Anderson's that he would not be afraid of any person in Edinburgh for the languages" except Murray, who was not then present; and at Anderson's on another occasion Murray declared in Leyden's absence, that there was none he would fear as a linguist but Leyden.

4 Errs in saying that this letter was addressed to Robert Leyden.
5 Robert Leyden's Notes.
It was most probably also at Dr Anderson's that Leyden made
the acquaintance of Alexander Campbell, "a warm-hearted and
accomplished, though somewhat unpractical" man of letters and
musician,¹ eleven years Leyden's senior. Five years before, Camp-
bell had "conceived the idea of arranging in one Systematic view
the Vocal Poetry and Melodies of Scotland and the Isles":² a pro-
ject fulfilled only with the publication of the two volumes of
Albyn's Anthology in 1816 and 1818.³ In the intervening years, this
plan was never very far from Campbell's thoughts; and in 1795 he
had by no means lost sight of it, despite a lack of encouragement
from such correspondents as the precise and irascible Joseph
Ritson, and despite his own abandonment of music-teaching and
resumption of medical and other studies at the University.² He had,
however, permitted his attention to be drawn aside somewhat from
his original object, and directed also to the "kindred pursuit" of
writing an Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland,²
which was to appear in 1798 as a massive quarto, dedicated to
Henry Fuseli, of which only ninety copies were printed. And in
February, 1795, Leyden, ever ready to help a fellow-student of
literary antiquities, lent Campbell the MS. volume of songs and
 airs which he had acquired five years earlier at a border book-
sale.⁴ This loan was to prove of longer duration than Leyden
probably expected; for, although Campbell wrote to him concerning
the volume in the autumn of 1797, it was not until December, 1799,
that Leyden retrieved his treasure in order to show it to Richard
Heber, to whom he eventually consigned it on March 5, 1800.⁴

In the latter part of this session, Leyden had the gratification
of seeing his writings in print for the first time. In March,
1795, the Scots Magazine published a letter to the editor, dated
from Edinburgh on March 1 and signed 'L': an abbreviation which,
from the style and content of the letter, evidently stands for
Leyden.⁵ The "Strictures upon the ancient Scottish language" con-
tained therein were intended to disprove the assertion made by
John Pinkerton in the essay prefixed to his Ancient Scottish Poems
that the Scots tongue contained "not one Irish" (i.e. Gaelic) word,

² Alex. Campbell, A Slight Sketch of a Journey made through parts of the Highlands and Hebrides... to collect materials for Albyn's Anthology... in Autumn 1815. (Taiting MSS.TII,577. E.U.L.)
³ An intended third volume never appeared.
⁴ Nota by Leyden on f.ii of this MS, now Adv.MSS.5.2.14,Nat.Lib.Scot.(See p.19 sup.) F.39v bears 8 lines of verse, dated 'Feb.287'
being wholly derived from Gothic. 1 Declining to determine whether "this averment be of a kin with some other bold averments of Mr Pinkerton", which he had afterwards acknowledged false, the writer proceeds to exhibit a few words from Pinkerton's glossary and notes, stating what he believes to be their derivation from Gaelic, and leaving the reader to judge between Pinkerton and himself. His range of reference is wide, if superficial, since he cites parallels from Gothic, Old and Anglo-Saxon, German, Danish, Dutch, French, Italian, Spanish, Welsh, Russian, and Arabic, and even alludes to the Cossacks and Circassians on the Black Sea. As Leyden was not to learn Gaelic for another five years, it is hardly surprising that some of the examples—made up with the help of Shaw's Dictionary and Shaw's Analysis, to which readers are referred for the words and their pronunciation—should be as questionable as the statements which provoked them. Such are the derivation of 'sloth-hound' from sloitire, a thief, on the ground that such dogs were often used to pursue robbers; 2 the explanation of 'liccam' as 'cheek' instead of 'body'—(a contention supported by inconclusive quotations from King Hart and Wallace): and the attempt to dissociate the derivation of ban, a curse, from that of banns (of marriage), Pinkerton's linking of the two being stigmatised as "low wit":

In the following month, three of Leyden's poems appeared in the Edinburgh Magazine; 3 the Elegiac Lines on his sister, which had by now received Dr. Anderson's corrections and been furnished with a prose introduction; The Fairy, similarly prefaced; and a translation in headlong octosyllabic couplets, of a Danish Ode. This last gave Leyden ample opportunity to introduce the supernatural elements, the bombastic sentiments, and the grisly circumstance in which much of his verse abounds: for the hero of the Ode, having invoked Odin and the powers of Hela at midnight with grim sacrificial rites, expresses violently his determination to win glory in battle and to wreak vengeance on "Scottish Indulph", even at the cost of his own life:

I, too, shall drink in goblets full—
My goblet coward Indulph's skull:
While the sisters him shall bear—
To the gloom of Niflheim drear.

2 In Scottish Descriptive Poems, pp. 182-84, Leyden gives an inconclusive note on "sloth-hound", with reference to the "russet blood-hounds" of Annandale (Albania, I. 204). I. 204-6 of Albania are quoted in the "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border note on I. 59 of Hobie Noble, which derives "sloth-hound" rightly from 'slot'.
3 Edinburgh Magazine for April, 1795 (Vol. V, pp. 301-4). Leyden's poems stand first in the poetry section. All three are in the 1875 (Cent.) ed., but not in the 1819 ed., of his poems.
4 Anderson to Jas. Morton, Dec. 26, 1815. 5 Danish Ode, I. 53-56.
Doubtless considerably elated at this literary achievement, Leyden went home to Roxburghshire before the middle of April.\(^1\) Professor Dalzel had secured for him a holiday post as tutor in the family of a Northumbrian gentleman, Mr Dods of Showswood, who was to summon Leyden to Northumberland in due course.\(^2\) But after waiting at home for a considerable time, Leyden received a letter from Dods intimating that the latter had after all preferred to engage a teacher of his own previous acquaintance; and so Leyden, deeply offended at Dods's conduct, spent this summer as he had the last, studying in the convenient solitude of Cavers Church.\(^2\)

Once again, the vacation was one of mingled study and ease, in which Leyden found time to go for rambling walks on the slopes of Ruberslaw and along the banks of the Teviot, and to write a good deal of verse and a series of long letters. And since this proved to be the last long vacation which he spent at home with his parents, it was appropriate that two of these poems should deal with Leyden's boyhood haunts and their associations. In the Ode to the Scenes of Infancy, regarding again the verdant meadows and brown moors of his childhood after his session's absence in the city, Leyden looks back to those happy days when he had

...thought the time would ever last:
As gay and cheerful as the past,\(^3\)
and consoles himself for their passing with the reflection that the memory of them will cheer his anxious heart in times of sadness. And in affirming that that memory will fade only with the coming of death, he gives some pleasing details from the Teviotdale scene: the noontide shower bringing relief from the heat to the grazing flocks; the yellow sunbeams lighting dew-drops on the trees in the early morning, or lying at evening "in streaks along the light-green sky"; heifers going out early into the fields and lowing plaintively for their calves left behind; the thrush singing in the twisted hazel-bush, where nuts hang in "infant clusters"; the river whose sound ceaselessly "marks the silent lapse of time"; and the water-spiders gliding

Along the smooth and level tide,
Which, printless, yields not as they pass;
The while their slender frisky feet
Scarce seem with tiny step to meet
The surface blue and clear as glass.\(^3\)

\(^{1}\) He wrote to Thomas Logan "without delay" on reaching home, dating the letter (marked "wt the utmost haste") April 13, from Netherlofts.

\(^{2}\) Robert Leyden to James Morton, Sept. 8, 1815.

\(^{3}\) Ode to the Scenes of Infancy, ll. 22-23 & 80-84. I quote from the earlier version, published in the Edin. Mag. for Jan. 1796, which differs considerably from the later version made in 1801 and published in the 1819 ed. A MS. copy of a variant form of the latter made by Thomas Park from Leyden's "adversaria poetica MS." appears in Park's copy of Scenes of Infancy & Scottish Descriptive Poems.
With the rambling topographical poem of Ruberslaw, which was to form the basis of many passages in *Scenes of Infancy*, Leyden joined the number of those poets who had sent "the Muses labouring up so many hills since Cooper's and Grongar". Having spent a late summer afternoon and evening on the familiar hill where he had sat so often as a boy drowsing over his herding in the hot sun, he cast his mind back both to those shepherd days and to long-past times of bloodshed and battle, and set down in verse an account of his ramble, with detailed natural description and occasional reference to local legend. The rocky, heath-covered uplands attract him more than "all the golden, bloomy pride" of the river-side fields:

Of dizzy beetling cliffs which frown,
O'er heathy wastes of aspect brown...
The shepherd sings; ye russet fays,
Aid the shepherd's rural lays...
Let me seek the summit dun,
Where Melancholy loves to go,
At grey-eyed twilight musing slow;
Whene'er she leaves yon rivulet's shore,
With green and yellow mottled o'er.

So, taking the shepherd's half-worn path through broom and whin, sweet-scented heather and briar, he goes up the western side of Ruberslaw, past the solitary fir and quivering aspens, along the sloping bank:

Where the shallow trickling rill
Down from its urn the waters spill,
Which weep their oozy channel's loss
Filtering through the hairy moss,

and where

...the ruffling breezes stir
The trains of tinsel gossamer,
In filmy yellow threads which slide
Up the green hill's sloping side.

Breathless from surmounting a steep ridge, he pauses, to look down on the thorn tree by which he had often sat gazing at the rapid crackling blaze of the moor-fires fanned by the wind; to listen to the shrill repeated song of the lapwing, with its reminder of Covenanting times, to watch the white clouds moving slowly up the

1 1858 ed. (p.265) says Ruberslaw "forms the germ" of *Scenes of Infancy*.
3 Yellow plays a large part in Leyden's descriptive passages, often along with green, as here.
4 Cf.P.11 sup. In *Scenes of Infancy* Leyden's reference to the "poor bird" is more sympathetic than in *Ruberslaw*, where he says of it: "Curses blast her sable crest!".
azure sky; to mark the imminent fall of an ancient column of rock projecting over the hanging wood; and to ponder on the changes wrought by time, as he sits there resting

Beside the ruins of that pile,
Which the green sward contiguous strow,
Where fern and rank green nettles grow;
O'er crumbled heaps whence crawl abroad
At eve, the eek and speckled toad:
The moss is on the mouldered wall,
The blast howls through the roofless hall,
Where steel-clad warriors thronged the courts,
Now the timid hare resorts.

Then, ascending by a "pent and winding lane" to the summit,

Where every stripe of level green,
That lies the shattered crags between,
Is notched across the grassy rind,
Full rudely, by the rural hind,
with inscriptions already half-obliterated, he stands looking round on hill and valley and river, reflecting wistfully that even these beauties cannot vie with those depicted by Memory and Fancy.2

His meditations are interrupted by a storm of rain, thunder and lightning, in which he exults:

How it delights my soul to gaze
On the lightning's livid blaze;
And after each successive flash
To listen to the echoing crash;

but thick mist forces him to hurry down the hillside, and then to linger, until the gray confusion lifts a little, on an ancient battlefield, where, beside the

... white encrusted stone
Lies the yellow crumbling bone.3

As the westering sun begins to lighten the mist, however, a dim rainbow appears,

And glens and woods and vales are still:
Save where in trains that linger slow,
Homeward winds the carking crow;
Or where the soaring curlew floats,
And screams in loud and clamorous notes;
Shrill the wailing plover's pipe,
Loud and louder yet the snipe,
On the light breeze of evening borne,
Winds her mellow-tittering horn... 4
And o'er the heath, the shadow dun
Stalks after the retreating sun:
Which now forsakes the blackening plains,
And but the mountain top retains;
Where still the yellow streamers dance,
And vibrate quick with glimmering glance.

1 Cf. John Dyer's description of the ruined "antient towers" in Grongar Hill, especially 11.77-83.
2 Cf. Scenes of Infancy, pt. iii, 11.491-500; and the sonnet The Memory of the Past. Cf. p.146 inf.
3 Cf. Scenes of Infancy, pt. iv, 11.455-58: "...My steps remove the yellow crumbling bones..." and the sonnet To a mossy gravestone.
4 Cf. Milton, Lycidas,1.28. Echoes of Milton, and of Gray, are common in Leyden's poetry.
Gloaming succeeds, and then the fitful light of the moon and the starry fires, with the flickering, red-tinged brightness of the aurora borealis that to country superstition presages war; while

On the lea with dew-drops damp
The glow-worm lights her glimmering lamp:
Appearing through the gloom of night
Like some fallen star's departing light.

And at last, as the poet wanders "heedless on", even the starlight fades, and his

... labouring eyelids, sore oppressed
With leaden slumber, call to rest.

In contrast to this pastoral vein were an Ode to Phantasy and another to Revenge, in which Leyden indulged to the full the hectic and sanguinary strain which made a curious appeal to him. According to Leyden's introductory sentence to the former, it may be "considered as a kind of sombrous Ode to Fancy, written during an attack of the ague," and having the term Phantasy used

"... in contradistinction to the vivid picturesque assemblages of Fancy, to express an association of dark gloomy ideas, wildly grouped by superstitious melancholy, when the mind is agitated with a lively half-pleasing horror, and... the fantastic shapings of the brain people the twilight fields of Imagination".

Banishing all "vain delusive sounds of mirth", Leyden, labouring under the dire and overwhelming power of the ague, expresses the desire to exchange the lark's clear song for the croaking of a raven perched on a stump of withered oak and flapping its sooty pinions over an infant's mangled corpse; and to leave the cheerful village sports in order to roam through deep woods and wilds,

Where through the leaf-embowered way
The starlight sheds a sickly ray,
and where there is no company save that of the fairy people and of "Echo in her rock-hewn cave". It is his wish to

... sit at midnight's fearful hour,
When the wan April moon has power,
Poring o'er a mossy skull...
Beside yon hoary shapeless cairn
That points the shepherd's lonely path,
Mantled with frizzly withered fern,
And skirted by the blasted heath,
under whose gray grass lies the suicide's unhallowed grave; to walk by a swollen stream in the chilling sleety shower of a

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1: Cf. To a mossy gravestone (Poet. Reg. version), ll. 3-4:

"I often pause to see some falling star,
Twinkle by glimpses through the shivering leaves."

2 1875 (Cent.) ed. prints "headless on", 1819 ed. omits Ruberslaw.

3 B.M. Add. MSS. 26, 557, f. 16. This MS. (ff. 16-21) and B.M. Add. MSS. 26, 555, ff. 39-42, have copies of this ode, in a copper-plate hand not Leyden's, which agree with each other and give several better readings than the 1819 ed.: e.g. rough, glazing, look, slow, car.

(11. 53, 86, 88, 119, 139).
winter's night,

When wintry thaws impel the wave
Beyond the channel's pebbled bounds,
And hoarse the red-gorged rivers rave,
To mine their arching icy mounds,

and there to hear a "river-wrecked unhappy ghost" shrieking dis-
consolately 'Lost, for ever lost!'; 1 to lie out on the fern-clad
hill all through "St John's mysterious night"; to watch by the
death-bed of a murderer who, terrified by the knowledge of his
secret crimes, sees before him "pale-sheeted spectres" and a grin-
niing death's head of "withering grisly hue"; or to spend a night
... in some haunted Gothic hall
Whose roof is mouldered, damp and hoar;
Where figured tapestry shrouds the wall,
And murder oft has dyed the floor,

and where the sleeper will be abruptly roused by the icy touch of
a death-cold hand on his shuddering cheek. "Stung with fear's
incessant smart" upon, hearing unearthly voices and beholding
hideous phantoms with glaring eyes and blood-stained locks, the
unfortunate poet is afflicted by nightmares in which he is carried
on tempest wings over the stormy sea, far beyond the setting sun,
to a shadowy, wind-swept land of ghosts, walled about by "brown
substantial darkness", and visited by no other mortal, save Ulysses.
Again, he roves round earth's turning sphere, chasing clear-
glancing moonbeams through the starry sky, and gliding along the
verge of sandy shores,

While mermaids comb their sea-green locks
By moonlight on the shelving rocks;

and finally he beholds with dismay a vision of the Last Judgment,
in which the astonished dead start to life, while "frightful
shrieks the welkin rive". Leyden maintained that the contemplation
of such appalling scenes of "fancied woe" served to sharpen his
relish for the transient joys of life; 2 but the reader's relish
for his poem would certainly have been heightened had he provided
fewer gruesome details and more allusions to such country super-
: stitions as those of the "dead man's lamp" and shadowy funeral
seen at a time of death; the watching of the fern-seed on the Eve
of St John by aspirants to sorcery; and the restlessness imparted
to a suicide's spirit by the unshrouded state of his body. 3

Revenge, in which Leyden's poetical thirst for blood is
perhaps at its most nauseating, remorselessly presents still more
of horrible and awful, ranging from sudden death in "black

1 Richard Heber disliked this "unlucky phrase", which reminded him
of Gilpin Horner's "ludicrous exclamation of lost! lost! lost!" in
The Lay of the Last Minstrel. (Heber to Jas. Morton, "Mon. nt" 1816.)
2 Ode to Phantasy, st.xiii. It has 13 stanzas of 16 lines each.
3 Heber, loc.cit. rightly pronounced this ode "chiefly valuable
for the superstition it records".
Monaghan's vale of heath" and dark vengeance plotted in "murdered Cormac's haunted hall" and in the blood-defiled castle of Hermitage to Malay cannibalism in "the Southern Ocean's isles" and the guileful arts practised by poisoners of "soft Italia's heartless race". Leyden piles horror upon horror: a "blade with murder crusted red", a blood-besmeared ghost, a corpse floating in tepid gore, and a brutal feast furnished

With viands man abhors to taste,
While red the mantling goblets shine,
Red the shell - but not with wine;

but he dwells longest on the terrors of Red Indian warfare, in a passage altered to meet some criticism of Robert Lundie's (with which Leyden himself, on reflection, agreed entirely), and apparently altered again later, to judge by the conclusion of an Indian's death-song, which in January, 1796, read thus:

Your chieftain's fame hath reached the sky
But you in sloth shall basely die,
Like cowards vile, shall crouch in holes
And seek the land of little souls,

but which, by August 1798, had become:

I soar beyond these mountains blue,
While you to shun each warrior's view,
As skulk obscene the reptile shoals,
Sneak to the land of little souls.

After all this, it is something of a relief to find Revenge exiled:

Away! to Afric's burning sands
Wherever glows the torrid soil,
And prompt to blood the swarthy hands
Of Moors whose veins with sulphur boil;

and apparently altered again later, to judge by the conclusion of an Indian's death-song, which in January, 1796, read thus:

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of Leyden's own devising, which should be alike adapted to the serious or the funny, and should enable the writers to say trivial things with an air of importance.  

The epistolary triumvirate,\(^2\) eschewing "that common flimsy stile... which is dignified with the name of ease, instead of frivolity, and which excludes everything serious and important," was to divide its correspondence into chapters with appropriate titles, small talk being placed in the postscript.\(^2\) And Leyden's first and second chapters, dealing respectively with his journey home from Edinburgh and the welcome accorded him thereafter, are worth quoting at length for their picture of John Leyden at nineteen: active, excitable, self-conscious, thirled to his books, possessed of a sense of humour\(^3\) and an eye for the picturesque, and ever ready to dilate upon even the less remarkable incidents of his own experience.

"The immediate prospect of a journey commonly increases the impatience of my sanguine disposition so much as to prevent sleep — after lying in bed a few hours, I rose early in the morning and adjusted myself with tolerable celerity — One point however remained to be settled which was not done without difficulty. The question was whether to take Horace or Savage's Poems in my pocket — while the case was in agitation, I fell into a certain vibratory motion similar to that of a pendulum, impelled by the successive proponderancy of the arguments on the different sides of the question. They finally proponderated on the side of Horace — though I never knew what was the prevailing reason — probably it might be my own free-will — After setting out I walked 20 miles without meeting with a single adventure. This did not suit — I was in an adventurous mood, and resolved to try the mountains since nothing occurred in the valleys worthy of approbation. The measure was quickly resolved upon and executed with great alacrity and success. The mountain on the right hand was boldly scaled. When I had begun to descend the declivity on the other side, mine eyes were quickly opened — upon a scene which I can scarcely characterize — Imagine now to yourself — a pilgrim and his staff — or rather me and my staff — bending in earnest contemplation over the hill until I had almost tumbled headlong. — On the opposite side of a hill, there was a slack — to use the Scotch phrase... This Slack widened gradually in the descent; its steep sides were covered with blue heaps of stones — heaps upon heaps in dismal disorder — here and there a braken bush — Half-way or more down the hill stood a solitary cottage where barked a solitary cur, and fast by a turf stack which leaned over the brae upon a withered alder. Still farther down, by the side of a marshy plot — stood the solitary stump of a large thorn — and by it grazed a solitary cow — and other circumstances too tedious to mention. By the side of a stream stood the ruins of a castle mouldering in the blast\(^4\) — Its courts were become a pen for sheep when the shearer whets his shears. The sensation

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1 Leyden to Braidwood [between April 13 & May 4, 1795]. (MS.3380.)
2 Leyden to Logan, April 13, 1795. (MS.3380, Nat.Lib.Scot.)
3 Scott's somewhat ambiguous comment (Memoir) on Leyden's lack of humour seems hardly justified.
4 Cf. Ruberslaw, 11.123-24: The moss is on the mouldered wall, the blast howls through the roofless hall.
which the sight of it occasioned—I mean the feeling which
reflection produced—but I believe it might be hard to
distinguish them—I cannot determine whether it was mournful
and pleasant, or pleasant and mournful—all's one for that
quoth Logan—may Sir but I would not have given that one
melancholy reflection which then crossed my mind for all the
roar of mirth—Well but over this ruin did I clamber at the
eminent hazard of the marrow in my bones and all the while
said—nothing—Then I ascended the next hill which was
lofty, and expected to enjoy a fine prospect—but when I
had got within a stone's throw of the top—I was enveloped
head and ears in a mist so close that it had almost choked me.
Well then for six long hours did I wander at large upon the
everlasting mountains, without seeing a human face but Horace
which I had in my pocket—but Horace was flat and I was cold,
and had no spirit for his mirth or his maids. I only met with
half a dozen of sheep, and they even gnashed their teeth at me.
After long wandering I found myself exactly where the mist
had caught me. You may be certain that all this could never
have come to pass without the interference of some unearthly
agents—when it is considered that I always went straight
forward.—No ideas in the meantime but those which entered
by the top of my fingers.—Nothing poetic in these hills as
you may tell Dr. Anderson. I found no Helicon but an
stinking puddle on the Moor—but I got down at last, and as the water
had got down my throat, concluded the day by drinking whisky
to make punch of it there, and so ends the Chapter. Nihil
ultra memorabile."

Having reached home on Saturday, April 11, Leyden seems to
have been somewhat out of spirits on the following day.

"... so methought I would even go to Church, as it was not
far distant, and as I found myself so much over-run with spleen
as to be incapable of deriving any advantage from reading or
of beholding the naked champaign with pleasure. The Sermon
indeed I was certain would be too edifying for affording either
instruction or amusement—and I had studied every face that
was to be in the Church—when I had nothing else to wreak
myself upon—How then was I to manage in order to put off
the time appointed without falling a whistling or something
as bad, when I had neither Greek nor Latin Testament—Why I
put a neat Juvenal in my pocket—and thus escaped without
giving offence, for if I should have had no book, the people
would have been much scandalized. About half-way to Church,
a most notable circumstance occurred to my mind, to which I
had entirely neglected to advert. Since every soul of the
auditors were known to me, I found that I should have to run
the gauntlet through a most formidable line of vulgar acquaint-
ance—having let it be dark on Saturday night before I came
home in order that I might meet with nobody. In such a moping
mood I was perfectly abhorrent to shaking of hands—neither
could I bear the How d'ye's, &c, with which I knew that my ears
would be set a buzzing. Anything thought I would be agreeable
but How d'ye I could not bear with it. And so I walked so
slowly that the Kirk was in before I got forward. Thus I
entered the Church in perfect peace and tranquillity but could
not for my heart contrive how to get out again—And honest
sonsy tyke of a neighbouring farmer's (you may supply tykes if
you please) came up and said How d'ye and never a word in His

1 Leyden was frequently overtaken by mist on hill-tops. Cf. p. 82
sup. & pp.
2 Leyden to Logan, April 13, 1795, (which was a Monday).—I retain
Leyden's punctuation, contractions and spelling.
3 The preacher was probably the Rev. Thomas Elliot of Cavers.
head. - Would the people were tykes thought I - Sermon closed but being a student of Divinity, I durst not go out at the prayer - and so when all was over as I could not be first, I strutted out last - en cavalier - with a grave screw'd up phiz - The honest look of the first person I met with relaxed the muscles of my face - the social principle was victorious, and so I shook hands all round, and thus concludes the Chapter."

There is no trace of the third chapter, which may not have been written by Leyden in any case. But in the fourth, addressed with great haste to Thomas Logan from Cavers on 30th May, and begun at eleven o'clock at night, Leyden discourses on the grave topic of "Vain Philosophy" in a tone which, if less enthusiastic than his Divinity professors might have desired, indicates that, despite his fondness for verging on heresy for the sake of argument or effect, he was in no real danger of succumbing to any unorthodox doctrine. Having opened by quoting in translation a passage from St Evremond expressing the Maréchal d'Hocquincourt's conviction that he could now, despite former doubts implanted in his mind by "a Devil of a Philosopher", submit to be crucified for his religion without knowing why or wherefore, Leyden agrees that such a resolution might be truly virtuous in most men, since the majority cannot decide without prejudice on the important question of religion; and he states his own view that:

"... without the aid of religious impressions, the moral Sense, or any other sense of beauty, harmony or utility would have little effect in determining our conduct in opposition to our Desires, Appetites or Passions; with the gratification of which, in their full extent, the existence of civil society is totally incompatible. Hereupon some dry Didactic machine of a philosopher will presently imagine that the throng of mankind need find little difficulty in subjugating these tempestuous principles to that sovereign Reason with which the word is only crafty hypocrisy; but... those who are deprived of the richest fund of intellectual enjoyments can only solace themselves with the delights of sense, towards which they will be the more impetuously hurried; and the confessions of voluptuaries show that theirs is not the way to happiness. Hence, "though crucifixion is rather too important a matter to be incurred without any reason at all", it is of great consequence that there should be no weakening of the influence of a principle so beneficial to society and so conducive to individual happiness as religion. "The utility of religious principles is in effect acknowledged by those who regard religion as a political job of legislators"; and it must therefore be allowed that such people "intended mankind a notable piece of service by the detection".

1 Leyden to Braidwood, [between April 13 & May 4, 1795].
2 The passage translated ("Je ne L'ai que trop aimée la Philosophie... je me serais crucifier sans savoir pourquoi") from the Conversation du Maréchal d'Hocquincourt avec le père Canay, is on p. 473 of St Evremond's Œuvres Littéraires, Vol. I. (5 vols., London, 1705).
"By removing the only barrier by wh. men could be retained in civil union, what did they intend, but to turn the herd of mankind a grazing wt. the wild beasts. A laudable purpose truly, and so great was the abhorrence of these noble spirits at every kind of chicane and imposture, that they would venture to undeceive men even at the expense of their happiness. For my own part though I would not be crucified without knowing the reason yet neither would I be juggled out of my happiness unreasonably i.e. without any equivalent, and am therefore resolved to pluck up such a portion of Faith as may enable me to jog on pretty decently to my latter end, from wh. may the Lord long preserve yours &c John Leydon

PS. The night is gloomy and damp, the dead are abroad, I am half asleep, and my eyes are quite burnt out, — it is near 12, and the Chapter is finished & the leaf turned. I suppose it is the worst Chapter I ever wrote, but I have vowed to sent it, and want patience to revise it, and it goes off early in the morning — No news — Amen' quoth Leydon. Let me have a Chapter by the return of the Carrier.

The two other extant chapters, both in verse and both unnumbered, were written by Leyden to Braidwood from Cavers. The first, couched in broad Scots, like Leyden’s earlier verse-epistles to James Nicol, and comprising thirty octosyllabic couplets, is in reply to a letter from Braidwood, which Leyden acknowledges thus:

Wi’ a’ my heart I thank ye Sandy
Altho’ I scarcely understand ye,
For frae beginning to the middle
In fegs your letter’s ha’ a riddle
Wi’ French and Devils ye’re sae handy
I thought at first it smell’d o’ brandy
But yet upon a second reading
There seemed nae other liqueur needing
But sic as might be eithly tappet
Out o’ your extra-natural caput
Ye’ve shewn a noodle as elastic
As ony wither’d auld kail castock –
There’s some droll chiel ca’d Caput Mortuum.
I’m fley’d ye dinna come far short o’im.

Braidwood, it appears, had made slighting remarks about the Devil; and Leyden accordingly admonishes him:

Whan anes ye smell the bleezin brimstone
I trow your cheeks will tyne the crimson.
For me — my vera thumbs I’m bitin’
To see the Deil sae sadly lied on
Since there’s not as mair civil person...
Na fegs ye need na lunch or gloom
For I could prove it — there’s my thumb.
But gif he war an ugly ruffian
Or some black gruesome rugamuffin
I dinna think that ony savage
That lives upo’ raw beef and cabbage
In Afric wilderness, — wad dare
To use this modern ancient warre.

1 Leyden to Logan, May 30, 1795. (MS. 3383 Nat. Lib. Scot.) — Letters were handed open (on pain of penalty) to the carrier, who sealed them on arrival and posted or delivered them. (J. Vernon & J. McNairn Pictures from the Past of Auld Hawick, p. 63.)
2 Extra is written above ‘prayer’ in the US copy.
3 Leyden to Braidwood, June 8, 1795. (MS. 3383.)
The rest of the epistle, concluded in haste for lack of time, expresses in no uncertain terms Leyden's reaction to a rumour that Logan was about to desert the Church for the Army:

Friend Logan like a donnart stirk
First turn'd his shou'lder to the Kirk
And now the bleezin' story goes
He shaws the back-seams of his hose
And darna tak'the Gospel-mell
To rap dil'd sinners back frae hell. -
An' mair forbye there runs a rumour
That in this dour and surly humour
He shones to list wi' Sergeant Death
For crackin' craigs and stappin' breath -
The blade has surely tint his smoddom
Gin I was wi' y' I wadna redd 'im
Odd! if I wadna crack his cantle
Tho' he war clad in Samuel's mantle
I'd gie 'm the whistle o' his great
An' learn the skype to turn his coat.

I have a hantle mair to say
But am obliged to delay
Since it's already eight o'clock. - at night viz.
Wherefore - Amen - quoth Leydon Jock. 1

On 3rd August, writing again in great haste and in rambling doggerel verse, Leyden once more complains of the quality of Braidwood's letters, expressing the wish that, if they do not improve.

... may the muckle Deil claw your scapp Sir.
Wherefore I think we had both better return to the old chapter
For here you have sent me a letter without any substance at a
And this you know very well is flatly against the law
You only tell me that you broke open Sandy Davidson's Epistle
And this was not very fair play, tho' I don't mind it a whistle
I wonder that you expect me to write when I've nothing to answer
Pray take care that you don't leave me in the lurch another time -
But here you see I was plaguily out for a rhyme
For having got one I could not lay hold on his brother -
Well never mind, perhaps it may come in some time or other -
For do you see my boy the letter is not yet endet -
Only I hope you are satisfied yt it was not intendet -
I must tell you too if one line is short
You may rest well assured yt it was for no earthly reason but sport... 2

Therefore I assure you they always compluther very well at the conclusion
Do you ask me if I'm not flay'd they fall in two by the middle
Why truly Sir I think that's a querry wh. I cannot unriddle
And therefore (Oh here it comes) I shall not take it in hand Sir
Daresay you'll think all that I've been saying is nothing but a blether
Well I dont care for do you see I'm writing as fast as I can

But as I was going to say, you bear a very good hand at fleeching
So that I don't know but you would come on very well at preaching
But when you see this Letter tho' I believe that you'll mutiny
...say nothing, for an evil is always rendered worse by a scrutiny.

1 Leyden to Braidwood, June 8, 1795.
2 The MS. is defective at the start, here and later. Cf. p. 91 inf.
3 Leyden to Braidwood, August 3, 1795. (MS. 3380.)
And having told a story concerning
The ancient folks that dwelt in Cumber
Wales and the lands ayont the Humber,
designed to illustrate the truth of his last assertion, but perhaps,
on his own admission, not very apposite, Leyden concludes on a
somewhat aggressive note:

You may tell Sandy Davidson that if I'm sair putten on
I'll stand to him as long as my coat has a button on
And so without more palaver I bid you Good-day
Which is in plain English - I've got no more to say.

P.S. I have left open Mr. Davidson's letter, in order to avoid
charging your Conscience wt another enormity. Pray what is
become of the Creed you promised.

Towards the vacation's end, Leyden paid a visit to Kelso,
where he most probably stayed with his uncle Thomas Morton, and
where he saw his friend Robert Lundie, who, being himself a versi-
fier, was shown Leyden's recent poetical productions and made on
them a few criticisms, at least some of which proved acceptable to
Leyden. Thereafter, Leyden had little time to spend at home; for
at the start of the week following his return from Kelso, he set
out for Edinburgh, reaching it with no greater mishap than a fall
from his horse as he was riding over Ruberslaw with some rapidity.
This accident he thought to have overlooked altogether; but, reflec-
ing that it might serve to pad out a letter in the absence of oth-
subjects, he utilized it when next writing (in haste, of course) to
Robert Lundie. Having avoided making excuses for his long silence
by declaring that he had neither time nor temper to invent any and
that he always found apologizing the most awkward business imagin-
able, he gave Lundie full leave to condemn his "natural indolence
or via inertiae of the mind", warned him to expect no elaborate or
flowing sentences from one who merely sketched currente calam..the
objects floating on the surface of his mind, and proceeded to
recount whatever occurred most readily to him, beginning with the
fall from his horse.

"Despising... the charge of pedantry, I shall boldly refer you
to the conclusion of the 10th Aeneid where you will advert to
the fall of Mezentius which if it be allowed to compare great
things wt small very much resembled mine. Don't imagine however
that the fall of Mezentius was the greatest for in this case I
have not the smallest scruple to prefer myself to that hero.

1 As the MS. lacks much of this story, Leyden's fear that it might
"not come in very pat" can be neither confirmed nor contradicted.
2 Cf. The Dryad's Warning, 11.29-30: (see pp.101-2 inf.)

Then did the Dryad's voice away -
Because she had no more to say.

3 Leyden to Braidwood, August 3,1795.
4 He altered Revenge on this account. Cf.p.85 sup. & p.98 inf.
5 Leyden to Lundie, November 23,1795. (MS.1722, Nat.lib.Scot.)
6 In the combat between Mezentius and Aeneas. See the Aeneid, Bk.X
11.832 et seq.
For when my horse like his floundered forward, I did not suffer him to overlay my shoulder, but having fallen supine before him, with the most heroic presence of mind I planted my feet in a moment obliquely against his chest & no doubt exerting ingentes vires, pushed him fairly off at a side. This was not all, springing alert, I threw myself across his back, before he had time to escape - so that upon the whole I am sure you must be convinced that it was a most heroic adventure. Indeed I was for some time at a loss whether to write a heroic poem or a satire against Riding on horseback, on the occasion, but finally resolved upon neither.

Once arrived in Edinburgh, Leyden suffered another unlucky accident which it was impossible to avert.

"The day after my arrival having called upon Mr Logan we were examining the Ode to Phantasy, and afterwards going to take a walk, the verses were left in Mr. Logan's desk. Upon our return however they were not to be found, and as no person had been in the room, Mr Logan concludes that the servant-maid (who it seems had a pique at him) must have abstracted or burned them, so there is an end of all my lyric effusions - (7 Odes wt the Rustic Congregation) as I can never recollect them and have no copies of any of them."

This disaster turned out, however, to be less complete than it at first appeared; for some two months later, Leyden was able to announce:

"My MSS. effusions were found just when I was beginning the Rage or a most bitter invective against Mathematicians and Generals & Moral Philosophy and Lord knows what all; in which the wasting power of Time was to be greatly objected against, the pillars of Seth to be animadverted upon, the burning of the Alexandrian Library and every other conflagration down to the destruction of Poems by the Devil, the Sybilline leaves and Runic monuments to be particularly noticed. This however was given up immediately upon the discovery as no progress had been made."

After these somewhat disconcerting events, Leyden, who was still living in Lady Lawson's Wynd at "Mr John Scott's Wright", settled down to his third session of Divinity studies, which were much the same as in the previous year, Divinity and Church history being his only classes. These he attended "in much the same manner as formerly"; and that this manner was not markedly enthusiastic may be inferred from the relief which he expressed, half-way through the session, at having completed one of the set discourses:

"I have shortly got quit of my Latin discourse, & therefore cannot bear the appearance of seriousness, being like a wild-ass's colt broke loose. It passed for an able discourse, I apprehend, because no one understood it, partly from the design'd & undesigned obscurity of diction & partly from the rapidity of lection."

1 Leyden to Lundie, November 23, 1795.
2 Apparently the odes to Phantasy, Ecvenge and the Scenes of In-fancy; Ruberslaw; Moonlight; & two translations from the Norse.
3 Leyden to Lundie, January 14, 1796. (MS.1722, Nat.Lib.Scot.)
As Leyden attended no classes outside the Faculty of Divinity this session, it is not surprising that then, and in the following year, he borrowed thirty-nine volumes from the Divinity Hall Library and only eleven from the University Library. There was no sharp line of division between the two sets of borrowings, however, three books indeed - the first volume of "Asiatic Researches", an edition of Herodotus, and Franciscus Vigerus's De praecipuis Graece dictionis idiotismis - being taken from both libraries. Most of the Divinity Hall books bore of course on religious subjects, among them being David Hartley's Observations on man, his frame, his duty and his expectations, Courtney Kelmoth's essays on The Sublime and Beautiful of Scripture, Archbishop William Newcome's Attempt towards an improved version of the twelve minor prophets, Richard Cumberland's Calvary, or the Death of Christ, Alexander Cruden's famous concordance to the Scriptures, William Gilpin's Exposition of the New Testament, a volume of sermons preached by Dr Joseph White before the University of Oxford in 1784, and various works by such standard authors as William Paley, Johann August Ernesti, and Johann David Michaelis. But they included also such works of more general and literary interest as three volumes of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, the third volume of that collection of "moral, literary and familiar Essays" entitled The Observer, William Belsham's Essays philosophical, historical and literary, volumes one and three of Winter Evenings, Condorcet's life of Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot, Lord Monboddo's Antient:Meta-physics, an edition (unspecified) of Xenophon, and volume two of Cicero's Select Orations... translated by Prof. Duncan. And Leyden's reading in the University Library took in Adam Ferguson's Lectures, Dugald Stewart's Outlines of Moral Philosophy, and Ralph Cudworth's The true intellectual system of the universe (the first part of which claimed to confute all reason and philosophy).
as well as Erasmus Darwin’s Zoonomia (volume one), and three books on Greek: Henricus Hoogeveen’s Doctina particularum linguae Graecae, Thomas Morell’s Thesaurus Graecae poeseis, and the Lexicon Dionysii of Aemilius Portus, “quod totius Theocriti, Moschi... Bionis... et Simmiae... variorum opusculorum accuratam... interpretationem continet”.

The classical works among these borrowings were doubtless used in the tutoring to which Leyden gave much of his time this session. At Martinmas, 1795, the ever-helpful Dalzel procured for Leyden some hours of private teaching in such families as Lord Henderland’s and Lord Meadowbank’s; and, again on Dalzel’s recommendation, Leyden also “attended” two English gentlemen from Oxford, who had come to Edinburgh in order to “finish the Greek language”. Greek literature was then little cultivated in Scotland generally, and this appointment must have been peculiarly gratifying to Leyden’s national and personal pride, especially as, before Leyden’s coming to town, Dalzel had been “puzzled to find a preceptor” for one of the Englishmen, who was a very good Greek scholar: so good, indeed, that tutoring him afforded Leyden himself “an opportunity of improvement in the language”. This advantage, coupled with the fact that Leyden earned a guinea a month for his daily two hours’ Greek teaching, went far to make him decline totally a proposal, made by a Mr Wallace and transmitted by Robert Lundie, that he should become resident tutor in a country family. His conviction that his present situation was better in every respect was strengthened, however, by the fact that his proposed employer was that same Mr Dodds who had disappointed him early in his last summer vacation; for despite Lundie’s glowing description of the scenery and the female society to be found at Showswood, Leyden, “By Memory’s rankling tooth impress”, could not have prevailed on himself to enter Mr Dodds’s service after what had passed even had Dodds been “the most excellent of men and his wife an angel from heaven”. And Leyden accordingly neither felt nor expressed gratitude to Lundie for his suggestion:

“I do not thank you... for your recommendations — for why?— Because by them you did yourself a much greater pleasure than you could intend me. — Did you not, My Dear Sir?— I know you did. My own callous heart tells me so.”

1 2 tom. Lurgd. Bat., 1769. Entered as 'Hoogeveen de, Particulis'.
2 Borrowed twice, on Feb. 16 and April 30, 1796.
3 The Univ. Lib. has three copies of the Frankfurt, 1603, edition.
4 Robert Leyden to James Morton, Sept. 8, 1815. Thomas Brown (to Morton, Jan. 6, 1816) doubted whether Leyden taught in these families adding that he never resided in either and that in any case “the connexion... had no consequence”. But see p. 100 in.
5 Dr Robert Anderson to Bishop Percy, Aug. 26, 1808.
6 Leyden to Robert Lundie, Jan. 14, 1796.
Even had Leyden not cherished this antipathy towards the unreliable Mr. Dodds, his decision to remain in Edinburgh was doubtless a wise one; for, Dalzel being always ready to put in a word in his favour, he was unlikely to lack pupils; and, his own talents and industry being what they were, he was unlikely to lose pupils once obtained with his wide range of knowledge, his ceaseless activity of mind, his command of language, and his consuming passion for learning, he had indeed every prospect of succeeding as a teacher; and testimony to his complete success in at least one case is given by one of his later pupils, James Wardrop, whom Leyden tutored privately for two years. Wardrop, who was to become a distinguished surgeon and eye-specialist in London, had already spent the usual time at the Grammar School, and one season at the University, but had "never learned a lesson but with the hope of escaping the tawse". Leyden, however, in instructing Wardrop in Greek and Latin, taught him much more besides, for, instead of driving a lesson into his pupil's head "... with awe and severity, he excited a passion for study by practically showing its utility, and the reasonable sources of pleasure and satisfaction to be derived from it. His immense stock of knowledge gleaned by labour and a most retentive memory, and communicated in a most simple and familiar manner, at once opened before me new prospects and new passions, which I have ever since been proud gratefully to thank him for."

Literature, as well as theology and tutoring, still claimed a considerable share of Leyden's attention this session. Yielding to the exhortations of Robert Lundie, he became a member of the Literary Society: a different organization, apparently, from that which he had attended earlier, and one which, when Leyden joined it, was in so bad a state that at least one of its meetings had to be abandoned for want of a quorum. It was reduced indeed to a mere skeleton of its former self, having recently lost four of its pillars in James Reddie, who left for Glasgow at the beginning of November; Lundie himself, a founder-member and ex-treasurer, who was spending the winter in Kelso; Robert Spankie, who had gone to London to be a reporter in the House of Commons; and Francis Hörner, "who would have entered", had he too not departed to London for the winter. William Gillespie, however, continued to figure in the society "in the character of a Sceptical Naturalist, upon the principles of Darwin's Zoonomia"; Henry Brougham held office as

1 James Wardrop to Archibald Constable, June -, 1812: quoted by Thomas Constable, op. cit., I, p.196.
2 Leyden to Lundie, Jan.14, 1796. This may have been a senior, as opposed to a 'Juvenile' Literary Society. Cf. p.54 sup.
4 Erskine to Lundie, Nov.1, 1795. (MS.1675, Nat. Lib. Scot.)
secretary and treasurer; and William Erskine, though he found attendance inconvenient, being burdened with uncongenial legal studies and long, long thoughts on the iniquities of society, remained a member, out of affection for an association which had given him much pleasure, until there should be an increase in its numbers: a development which was taking place by mid-December.¹ A month later Leyden could report that in his judgment the Society was flourishing "like a green bay horse - split the pen! - I mean tree";² and by the end of February, it was "going on vastly well", having become a most respectable and numerous body with "30 attending members besides a number of visitors".³

Leyden's membership of this society, as well as his friendship with Dr Anderson, doubtless helped to keep him au fait with the current topics of literary gossip, and so enable him to pass on to the absent Lundie information on such matters as the identity of the Della Crusca correspondents;⁴ the plan of Alexander Thomson's The Paradise of Taste, "a descriptive Allegorical Poem in the manner of Spenser", which Leyden had seen "in Dr Anderson's hand - on its way to the printers at London";⁴ and the effusions, pro and con, called forth by Henry Erskine's dismissal, on January 12, 1796, from the office of Dean of the Faculty of Advocates:

"The only thing new in the literary world... is, a most spirited Poetical Pasquinade a la the Dean of Faculty... in the form of a Letter from Mr Muir in Botany Bay to the Dean. The satire is extremely keen and pointed but in some passages excessively scurrilous & in others vapid as when the Dean and his friends are introduced into the Infernal Regions &c... I am unable to give any further account of it, having only heard particular passages read by a Gentleman. The author is entirely unknown. I have also heard that there is another, circulated in MS. in certain circles, by a Lady, in the Dean's favour. I have no time to add more."²

Leyden was active, too, in inducing such verse-writing friends as Lundie and Gillespie to contribute poems to the Edinburgh Magazine, having arranged with the former, most probably at Kelso in the vacation, a plan for such contributions, which, when mentioned (without Lundie's name) to Dr Anderson, received his highest approbation.⁴ Between September, 1795, and January, 1796, no fewer than eight of Leyden's own poems, four of them translations and most of them composed the previous summer, appeared in the Magazine.

1 Erskine to Lundie, December 11, 1795.
2 Leyden to Lundie, January 14, 1796.
3 Brougham to Lundie, February 27, 1796. (MS. 1675.) —This was not the end of the Literary Society's vicissitudes. See p.169 infra.
4 Leyden to Lundie, November 23, 1795. — He commented on the Della Crusca:"Dr Anderson informs me that it is Mrs Cowley who assumes the signature of Anna Matilda... Laura is Mrs Robinson." The Paradise of Taste, which Leyden describes in detail, was published at London in 1796. It comprised 7 cantos, in varied metres.
Of these, three were on rural themes: Robertslaw, alias Ruberslaw; the Ode to the Scenes of Infancy, commended by Robert Lundie as containing "poetic imagery & tender sentiment"; and Flaminius ad Agellum suum, an imitation from the Latin, which expresses, in language reminiscent of Milton's minor poems, a preference for a country life spent amidst

...arbours brown, where every breeze
Whispers thro' the leafy trees:

a life in which the poet, lying "at the panting noontide hour"
within the twisted birchen bower, can listen to the

Rivulet tinkling down the hill
And the throstle whistling shrill,

while he is ministered to both by the milk-maids blythe and by the Pierian maids who love

The airy hill and sombrous grove.

Two translations from Old Norse, The Descent of Odin and The Incantation of Hervor, were in a very different vein. The former, presenting the earlier and less dramatic part of the poem from Thomas Bartholinus's De Causis Contemnendae Mortis of which Thomas Gray had translated the remainder, describes the efforts of the gods in Odin's hall of gold to induce the whole race of Nature to intercede on behalf of the doomed Balder; and as Leyden explicitly states in his title that this portion was omitted by Gray, uses the same octosyllabic metre as Gray, and ends with Gray's opening line, he would seem to have viewed his own translation as a worthy complement to the other. The Incantation, "a Runic Ode, from Olaus Verilius", abounds, like Leyden's earlier Danish Ode, in violence of sentiment and phrase, being a dialogue between the dead Angantyr and his rash and bloodthirsty daughter, Hervor, who, indifferent alike to the fate of her descendants and the wishes of her father, comes to Angantyr's tomb by night and invokes his spirit with fierce words, demanding that he should hand over to her "The elfin-tempered sword Tirfing": a weapon which she desires to have because

Dear is dominion to the soul
Whose inborn vigour scorns controul,

and which she purposes eagerly to wield on fields of blood. The remaining three poems were Bellicosum facinus; Moonlight, whose

1 The title is given as Robertsaw in the Edin. Mag., but as Ruberslaw elsewhere. See pp. 81-83 sup. for an account of the poem.
2 Lundie to Miss Lundie (his sister), Feb. 15, 1796. (MS. 1816, Nat. Lib. Scot.) He notes that "Leyden has some pretty pieces" in the Edin. Mag. for Jan. 1796. (Viz. this ode, Moonlight, and the Anacreontic.)
3 Bartholinus, Antiquitatum Danicarum... Libri tres, Lib. III, Cap. 11, pp. 632-40, gives this Vegtarm kviya with a Latin translation.
4 The original is in George Hickes's Linguarum veterum Septentrion. alium Thesaurus, vol. 1, Pt. I, pp. 193-95.
5 Cf. the Essay on the Fairies. See p. inf. 6 See p. 68 sup.
two stanzas compare the "graceful, mild, endearing air" of Teviotdale maidens to the soft light of the moon upon "glistening fields of snow"; and an Anacreontic of ten lines, translated from Leyden's own Greek (in which Professor Dalzel unfortunately detected two errors), and conveying a warning that true love will elude the man who praises only ideal beauty. This "silly jeu d'esprit" had been written just before Leyden learned of the marriage of an acquaintance, Mrs Bell; and he felt, not very logically, that had he himself been in love, this circumstance might have been "regarded as an instance of the prophetic inspiration claimed always by Poets since the days of Orpheus and Thomas the Rhymer".

This ode in Greek and English was "absolutely the only thing" which Leyden had written in verse since the summer vacation, apart from "a few corrections, particularly in Revenge, by which it is rendered more infernal". He had still a stock of verse on which to draw, however, and in January was purposing to contribute another ode to the Edinburgh Magazine for February, provided he could take the trouble of correction. But he must, after all, have lacked the time or inclination to take this trouble, not only in February, but for many months thereafter, for no poems by 'J.L. Banks of the Tiviot' appeared in the Edinburgh Magazine during the next two years: a lapse due no doubt to Leyden's own preoccupation with other matters, since the prominent position given to his poems in the magazine suggests that Dr Anderson viewed them with favour: as indeed was their due according to the standards of a periodical whose chief contributors of verse included Henry James Fye and 'Peter Pindar'.

In January, Leyden had felt obliged to ask Lundie to excuse any ambiguities or omissions in his letter which might have proceeded from his unavoidable haste. By the end of term he was apparently still more harassed, for in mid-April he wrote to his uncle, in explanation of his tardiness as a correspondent:

"...the everlasting bustle and hurry in which I always find myself had induced me to imagine that I had wrote you, till James Morton convinced me of my mistake. Now after all, I am somewhat at a loss to account for this same hurry of mine, for I am frequently in such a haste that I can do nothing at all for the mere sake of the hurry. - Just as if

1 Μηροητητα Κοφην, instead of Μηροητητα Κοφυ, the use of τραπεζας as meaning 'mind' rather than 'heart', in Των τραπεζων το φευμα (11.4-5) - Note in MS. 3383, f. 1, which has a copy both of the Greek and the English of this Των τραπεζων το φευμα, the former beginning Των λογιων Αναροντελοιν, the latter 'I lately seized the Lydian lyre'.
2 Leyden to Lundie, Jan. 14, 1796. - Leyden regretted that he did not know of Mrs Bell's marriage in time to write an Epithalamium.
3 The September and November issues place Leyden's poems first in the poetry section; in January, they are second to Fye's Birthday Ode.
4 Leyden's cousin and biographer, Thomas Morton's son.
you were to seize your shuttle with both hands at the same time... The more haste the worse speed says the Proverb, and as an evidence of its truth, I have here sat down and am driving my quill as fast as I can - though I had determined to write with the utmost leisure - all of which clearly points the inefficacy of good resolutions.

"Markets continue as high as formerly and it is probable they will not fall as the war is to continue - but of this you can be certain I can give you no distinct account - hereupon I thought I heard my aunt expatiating, and even introducing the story of the Night cap & other instances of my forgetfulness, and immediately I attempted to recollect some of the Market prices &c, but it was all in vain... I believe I have forgot something or many things but must desist as I find myself in the old hurry".

Leyden carried out his intention of remaining in Edinburgh this summer, and never again spent a full vacation at home with his family. He stayed for the sake of work, not of pleasure; and from what he wrote to Thomas Logan in early July, he seems to have had neither time nor desire to indulge in social diversions.

"I am extremely delighted...to observe with what versatility of genius you assume any character that happens to strike your fancy. The desponding air of the uneasy malcontent, the formal buckram reserve of cautious suspicion, & the easy frivolity of the simpering fribble are alternately adopted with equal facility. Your last was indeed such a Masterpiece of imitation that it was only after exhausting my patience, and attempting all the five modes of interpretation to penetrate the concealed meaning of your letter, that I discovered its perfect congruity with the character you had assumed, so jolly, jaunty and debonnaire! - light and airy, by the wig of Pharaoh! the starch'd pedagogue is entirely sunk in the skipping, flirting, bowing son of a Church - and then so genteel a pair of spectacles on's nose as one would wish to see in a summer's day. 'Will Homer teach you to make an elegant bow?' What a profound reflection, & so sarcastic withall! How it prostrates me and my erudition! How unlucky it was that you neglected to subjoin another reflection, tho' it must be allowed to be of much less solidity than that wh. you suggested, 'Will Dancing or an elegant bow teach me to read Homer, Xenophon, Callimachus, Horace, Tacitus and Cicero de Officiis, my present employment and to correct daily a Latin version of two of the pages of Adam's Antiquities.' From this you may infer that I have not time for acting the fine Gentleman, if I were ever so much inclined. Besides, a transformation into a pert formal quiz is totally inconsistent with the uprightness (as I chuse to phrase what you may perhaps term) the obstinacy of my character, wh. I expect to see shortly illustrated from your pen. Nevertheless, notwithstanding these engagements, expect not but I shall contest the palm with you not only in

1 Leyden to Thomas Morton, April 14 1796. Mrs. Morton was Margaret Leyden, sister of John Leyden's father.
2 Probably no long process. to judge by Leyden's later remarks on patience to Robert Lundie. See p.104 infra.
3 Cf. Leyden's borrowings at this period from the University and Divinity Hall Libraries. See pp.93 & 94 sup.
4 Roman Antiquities: or, an account of the Manners and customs of the Romans... by Alexander Adam, Hector of the High School of Edinburgh. Published by William Creech, Edinburgh, 1791, and thereafter reaching many editions.
the acquisition of general knowledge & that polite
Literature wh. you pedantically affect to despise; but
even in your favourite province of physic and Chymistry,
from which design I am not at all deterred by the Catalogue
exhibited of your Reading. So I exhort you to resume
the pristine vigour of your intellectual powers - to awake like
a Giant from his slumbers - to lay aside every weight and
the sin wh. doth most easily beset you, i.e. despondency;
for I hold Love to be rather one of the irritamenta agemi
than of the tranquilla sempiternas, and to run with
patience, agility & perseverance what I have forgot but
what your Calvinistical head will remember.1 That this is
no rant you will be certain when I inform you that Mr
Taylor and Mr Maconochie leave town in a few days, & then
I will - I will &c."2

This devotion to study, however, did not impair Leyden’s
love of practical joking: for, after indignantly upbraiding
Logan for having believed him capable of breaking open a
sealed Love letter of Logan’s - "Odds-pistols-& bullets! you
ought to know me better"; explaining his failure to write to
Logan as only a miscalculation brought about by procrastination
on Sundays and Saturdays and want of time: transmitting
medical instructions from Dr Anderson anent "Barks" and sea-
bathing; and stating that he now sees scarcely any of their
mutual acquaintances, Leyden concluded his letter by recounting
a "notorious instance" of the vigour of his rhetorical powers:

"I actually had the merit of persuading Mr. Ritchie to
challenge Mr Urquhart, Preacher, of the Poors’ house3 -
I despatched the Challenge, apparently, wt. secret orders
of retention, taking care that Mr Urquhart should be
informed of Mr. Ritchie’s intention & step. The mutual
embarrassment that this occasioned was sufficient to move
the muscles of a horse, as it produced on Mr. Ritchie’s
part a sad and doleful recantation accompanied wt. terrible
qualms of conscience and the inner man: on Mr. Urquhart’s
- dreadful melancholies & tremblings of body as well as
mind, & it is probable that if it had not been for my
tremendous threats & known bloody-mindedness, the Peace
would have been sworn against Mr. Ritchie. Bella! horrida
bella! ha ha ha!!! You see there is no room for a
Catalogue of my reading, wh. has been in Polite literature,
Criticism, Moral Philosophy, Travels, Novels, Poetry &
Natural-History."2

Too busy even to accompany Dr Anderson and his daughters
Margaret and Anne on their customary holiday excursion this
summer, Leyden might well have felt, in the heat of August,
that the financial gains of tutoring and the amenities of city
libraries were dearly bought at the price of remaining in town.

1 Presumably the race that is set before us. (Hebrews, XII, 1.)
2 Leyden to Logan, July 4, 1796. (M.S. 3383, Nat. Lib. Scot.) - Taylor
and Maconochie were evidently pupils, whose departure would
leave Leyden free to do great things in acquiring knowledge.
Maconochie was probably a son of Lord Meadowbank. Cf. p. 94 sup
3 Probably William Ritchie, who introduced Leyden to Dr Andor
son. Urquhart I cannot trace; he may have been a Dissenter.
There is no hint of any such feeling, however, in *The Dryad's Warning*, addressed on August 6, 1796, to "Robert Anderson, M.D., on an excursion in the country," in which Leyden ostensibly seeks to persuade Anderson to return from the comfortless and unpoetical country to the more refined city,

Where shines the sun on plastered walls,  
Carts, cabbages and cobbler's stalls.

Speaking first through the lips of the oak-inhabiting dryad of the title, and then in his own person, Leyden solemnly warns Anderson of the imminence of a tempest of rain and wind "fit for turning mills", and inquires incredulously,

... Dear Doctor what could tempt  
Your placid soul, from cares exempt,  
When mystic tomes no longer rise  
With magic rhymes to daze your eyes,  
To leave your books, your lettered ease,  
Your power of trifling when you please,  
To trace the marsh, the desert moors,  
To converse with unlettered boors:  
To pour on the bleak morning sky,  
And count each cloud that waggles by;  
To view the green moon through the trees  
Swing like a huge suspended cheese:  
Or fairy landscapes in the mist,  
Like some poetic fabulist?

Viewing the Andersons through "imagination's telescope", he laments their indifference to the portents of the gathering storm.

Lo! by a stream I see you stray  
Where chime the waves in wanton play:  
Along with quickened pace you go,  
And now with steps reversed and slow,  
Still listening to the buzzing crowd  
Of idle gnats that murmur loud;  
Where high the gushing waters spout,  
And frequent springs the speckled trout;  
While constant in your raptured ear  
The river's distant hum you hear.  
But heard you not at twilight's break  
The wrangling hen's harsh-twittering peck?  
And see these crows - in airy rings  
They wheel on glossy oil-smoothed wings,  
Aloft they dart, oblique they range  
In hiero-lyphic circles strange,  
And now their mazy folds combine  
To form one long continuous line:  
That living hillock heaves its head  
With crumbling earth so fresh and red,  
Where, floundering blindfold from his hole,  
Springs forth to light the darkling mole.  
Fly! Doctor, fly! no longer stay  
Till twining earth-worms bar your way;  
Till crawling snails their antlers rear,  
And Anne and Margaret cry,"Oh dear!  
How hard yon path-way steep to climb,  
And slide o'er slippery tracks of slime."

1 *Edinburgh Magazine* for July, 1798. (Vol.XII p.60.)  
2 Cf. Leyden's later reference to Anderson's Stoicism.  
3 A reference to Anderson's edition of the British Poets.
And in conclusion, picturing them storm-stayed in a cottage through their neglect of these admonitions, he counsels soothingly:

Well, Doctor, since you must delay,
Why, practise patience while you stay -
While tempests shroud the stormy sky
These lines its utmost power may try.

Writing again to Thomas Logan in a rather graver tone towards the end of this month, Leyden, in offering some observations on Logan's character, throws a good deal of light on his own.

"With respect to your Systems - tho' it is my maxim to be always doing, and whatsoever I am doing to do it with all my might - yet I own this sudden change, this doing of things by the lump is rather suspicious; I wish it may not be rather inaccurate, like my prosody.

If you be sincere, the danger will consist in your out-stoicking the Stoicks - I mean in the eyes of men, for in this respect you are like the Scribes and Pharisees. I propose this as the test of your sincerity - That your Regeneration be wholly internal without any visible alteration. The true Stoical System, when interpreted moderately and with attention to the spirit rather than to the Letter, appears to be merely this: - 'That reason should guide us', that the mind should not be exempted from the influence of passion &c. but superior to perturbation, the drunkenness, the vertigo of the soul. The persons of my acquaintance who possess the greatest degree of this temper are Dr Anderson, & the excellent Dr Erskine, with whom my intimacy was only forming when you left town. Lundie who would otherwise be a highly perfect character, does not rise so high in the scale of gradation - but it is the goodness of his heartsubjects him to perturbation. If you still allow that everyone is the best judge of his own character you must allow my claim to a higher degree of this temper than of intellectual ability or of any other quality. This claim Braidwood declares he will not dispute, as he has not observed any material alteration in the Barometer of my mind. You will state the objections in my Character which I expect immediately with your discourses, or else you shall have the Devil to pay in a hurry.

"But I will grin till you can despise both the applause and the reproaches of fools - till you glory in the approbation of your unsophisticated heart, and of men of worth, wh. will almost always coincide. I would you could despise the opinion of fools and scoundrels - till then you are not a real Stoic, you possess not the calm undaunted tranquillity of virtue wh. is affected by every passion but superior to them all.

Which lifts the soul beyond her clime
To daring heights of thought sublime.

You are neither abhorred nor despised by me (wh. you will easily credit) nor by any of my friends who can credit my testimony; I trust you will not demonstrate it to be false."1

From this letter it appears also that Logan, like Lundie earlier in the summer, had been exerting himself to arrange a tutoring engagement for Leyden, but with better success; for this time Leyden accepted with alacrity, although again remarking coolly "I do not thank you in this business, as you do yourself a very high favour. Do you not?" 2

1 Leyden to Logan, [August 25, 1796] (MS.3383;Nat.Lib.Scot.)
2 Ibid. - Cf.p.94 sup. for Leyden's reply to Lundie.
I have this moment called on Braidwood to enquire for letters, & received yours of the 22d. wh. (as it seems), he had not the least thought of delivering as it is marked wt. haste, wh. according to his nomenclature of indolent philosophy denotes delay. Not to detain you therefore, after considering the affair, your character of the parties finally determined me to agree to the terms. This therefore you may signify to Mrs. Stewart - and let me know what to do, if anything be necessary. When I received yours I had just got Ruddiman's Prosody in the large Grammar into my hands, resolved to study it furiously. I am glad an additional spur is superadded. I believe (not absolutely certain) that both G. Warrender and Mr. Christison are now gone to the country. I called yesterday with Schelleri praecepta styli bene Latini, wh. I had from him, but found none at home.  

Soon, however, through the good offices of the indefatigable Dalzel, Leyden was offered a tutoring post more important than any he had yet held: that of permanent tutor in the family of William Campbell of Fairfield (formerly Whitehaugh), an Ayrshire gentleman who, being an advocate and Principal Clerk to the High Court of Admiralty, lived for most of the year in his town house at 25 Frederick Street, instead of at his country seat near Monkton. The position of a resident private tutor, so often the portion of the eighteenth century student, was no doubt a less independent one than John Leyden might have desired; but having his final session of attendance at the Divinity Hall still before him, he could hardly afford to neglect this opportunity of obtaining a full-time post. So we find William Erskine announcing to Robert Lundie on September 16, 1796: "Our friend Leydon is about to enter into Mr Campbell of Fairfield's family. He will dash you very soon if you don't write. Lundie seems to have disregarded this warning, however; for almost six weeks later Brougham, deploiring Lundie's negligence as a correspondent, informed him:

"All your friends are hot against you - Erskine is wilder than the rest... & Leydon in the true spirit of Poetic phrenzy, indulges his phantasy with vowing to cut your throat."

This dire threat must have stimulated Lundie at last into writing to Leyden; for on November 12, Leyden, now established in the Campbell household, acknowledged the receipt of Lundie's letter of "the — ult." with mingled pleasure and regret:

"...pleasure that you have wrote at last though late — regret that your silence has been so obstinate, sullen and inexcusable.

1 Probably Thomas Ruddiman's Grammaticae Latinae institutiones; or his The rudiments of the Latin tongue.
2 Most probably Alexander Christison, Prof. of Humanity, 1806-20.
3 Immanuel Johann Gerhard Schelleri Praecepta styli bene Latini.
4 Leyden to Thomas Logan, [August 25, 1796]
5 Half-way up the east side of North Frederick Street.
6 Cf. Erskine to Lundie, Jan. 15, 1798: "I have known several tutors. I have known no happy tutors."
7 Leyden's favourite exclamation according to Scott.
8 Brougham to Lundie, Oct. 27, 1796; (MS. 1675 Nat. Lib. Scot.) — The reference is apparently to Leyden's Ode to Phantasy.
I should surely have written you long ago had you not expressly desired me to allow you to write first. But your letter easily mistaken for these inattentions and I do not insist on your crying Peccavi. What is there new, you say, what is there new? Nay nothing at all my Dear Sir, for it is not new that a man should soon forget his friends when they are not immediately under his eyes. What I am doing can be of no importance & as to the rest of your companions, I suppose the excellent Erskine must have informed you how their labours are directed briefly this - Erskine is interrupted in an Essay on the Evidences of Christianity deducible from the appearances of nature - by the ardent study of Mathematics and Nat. Philosophy. Reddie is writing his Law-thesis on Gifts Browne having confuted Darwin’s Zoonomia in a dissertation that will I hope be shortly published, proceeds to prove the compleat passivity of mind & to disprove Latent heat. Brougham... has nearly completed another paper on Optics and an Utopia of Atheism (but this last is not to be mentioned to any person). Plato excluded Poets from his Utopia but Brougham is contented with excluding God Almighty. In my opinion he will derive much more credit from his experimental Philosophy than from his Argumentative. Apropos of experimental Philosophy - what is your opinion of experiments on Patience. Patience I apprehend to be vastly similar to Electricity & like that according to Erskine’s theory it tends always to an equilibrium nor can be insulated in any particular spot without danger of exhaustion. There are Positive and Negative kinds of Patience as well as of Electricity - with the last I believe myself to be abundantly charged. In electrical experiments there is some danger of bursting the Leyden phial - of patience mutatis mutandis. Now as your experiment cannot safely proceed farther I desire you to inform me of your resolution within a fortnight at farthest - if not be assured on the faith of my inflexibility - that I will answer you ad Calendas Graecas; if you afterwards write, I am not endowed with waggon-loads of Patience, God knows.

Having uttered this awful warning, Leyden proceeded to comment pithily on his new situation.

"With respect to the advantages to be derived from residence in a family I cannot say much - the disadvantages I feel more sensibly - tho in the present instance I believe these to be as few as can well be expected. Very little advantage results from an acquaintance with the manners of the great vulgar in my opinion. What a waste of time in useless ceremony, unmeaning compliment, vapid inanity & insipid frivolity. The same eternal frigid remarks and trite observations. Every person wears a mask - the mask is sometimes different in different persons, but the person is generally the same in all - a compound of pride vanity and every thing else that is comprehended under selfishness. These persons never think except of present gratifications, and lucky for them it is that they do not. But I can with great sangfroid accommodate
myself to every thing but immorality. A person's situation is seldom in his own power, but his conduct always is. These preliminaries being discussed, you will be relieved from a grievous load of commonplace. I shall wait one fortnight from hence according to Order.

Whether Lundie responded within the given fortnight, or whether Leyden repented of his threat to leave unanswered any letter received from Lundie thereafter, the correspondence between the two was still in progress three months later. By then it was Leyden who felt obliged to admit that his awkward delay had "rendered it proper to begin... as usual, with an excuse".

"Were I a necessitarian, I should feel much more comfortable on this occasion, but as the best part of an excuse is to avoid a repetition of the error in future, you may condemn or acquit as time shall show to be proper. Had I wrote a fortnight sooner you might have received more agreeable intelligence - I could then have told you all our friends were in health - at present I must regret that Erskine is excepted. The Sunday before last, he was seized with a violent fit of the Rheumatism, which quickly affected almost every joint, completely crippling both hands & feet. On Friday symptoms of a pneumatic affection appeared with spitting of blood. B. Bell who had been called in his cautious timid manner delayed bleeding him most astonishingly - & when he did perform the operation he proceeded so cautiously that it has been necessary to repeat it thrice. I have just seen him very weak - ordered to be kept very quiet, his breast relieved - but the rheumatism still continuing. After this information I believe you will not much relish philosophical discussion. Erskine has desired me to transmit to you Joan of Arc, which you will receive if the Carrier can pack it this week. Astonishing genius is displayed in some parts as in the end of the 1st & the whole 9th book but in none more than the beginning of the Second - the passage wrote by Coleridge. I have not read it sufficiently to particularize much neither have I time at present. Homer and Tyrtaeus &c sing of the glorious deeds of war; and their praises of heroes men of blood have in every age resounded in the chorus of fools and madmen, - Southey has sung of war to display its horrors & his may therefore be called the Heroic Poem of Peace. Have you seen Coleridge's Poems they are mentioned as admirable by some that have seen them in England; Godwin it seems has again published - can he be the author of the Enquirer in the Monthly Magazine? The principles of his Political Justice are surely extremely questionable. 1. The Omnipotence of truth can mean nothing but that all truth will sometime or other be known to Man. 2. The infinite perfectibility of Man [is?] equally problematical. 3. The absolute

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1 Leyden to Lundie, Nov. 12, 1796. 2a Benjamin Bell (1749-1806).
2 Leyden to Lundie, Feb. 14, 1797. (MS: 1722, Nat. Lib. Scot.)
3 Southey's Joan of Arc, published October, 1796. Erskine told Lundie, Oct. 25, 1796, that he had lent Joan of Arc to Dr Anderson and would give it to John Falconar on getting it back.
4 This "preluding strain" on the nature of God and Reality was omitted in later editions, in which, also, the end of Bk. I was altered, and Bk. IX rewritten, without machinery, the original Bk. IX being appended as the Vision of the Maid of Orleans.
5 Leyden's own poetry was often martial and bloody enough.
6 Probably the Poems on various subjects, published 1796.
7 William Godwin published The Inquirer, a series of Essays, in February, 1797.
necessity of human actions is not more evident. Yet with these his whole system stands or falls – Indeed the greater part of the sarcasms thrown out against polished society by Godwin and the French Philosophers were used by the first Christian Fathers for a very different purpose to evince the propriety of Monachism.

Concern for William Erskine (who recovered eventually) seems to have quickened both Lundie’s and Leyden’s pens: for on Wednesday of the next week, Leyden, having received a letter from Lundie just as he was sitting down to dinner, scrawled a hasty reply “after 8 o’Clock”, reporting that although his anxiety for the “excellent Erskine” (whom he had not seen since Thursday, by order of Erskine’s physicians) was much alleviated, there was still considerable cause to fear.

“He has been on the verge of another world – a desperate pleuretic fever combining with the rheumatism. When I called on Wednesday night expecting to see him, I was shocked to find that he had been in extreme danger, since I had called in the morning – & could not be seen. I slid into his room on Thurs-day when he was rather better – he could not speak but whispered my name. That night he relapsed but has since been easier, – recovering extremely slow. Today he was more relieved but expressly enjoined not to be seen.

...I will call before I put...[this] into the Post Office – and if he has relapsed (which God forbid) will inform you. I have only sent you a line having been engaged with my pupils ever since the receipt of yours.”

Despite the claims made on his time by his tutoring duties, and despite his disgust at having to waste precious hours in meaningless social intercourse, Leyden, appreciating as he did that the disadvantages of residential tutorship were at a minimum in the Campbell household, remained there for the next three and a half years. Mr Campbell had the sense and tact to treat the high-spirited young tutor with respect and kindness, welcoming such of Leyden’s friends as chose to visit him, and leaving his time, apart from the hours of tuition, entirely at his own disposal.

Nor was the task of teaching the three Campbell boys, William, George and Charles, so arduous as to interfere with Leyden’s own studies. He continued to pursue his Divinity course, and in doing so made the acquaintance of a fellow-student from Kirkcudbright-shire, a year his senior, named Henry Duncan, who had studied also at St Andrews and Glasgow, and who was later to become known as the founder of the Savings Bank movement in Britain. Duncan reckoned as his special friends at Edinburgh Leyden, William Gillespie and Robert Lundie; and for Leyden in particular, to whom

1 Leyden to Lundie, Feb. 14, 1797.
4 William Gunning Campbell (1734-1858) succeeded his father as Principal Clerk of the Board of Admiralty; George (1785-1858) joined the E.I.C.S.; & Charles Hay 6th (?-1832) was a Major in the...
Lundie and he were to do posthumous service by helping to rescue his oriental MSS. from oblivion in the warehouses of the East India Company, he felt an enthusiastic admiration, regarding him indeed as a kindred spirit.

Regular attendance in Divinity classes by fourth-year students was not strictly enforced, and was indeed hardly expected; but Leyden continued to make considerable use of the Divinity Hall Library, borrowing thirty volumes during this session and the following summer. Fully a third of these did not bear directly on divinity: for besides such works as Thomas Wintle's "improved version" of the book of Daniel, John Rotheram's Essay on faith, and its connection with good works, Benjamin Bennet's Irenicum, Joachim Langius's Causa Dei et religionis naturalis adversus Atheismum, Lucilio Vanini's Amphitheatrum aeternae providentiae divinomagicum, Jacques Necker On the Importance of religious Opinions, Moral and Philosophical Suggestions on various Subjects, relative to human Perfection and Happiness, Leçons de Morale... par feu M. Gellert, volumes two and three of John Gill's Complete body of doctrinal and practical divinity, the second volume of Gilbert Wakefield's translation of the New Testament and the first of Philip Doddridge's Course of Lectures on the principal Subjects in Pneumatology, Ethics and Divinity, there were also three volumes by Palladius, two by Quintus Curtius Rufus, volume two of James Gregory's Philosophical and literary essays, Johann Verwey's Thesaurus cultae Latinitatis, and the Lexicon Arabicum of Franciscus Raphelengius.

The nineteen volumes which Leyden borrowed from the University Library in the same period covered a still wider field; for among them were Lavoisier's Chemistry and John Lightfoot's Flora Scotica; the Bibliotheca magna Rabbinica, de scriptoribus et scriptis Hebraicis published at Rome in 1675 by Julius Bartoloccius.  

1 Sophy Hall, Dr Duncan of Ruthwell, pp.25-27 & 131. Lundie wrote an article on Leyden's MSS. for the Kelso Mail, Oct.9,1823. And on Dec.27,1823, Robert Leyden wrote to James Morton on this subject: "I have sent a copy of a new Petition framed by Mr Lundie...I have likewise forwarded the former one to Mr Duncan..."  
2 Rev.George Duncan, Memoir of the Rev.Henry Duncan, p.27.  
4 A Review of some late Controversies about the Trinity, Private Judgment, Church Authority, &. Entitled as 'Bennet's View'. Published in 1615 by the self-styled Giulio Cesare Vanini in a vain effort to clear himself from the charge of atheism.  
5 De l'importance des opinions religieuses, 1788. Tr. Edin.,1789.  
6 Lectures delivered at Leipzig, and published at Utrecht in 1775.  
7 Borrowed twice, on May 31 and June 28, 1797.  
8 No titles are given; perhaps De Gentibus Indiae et Brasii-anibus.  
9 Borrowed together on Sept.6, 1797.  
10 Probably Traité élémentaire de chimie (1789).  
12 It classified the native plants of Scotland and the Hebrides.
Sir William Jones's translation of the Sakuntala of Kalidasa,¹ and Joseph Dacre Carlyle's Specimens of Arabian poetry from the earliest time to the extinction of the Khaliphat, with some account of the authors, and with verse translations; Erasmus Darwin's Botanic Garden,² the notorious John Horne Tooke's Περί περίπετης or the diversions of Purley,³ Joseph Berington's History of the lives of Abelard and Heloïse, and Gottlieb Christoph Harless De Vitis Philologorum nostra ætate Clarissimorum;⁴ such stock works on philosophy as Hobbes's Leviathan and William Paley's Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy;⁵ and five editions of classical authors: Decimi Magni Ausonii... opera,⁶ Aelii Aristidis... Opera omnia Graece et Latine... Recensuit... Samuel Jebb,⁷ Chrestomathia Petroniana, sive cornu-copiae observationum... qua... Petrus Burmannianus congesit in Petronium Arbitrum, and Heyn's editions of Zosimus and Tibullus.

Although books on science thus seem to have figured little in Leyden's reading, he found time to prosecute the scientific studies in which he had expressed an interest when writing to Logan last July. Physics he had already studied under Robison in session 1792–93; and he now attended the Chemistry class conducted, since the retirement from active teaching of the celebrated Joseph Black, by Dr Thomas Charles Hope, who, having been elected conjunct Professor with Black on October 21, 1795, was to hold the Chair for close on fifty years.⁸ Despite his talents for research work, Hope preferred to concentrate on improving the mode of lecturing and rendering his subject attractive, which he did to such effect that he attracted large numbers of students and derived considerable emoluments from his Chair.⁹ Leyden doubtless learned much in this class, for, although Hope's manner and diction were somewhat pompous, "this was more than counterbalanced by uncommon clearness of exposition, and unexampled splendour and success of experimental demonstration".¹⁰ There was nevertheless a grave deficiency in Hope's system, for up to 1823 his students 'were no opportunity for practical instruction, the laboratory being open only to Hope's class assistant.¹¹ Nor was this lack of practical

¹ Entered simply as 'Sacontala'; but Jones's translation (Lond., 1790) is the only pre-19th century one in the University Library.
² In 2 parts, 'The economy of vegetables' & 'The loves of the plants'.
³ The best essay on language ever written, according to Alexander Campbell, Introduction to... poetry in Scotland, p.225n.
⁴ Alias Theophilus Christopherus Harlesi.us. Entered as 'Harlesiij Vitæ. 3 vs.'
⁵ Probably the 4th ed., 3 vols., Lond., 1787.
⁶ Entered as 'Asonius Delph.' because edited "in usum Delphini".
⁷ 2 tom., Oxon., 1722. Leyden borrowed vol.1.
⁸ Grant, op.cit., II, pp.397-98, & Bower, op.cit., III, p.119. Hope held this chair until his death in 1844.
scientific instruction confined to the Chemistry department, for most of Hope's colleagues shared his tendency to "discourage every attempt at investigation" on the part of their students.

This state of affairs, had been noted with disapproval by the energetic Henry Brougham, who accordingly decided that nothing was more wanted and more desirable than a sort of Physical Society or rather academy, devoted to the study of the "most important and delightful (because the most certain) branches of science", which were, Brougham felt, being completely neglected by the inert and politics-ridden Royal Societies, and the over-restricted Medical, Chemical and Natural History Societies, and which were moreover unsuited for investigation by mere students' "Speaking Clubs", where difficult questions could not be adequately "comprehended in a slight reading and discussed in a thoughtless series of harrangues". Brougham had therefore broached this subject to James Reddie before the latter's departure to Glasgow in the winter of 1795; but, apart from mentioning it to William Erskine and Francis Horner, he appears to have done nothing further until 17th December, 1796, when he gave details of his plan in a letter to Reddie, who had by then returned to Edinburgh. According to this, the society would impose no obligations upon its members, attendance being optional, the submission of papers voluntary, and the hour and day of meeting subject to alteration for members' convenience. Numbers would be at first small, and the election of new members unanimous, so that the group would be very select; and as there was to be "no such thing as speechifying, eloquence being a bauble in the eye of a philosopher", the meetings would rather resemble a private company than a society. The amassing of a fund was out of the question, but by "stated and very trifling contributions, any little expenses might be defrayed", and apparatus for experiments could be donated by members. As the nucleus of the membership, Brougham suggested five young men, including William Erskine, Thomas Brown, and John Leydon, adding airily "Others will occur as we go on", and remarking that Horner, who had taken up the plan with enthusiasm, would contribute papers during his residence in London, and that William Gillespie would later make "an excellent member; - but not till the thing is set agoing, from his want of solidity".

1 Brougham to James Reddie, Dec. 17, 1796. (MS. 3704, Nat. Lib. Scot.)
2 Brougham had intended to discuss this matter verbally with Reddie, but had then decided that it might be "better canvassed in writing". (Ibid.)
3 Brougham himself offered to donate complete optical apparatus.
Brougham's proposal must have met with approval; for on 7th January, 1797, eight "gentlemen, having resolved to form themselves into an association, for the investigation of Nature, the laws by which her phenomena are regulated, and the history of opinions concerning these laws", met to consider preliminary business regarding the Academy of Physics, as they decided to call their society. The eight were Brougham himself, Erskine (in the chair), Reddie, Brown, Rogerson, Birkbeck, Logan and Leyden: all former members of the Literary Society; and among four associated gentlemen not present was Dr Robert Anderson, Honorary Member. The plan of business presented by Brougham was adopted with a few modifications, the objects of the society's investigations being stated as Pure Mathematics, or the Philosophy of Quantity; Mixed Mathematics, or the Philosophy of Motion and its Effects; the Physics of Matter, or the Philosophy of Body; the Physics or Philosophy of Mind, excluding religious controversies and party politics; and the History of Events, Opinions, Systems, etc. Ordinary members, whose duty it was to attend meetings, communicate observations on papers read, and share their discoveries, improvements and inquiries, especially on scientific subjects, were required to attend at least once a month, under penalty, of writing a paper, any failure to produce the penal paper being followed by a fine of ten shillings and sixpence. Office bearers, however, were obliged to be present at each meeting, on pain of being fined five shillings for every wilful omission. So Leyden's acceptance of the post of Secretary, an office he held along with Thomas Logan, virtually entailed his regular attendance at the society's weekly Saturday meetings, besides committing him to the duties of taking concise minutes, writing to correspondents and superintending the binding of papers. The meetings proceeded for some time with great spirit, such animation being shown in discussion that after the Academy had been in existence for eight months, it was felt that debates were suffering from "...the inconveniences resulting from the want of general principles, which might be taken for granted in all physical inquiries, and from the free and un-constrained introduction of metaphysical points, on which the members, either from the strength of speculative or practical habits, or the abstract nature of the subjects themselves, can never come to an agreement".

1 Minutes of the Academy of Physics, vol.1, 1797-99; quoted by Welsh, op.cit., pp.498-506. The original Minute Books are missing; and MSS.755 & 756,Nat.Lib.Scot., stated by Leonard Horner to be the Academy's Minute Books are actually its Correspondence Books.
2 Ibid. Brougham suggested a similar list to Reddie, Dec.17,1796.
3 There were Ordinary, Honorary, and Corresponding members.
4 Welsh, op.cit.,p.77.
5 Ibid.,pp.502-3.
It was therefore resolved at a meeting held on 9th September, 1797, and attended by Erskine, Brougham, Reddie, Leyden and Brown, to accept the principles that mind and matter exist, and that every change indicates a cause; and to exclude, "to the effect of prohibiting any conversation on them", questions concerning a first cause or infinity of causes, the action and passion of mind, liberty and necessity, merit and demerit, self-love and benevolence, the nature of evidence, abstract ideas and the existence of rights.

Leyden may well have been one of those who indulged in unending argument of metaphysical problems, for despite his considerable interest in and knowledge of scientific subjects, these were not among his favourites; and the Academy, with its emphasis on the scientific, had no profound influence on him, having been formed, indeed, after Leyden's "character had evolved itself fully", and giving him not a single new acquaintance, since he was already well known to all the members in the Literary Society.

Literature was still holding its place in Leyden's affection; and in Ausonius, whose works he read this autumn, he found material for three of the verse translations which he turned out with much facility: The Roses, Elegiac Ode at the return of the Parentalia, and Rural Life. Based respectively on De rosis nascentibus, Attusia Lucana Sabina Uxor, and De hereditio, these versions are rather paraphrases than exact renderings: a fact which Leyden recognized in describing the Elegiac Ode as 'Imitated from Ausonius'. The themes of all three - the beauties of nature and the shortness of life; unfailing devotion to a dead love; and the pleasures of life on a few paternal acres not too far from town - were congenial to Leyden, and to all he gave adequate, if conventional, treatment, enhancing the perennial charm of the last particularly by little details of natural description.

Two new channels for the publication of his poems were opened to Leyden during 1797: the Kelso Mail, the bi-weekly Tory newspaper just begun under the direction of the enterprising James Ballantyne in opposition to the Whig Kelso Chronicle; and, farther afield, the London Monthly Magazine. The former, whether from a lack of supply

1 Erskine was chairman, a "President to superintend" being elected "pro temo every Meeting". (Welsh, op. cit., p.50.)
2 The "suppositions of mind being a bundle of ideas, and matter a collection of properties" were precluded.
3 Welsh, op. cit., pp.502-3. 4 Thos Brown to Jas Morton, Jan.6, 1816.
6 By an anonymous poet, but long ascribed to Ausonius.
7 The ninth ode in the Parentalia, 8 Ko.1 of the Domestici.
8 The Monthly Magazine and British Register: begun February, 1796.
or of demand, printed pieces of verse only at long and irregular intervals. Nevertheless, Leyden had his "beautiful Ode" to Phantasy published in its first number on Thursday, April 13, 1797; and by the autumn he was making arrangements, through Robert Lundie, for future contributions and for the return of papers already submitted:

"I must entreat you to let me have my papers without delay that are in the possession of yourself and Ballantine, to whom I beg to be remembered. If I have not sent him any Essay he will recollect that it is his own fault, as he has never sent me the list of subjects he promised, and I never write except I am engaged beyond the power of retraction... It occurs to me that either you or Ballantine or both have desired me to send you some books which I cannot recollect, you will therefore please to repeat your Orders. If Ballantine pleases he may print my Lapland fragment with the alteration... If the MSS. of Phantasy has been preserved, I beg you will let me have [it], I have not time to explain the reason..."

His introduction to the cognizance of the Monthly Magazine (for which, by October, he was busily preparing contributions), Leyden owed to a new acquaintance made in the summer of 1797: George Dyer, that "gall-less and single-minded" man of letters, destined to be remembered, not as the author of over a dozen volumes of prose and verse, but simply as the friend of Charles Lamb and the G.D. of the Essays of Elia. On this, his first visit to Scotland, Dyer was combining the business of investigating conditions in public prisons with the pleasure of seeing as much of the country as possible; and in Edinburgh, which he made his headquarters, he found a congenial cicerone in the benevolent Dr Anderson, who was pleased both to introduce Dyer to his literary circle and to conduct him to such vantage-points as the Calton Hill, from which the Englishman surveyed with delight "all the wondrous scene" of "sea, hills and city fair". Eager to see more of Scotland, Dyer went on to make a tour on foot through the Central Highlands, accompanied by Arthur Aikin, the son of Dr John Aikin, editor of the Monthly Magazine, and himself a promising mineralogist. When Dyer and Aikin parted at Dunkeld on July 13, the former was hoping to be back in Edinburgh within a fortnight, although by July 26 he had got no farther than Deanston in Perthshire. And after a further stay in Edinburgh, he set out on

1 Erskine to Robert Lundie, Oct. 11-21, 1797. (MS. 1675, N.L.S.)
2 The nearest approaches to this in Leyden's extant poems are a Greenland Elegy and a Finland Song; but neither has a line like this. B.M. Add. MSS. 26, 555 has a copy of the Elegy in its complete form of 12 stanzas, of which only 7 were printed in the 1819 ed.
3 Leyden to Lundie, Sept. 29, 1797. (MS. 1722, N.L.S.). Lundie was concerned in the conduct of the Kelso Mail for a time in 1797.
4 Erskine, loc. cit. said Brown, Leyden & Gillespie were doing so...
6 Including a History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge.
7 Dyer to Dr. Anderson, July 13, 1797: "Verses on... John Armstrong.
8 Dyer to Dr. Anderson, July 26, 1797: "A Note on... John Armstrong."
another pedestrian tour, this time in company with John Leyden whose summer vacation from his tutoring duties was long enough to enable him to journey with Dyer through the "pastoral and truly classical" country of his native Borders and in some parts of the north of England. 1 It might have been doubted whether the ardent, ambitious, voluble young Scot would find much in common with a hesitant, retiring, middle-aged Englishman, so mildly charitable that he could describe a brutal murderer as merely "a rather eccentric character", and so short-sighted and absent-minded that in later life he was capable of walking into a river in broad daylight. 2 The pair had nevertheless considerable community of interests, for Dyer, like Leyden, was a good classic 3 and a minor poet, a knowledgeable enthusiast for both classical and modern literature; and he too had been a Divinity student and a tutor, before he took up residence in Clifford's Inn in 1792 and settled down to a life of literary hackwork. 4 So Dyer, whose heart habitually overflowed "with benevolent philanthropy for all his fellow-creatures", 5 was pleased with the "tuneful youth of charming Tiviotdale" 6 who was his guide, and whom he never failed to remember when he looked back "with great, great pleasure" upon his days at Edinburgh. 7 And Leyden, for his part, when inviting Robert Lundie to meet Dyer after the pedestrians had reached Kelso, wrote warmly, if a trifle incoherently, from his uncle's house:

"I am at Mr Mortons - just arrived with Mr.G. Dyer Poet Philos: &c. who has been on a pedestrian excursion thro art of Scot-land; fell in with Dr. Anderson & our friends at Edinr. has come along with me to see the So. of Scotland & goes for Berwick. He is a singular character the enthusiastic friend of Liberty, truth & benevolence - if you can come and drink tea with us -" 8

Lundie, whom Leyden found well and "as indolently busy as usual", took advantage of the occasion to give Dyer some pieces of verse for insertion in the Monthly Magazine (in which, however, they had not appeared by mid-October); 9 and Leyden discovered, probably from his cousin Violet Morton, the interesting if irrelevant fact that a group of Kelso ladies had solemnly declared Robert Lundie to have not "a spark of love" in his composition. 9 There was also

1 Dyer, note to The Triumph of Poetry (Ode IX in Bk III of Dyer's Poetics, vol. i, pp. 2174 et seq. puuid 1814). It is an expanded version of his Ode...to Dr Robert Anderson (Dyer's Poems, 1801, etc).
2 E.V. Lucas, Life...of Charles Lamb, I, p. 163; & I, pp. 160 & II, r. 119 Lamb's account of the latter incident in Amicus Redivivus is some what exaggerated; but Dyer was indeed "peculiarly marked as an absent man". (David Booth to Dr Anderson, Dec. 19, 1818. MS. 22.4. IT.)
3 He edited many volumes in Valpy's editions of the classics.
4 He gave up his Divinity studies on becoming a Unitarian.
5 Thos Park to Dr Anderson, Nov. 2, 1801. (Adv. MS. 22.4.10, N.L.S.)
6 Dyer, The Triumph of Poetry 1.67 & note
7 Dyer to Dr Anderson, n.d. (Adv. MS. 22.4.12, N.L.S.)
8 Leyden to Lundie, Aug. 1797.
9 Erskine to Lundie, Oct. 11-21, 1797.
evidently a return visit of Leyden and Dyer to Lundie's home; for on August 20, 1797, Leyden addressed to Miss Jean and Miss Catherine Lundie an Ode to The Ancient Scotish Music, composed on hearing them sing in "dulcet measures" some of the old, sad songs, familiar to him since childhood, which could move him to ecstasy by their "deep pathetic glow of soul". Such melodies, he felt, might well draw "Departed spirits, half-unseen" to move again among mortals, and of their enduring effect on himself he declared:

Tho' doom'd thro distant climes to stray,
   Where Niles winds his secret way,
These shall deceive my wandering feet;
Tho' doom'd with weary steps to haste,
O'er sultry Afric's sandy waste,
Their memory shall be doubly sweet:

Thou Scottish bard should wake the string
   The triumph of our foes to tell,
he was moved to compose an animated eighty-line Ode on Visiting Flodden, in a solid, characteristic stanza of ten lines. Beginning with an echo of David's lament over Saul and Jonathan -

Green Flodden, on thy blood-stained head
Descend no rain nor vernal dew!
he gives vigorous expression to his inherited love of battle:

The rancour of a thousand years
   Glows in my breast; again I burn
To see the bann'd pomp of war return,
And mark beneath the moon the silver light of spears.

Then, visualizing a procession of the spirits of the ancient dead

MS. 1816, N.L.S., has a copy in Leyden's hand of this ode, signed "J. Leyden Kelso Augt. 20. 1797". Recast and expanded from 9 to 14 stanzas, it appeared in the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, Vol II, as "Scottish Music, An Ode without the stanza here quoted. - Jean Lundie was born 1767; Catherine, the youngest, in 1779.

These and the preceding two lines were "set as a gem on the title page" of Scott's Marmion, as the 1858 ed. (p. 297) puts it.

Leyden uses this stanza, with variations, in his Ode to Virtue, Ode to Jehovah, Amorite War Ode & Ode on the Battle of Corunna - The Monthly Review, Vol. xliii, p. 32, in reviewing the Minstrelsy, regretted that it had not space to quote this "animated ode".
with "awful faces, ghastly red", he includes in his catalogue those
Rude border chiefs, of mighty name
And iron soul, who sternly tore
The blossoms from the tree of Fame,
And purpled deep their tints with gore,
and who rushed to war from

...brown ruins scarred with age,
That frown o'er haunted Hermitage;
Where, long by spells mysterious bound,
They pace their round with lifeless smile,
And shake with restless foot the guilty pile,
Till sink the mouldering towers beneath the burdened ground.1

And as the spectres depart, the poet, left alone, hearkens to
their parting admonition:

Around my solitary head,
Gleam the blue lightnings of the dead,2
While murmur low the shadowy band:
"Lament no more the warrior's doom!
Blood, blood alone, should dew the hero's tomb,
Who falls, hid circling spears, to save his native land.'

Such a theme as Flodden gave Leyden ample scope for dwelling
as was his delight, on the shedding of blood and on such super-
stitions as that by which, for vengeance' sake, the priest in
baptism
Through ages left the master-hand unblest,
To urge, with keener aim, the blood-encrusted spear.

By contrast, a valedictory sonnet written "On parting with a
friend on a journey" in 1797, and evidently addressed to Dyer at
the conclusion of this tour, shows Leyden in his no less character-

istic mood of subdued melancholy, as, often turning in his own
path to look back "with fond delay", he watches the "altered form"
of his friend, diminished to a dim blue shadow, receding over "the
downs expanding silver-grey", and laments that the parting of
friends should ever add to the sorrows of our transient life.3

In his Ode on Scottish Scenery and Manners, addressed to Mr
George Dyer, however, Leyden reverted to his favourite topics of
bloodshed and superstition, this time modelling his treatment of
them on William Collins's Ode on the popular superstitions of the
Highlands of Scotland.4 Using Collins's massive seventeen-line
stanza, and employing a similar, though less richly evocative,
vocabulary to create an atmosphere of the remote and uncanny,

2 Cf The Incantation of Hervor, 11.89-93.
3 B.M.Add.MSS.26,555 has a copy of this sonnet with the date 1797
added in Leyden's own hand. A different and inferior version
appeared in the Edinburgh Annual Register for 1810 (Vol.III,pt.2,
p.xcvi), which echoes Gray's Elegy in 11.6-7:
While through the busy vale of life we stray
And hold the separate tenor of our way;
and in which Leyden calls his subject "thou brother of my heart"
4 1858 ed., p.290, notes the resemblance.
Leyden apostrophized Dyer on his return to the south of England as Collins had apostrophized his literary friend John Home on Home's return from the south to his native Scotland:

Dyer! whom late on Lothian's daisied plains
We hailed a pilgrim-bard, like minstrel old,
Such as our younger eyes no more behold,
Though still remembered by the aged swains,
Sleeps thy shrill lyre where Cam's slow waters lave
Her sedgy banks o'er hung with ozi ers blue?
Or does romantic Tweed's pellucid wave
Still rise in fancy to the poet's view?...
Lorond's proud mountains, where the summer snow,
In faint blue wreaths, 'congeals the lap of May';
And Teviot's banks, where flowers of fairy blow,
Could'st thou with cold unaptured eye survey,
Nor wake to bardish notes the bosom-thrilling lay?

And the remaining three stanzas he devoted to the legends of Diarmid, the "martial youth secured by many a spell" and restored to life by magic arts; of

The magic shores of Ketterin's silver lake...
Where the Green Sisters of the haunted heath
Have strewn with mangled limbs their frightful den;
And work with rending fanys, the stranger's death,
Who treads with lonely foot dark Finlas' g len;[

and of the mighty Fingal:

What though by Selma's blazing oak no more
The bards of Fingal wake the trembling string;
Still to the sea-breeze sad they nightly sing
The dirge forlorn on ancient Morven's shore;
And still, in every hazel-tangled dell,
The hoary swain's traditionary lay
Can point the place where Morven's heroes fell,
And where their mossy tombs are crusted-gray.

The summer of 1797 saw also the completion of Leyden's four-year course at the Divinity Hall. His concluding discourse, composed on the morning of the day in which it was delivered, unfortunately met with his Professor's approval neither as to manner nor matter; so that Leyden and Alexander Murray, who walked half-way home with him afterwards, relieved their injured feelings by exchanging several reflections "not very favourable to ordinary Professors of Divinity". Nevertheless, at the Presbytery of Edinburgh's monthly meeting in the Edinburgh Trustees' Hall on

1 Given as a quotation; perhaps a reminiscence of Goldsmith, The Traveller, I. 172: 'But winter lingering chills the lap of May'.
2 The poem is unfinished. The copy in B.M. Add. L.S. S. 255, 555, bears in Leyden's hand the date '1739' and the words 'Caetera desunt'.
3 A footnote to st. 3 calls this hero "the Celtic Ladbrog": which has apparently led Edward Snyder, The Celtic Revival in English Literature, 1760-1800, p. 10, to cite (erroneously) one of Leyden's notes to this ode as an example of the common 18th Century error of confusing Celtic and Scandinavian mythology.
4 A footnote to this stanza adds: "Vide Scott's Glenfinlas".
5 Cf. Scenes of Infancy, pt. iv, I. 455.
June 28, 1797, "Dr Erskine, Mr Simpson, and Mr Moodie, proposed each of them a young man for trials", the young men in question being named at the next meeting on July 26 as John Leyden, Walter Foggo Ireland and Alexander Robertson. The Committee appointed to examine them duly reported to the next meeting on August 30 that all three, having been privately examined in languages, philosophy, church history and theology, had given satisfactory proofs of their proficiency, and that, with the permission of the synod, they might be admitted to public probationary trials. Circular letters to this effect were accordingly sent to the other presbyteries in the synod; and on November 29, the Presbytery of Edinburgh learned that the required permission was given. Also on November 29, the probationers, being all present excepting Leyden, "underwent questionary trials in presence of the presbytery", acquitting themselves satisfactorily, and having proposed to them subjects of discourse for lecture and homily. These lectures were delivered on December 27; and on the same occasion the presbytery authorized an extract to be granted, transferring John Leyden's trials to the Presbytery of St Andrews, "where he now resides".

This change of residence by Leyden was due to the desire of Mr Campbell of Fairfield that his two eldest sons, William and George, should spend the session 1797-1798 at St Andrews University in company with their tutor. On September 29, Leyden was expecting to go to St Andrews with these two pupils for the winter in three weeks' time. October 27 found him still in Edinburgh, but looking forward to leaving town about the end of the next week and by November 14 he had been in St Andrews for fully a week.

This migration interrupted Leyden's scientific and literary pursuits as well as the course of his trials for the ministry; for although he kept in touch with the Academy of Physics and the Literary Society, and even continued to write reviews of books for the former, his personal attendance at meetings, and with it his joint-secretaryship of the Academy, came perforce to an end. He was obliged also to desert the class of Botany at Edinburgh, for although he kept in touch with the Academy of Physics and the Literary Society, and even continued to write reviews of books for the former, his personal attendance at meetings, and with it his joint-secretaryship of the Academy, came perforce to an end.

1 John Erskine, Evangelical leader, at Old Greyfriars 1767-1803; Wm Simpson, minister of the Tron Church, 1789-1831; & Wm Moodie, at St Andrew's Church, 1787-1812, & Prof. of Hebrew, 1793-1812. A student applying for license to Edinburgh Presbytery had to be introduced to at least 11 of its members. (Bower, op. cit., III, p. 211.)
3 Leyden to Robert Lundie, Sept. 29, 1797.
4 Leyden to Alex. Campbell, Oct. 27, 1797. (Leing ESS., II, 335. E.U.L.
5 Leyden to Thomas Brown, Nov. 14, 1797.
6 A successor to Leyden was evidently elected, as the Academy's Minutes for Jan. 20, 1798, (when Leyden was still in St Andrews) mention the two secretaries as members of a committee on binding papers.
in which he was enrolled for this session, and so to miss hearing the lectures of Dr Daniel Rutherford. This loss was, however, probably less than might be supposed; for although his lectures were beautifully delivered, extremely clear, and full of condensed information, Rutherford, whose bent was rather for chemistry than for botany, always seemed to lecture in the latter subject with a grudge, making no contributions to research, and being prevented by gout from giving his students any practical training in field-work.

Also cut short by Leyden's departure was a revival of his interest in the songs and ballads of his native Teviotdale. To this once-favourite subject he had not paid attention for some time; but his thoughts were recalled to it by Alexander Campbell, who, besides preparing for the press his Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland, had now definitely set about collecting materials for his intended publication of Scottish songs, and who was accordingly engaged in correspondence on the subject with "several literary characters", including the "ingenious and truly learned" John Leyden. Leyden's contribution to Campbell's stores included the air of one of his favourite ballads, Young Benjie, so that Campbell was able to print in the first volume of Albyn's Anthology the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border version of the ballad (in which also perhaps Leyden had a hand), set to its "own original melody", noted down from Leyden's singing in 1797: a circumstance which indicates incidentally that Scott must surely have been exaggerating somewhat when he declared that Leyden could not sing a note. And when Campbell now sought information on such matters as the music of Teviotdale and the history of the seventeenth century volume of songs and airs lent him by Leyden in 1795, Leyden, writing from Frederick Street, sent him a prompt and characteristic reply, with a facetious opening on memory:

"I received last night per favour of Dr Anderson yours of the 24th and must beg leave to congratulate you upon the quality of your Memory you mention, which if I may judge from my own case is by no means singular. There is no quality of which Theorists, especially Antiquarians, have more availed themselves. Do they not always remember to forget every thing which opposes their own hypothesis."

2 Sir Robert Christison, quoted by Grant, op. cit., II, p. 383. Rutherford held the Chair of Botany from 1786 till his death in 1819.
3 Leyden to Alex. Campbell, Oct. 27, 1797.
4 Alex. Campbell, A Slight Sketch of a Journey. See p. sup.
5 Campbell, Albyn's Anthology, I, p. 34. He there goes on to praise Leyden's work in poetry and in Scottish antiquities.
6 Scott, Memoir. - Alex. Campbell had tried to teach Scott music in boyhood, but in vain, from Scott's "incurable defects of... voice and ear". (Scott, Autobiography, quoted by Lockhart, op. cit., I, pp. 73-74 & note.)
Having explained that the history of the manuscript in question was very short and could not be illustrated by tradition, Leyden passed on to Campbell's other topic:

"With respect to the wood notes of Teviotdale tho an amateur in the literal sense, I have no pretensions whatever to the character of a Connoisseur, ignorant of the Theory, I only judge of the practice by feeling. I have observed or thought that I observed a local character of these melodies in particular districts. I certainly recollect the general principles of the theory I have been led to form in my own mind, but not having paid attention to these subjects for some time, I could not without some examination illustrate or rather apply my general principles. You well know how vague and indefinite all general theoretical principles, wh. relate to a matter of fact are, unless they be accompanied with the particular application."

If Campbell could lend the necessary books, namely "Tytler's King James, Ritsons Songs, Scotch Songs two Vols. by Wetherspoon", Leyden would very willingly "endeavour hastily to throw together" his "floating unarranged ideas" on this subject and accompany them with some particular illustration. Meanwhile, when searching for some papers which might interest Campbell, Leyden had found "a specimen of an excellent old mythological Legend" expressly delineating "the Scottish notion of Fairy", of which only a fragment had been printed, and of which Leyden had heard the whole and collected some detached verses. He accordingly sent Campbell the first eighteen lines of this ballad, Kertonha' or the Fairy Court, taken from a copy noted down from recital during Leyden's last visit to Teviotdale two years before. And he added two notes of his own, on Tamlane or Thomalin:

"The prevalence of this name derived from Romance shews whence the tenor of Scotish song may have derived a tincture - In ridicule of the repetition of this name I could repeat some very coarse verses well known on the Banks of Teviot";

and on the fairies' septennial payment of their "kane to Hell";

"In this song a very diff. notion of Fairy is given from that of Shakespear. They are represented as the Feudal subjects of Lucifer..."

Whether or not Leyden actually produced his proposed paper on Teviotdale melodies for Campbell does not appear. But when the

1 Leyden to Alex. Campbell, Oct.27,1787.
2 Poetical remains of James the First, King of Scotland, edited by William Tytler, Edin.1733; Joseph Ritson's Scottish Songs, 2 vols Lond.1794; & probably David Herd's Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, 2 vols,Edin.1776. anon. printed by John Wetherspoon.
3 herd, op. cit., I pp.159-60, prints 10 stanzas of Kertonha.
4 Leyden breaks off in the middle of the fifth stanza with the note "as is printed"(i.e. printed by Herd).
5 In the summer vacation of 1795.
6 Cf. Complaynt of Scotland, Prelim.Dissert.,pp.271-72. - Leyden takes "The Tale of the Young Tamlane" mentioned in the Complaynt to have been "originally a romance of Fairy... converted, by popular tradition, into a historical ballad". (Ibid., p.231.)
7 Robert Jamieson added a note here stating that in "Scorayshire tradition was substituted here for kane."
latter came, in the course of his book on Scottish poetry, to deal with the young poets who wrote occasionally for the Edinburgh Magazine, he singled out Leyden for commendation and thanks:

"Dr. Leyden (to whom I have, in a former part of this sketch, acknowledged an obligation) stands forward as a principal contributor to this Miscellany, which he has, from time to time, enriched with the happy effusions of fancy."  

The Introduction as printed, however, affords no trace of any acknowledgement to Leyden, so that the full extent of Campbell's debt to him must remain uncertain; but at least one passage, in the Conversation on Scottish song, may well have owed something to Leyden, dealing as it does with the peculiar character of Border airs, which "differ materially from those of other more remote parts, particularly the Highlands", and with the striking contrast in manners and music between the Borderers of the upper Tweed and Teviot, who still preserved "much of their original hospitality and energy of character" and sang "with violent gesture and vehemence", and those living nearer Berwick, who were "mild and courteous", singing their melodies to words "expressive of their innocent emotions and rural occupations, with an artless simplicity peculiarly their own".  

A month before despatching his hasty letter on Border song to Alexander Campbell, Leyden had fulfilled a promise (made in unawareness of the difficulty of the undertaking) to send Robert Lundie his observations on John Tweddell's Prolusiones juveniles praemiiis academicis dignatae. Lacking time and inclination to "investigate the minutiae of stile", Leyden simply read over the work once, noting down "in the order of Lection" any comments which occurred to him during this "solitary & very rapid perusal"; and he prefaced these comments, which he feared might seem crude, "motely, ill-sorted stuff, mere sand wt lime", by some reflections on the difficulty of stating one's precise reasons for considering any given essay or passage good, bad or indifferent: a difficulty not dwelling wholly in the critic's mind, but arising in some measure also from the nature of the laws of criticism.

1 The only other of these poets whom Campbell mentioned specifically was 'T.C.', a young man of his own name and a native of Glasgow, of whose talents he thought highly: i.e. Thomas Campbell.
2 Campbell, Introduction, p. 343.
3 Ibid., pp. 20–21. Cf. Leyden, p. sup., on local character in Border melodies. The Conversation comprises a dialogue between Lycidas and Alexis (i.e. Campbell) and includes a 'View' of Highland poetry and music, into which this passage comes rather abruptly, just before a consideration of Irish music.
4 London, 1793. These were prize compositions written by Tweddell (1769–93) during his distinguished career at Trinity College, Cambridge, and published by him on leaving College.
5 Leyden to Lundie, September 29, 1797. (MS. 1722, Nat. Lib. Scot.)
"Criticism investigates the manner in which any composition produces its intended effect on the minds of those to whom it is addressed, or points out the causes by which this effect is impaired or destroyed. Whenever emotions are excited in the mind, its prior state must be allowed to have great influence in their modification. But this prior state of the mind is never perfectly known to ourselves. Of consequence the production of emotions is a much more dark intricate mysterious and confused affair than that of belief. Hence many of the Canons of Criticism are so vague and so difficult in their application. Many of the most noted appear to me entirely ambiguous. I shall only mention the famous "Follow Nature", which may mean anything you please. The laws of reasoning indeed are much better ascertained than those of Criticism, but if I may judge from the dozen of pages that I have read, Logic does not seem our author's forte."

Of the ensuing "loose remarks", which run to considerable length, some are too characteristic of John Leyden to be passed over. He regarded "the Character of Sylla" with the hostility natural in a young man of liberal views, commending Tweddell for proceeding

"...in the high enthusiasm of indignation... to tear the trabea from the monster and to display the arrogance of the sacrilegious plunderer, of temples and the subserviency of this avarice to ambition... After the ruling passion like a monster has seized its prey, the second...ary herd of brutal appetites, cruelty and lust begin to prowl.

He inclined, however, to think less highly of the abilities and intentions of Henry VII of England than did Tweddell, who had pronounced a very able panegyric on that monarch in the spirit of the politician who "only considers the expediency of the measure, & the wisdom foresight or perhaps Cunning of the agent", without any of the moralist's concern with motive, and with more appreciation of the utility of Henry's acts than of his "real or abstract power or ability". The portrait of King William III ("a masterly piece of painting - a fine face, but I doubt whether it be a good likeness") was also too flattering, being done with "such consummate skill, with such apparent fairness and conciliating openness" that one was "almost inveigled to admit the palliation". And Leyden was "misably disappointed" with the sketch of John Locke (whose co-operation with William he viewed as discreditable), because it lacked the account of Locke's "method of philosophizing, and the reasons by which he was induced to adopt it", which might be expected in an encomium on one who "introduced some of the greatest improvements in the science of Mind". When Tweddell treated of "Equal Liberty", however, his critic could note with approval how

"The indignant fire of benevolent genius glows in his discussion of the absurd maxim That ignorance of the law excuses not transgression".

1 Leyden to Lundie, September 29, 1797.
2 'Lucius Cornelius Sylla, abdicato magistratu, in jus vocetur.' - I quote Leyden's English versions of Tweddell's titles.
3 'Utrum magnum imperium cum aequa omnium libertate constare possit...
And his handling, in eminently pure and elegant Latin, of the difficult proposition that 'Utility constitutes Moral Obligation' made Leyden ready to renounce his "too hastily formed" opinion of Tweddell's logic, in admiration for his judgment, acumen, discrimination and perspicuity, and in agreement with his sentiments.

"His opinion is... Might is right. He also says with me that Utility is right... If there were an abstract Right distinct from utility, it would only be good in proportion to its utility or power of producing general happiness. No... real unmixed happiness can be enjoyed contrary to the will of God, therefore the will of God is the only right comprehending both power and utility." ¹

Leyden was less fully satisfied with the manner, more declamatory than accurate, ² though stylistically distinguished, in which Tweddell treated 'the source of Calmness or Tranquillity': a topic rendered "very intricate" by its relation to human feelings very "different in their natures, various in their sources & complicated in their operations", and "much influenced by passion, accident which caprice and subconscious motives, and by its lack of a precise terminology." ³ He would himself have dealt with the subject by considering the sources of pleasing ideas in active and passive states of mind, the insufficiency of these, and "the perfection of pleasureable religious emotions"; for, although Tweddell's "materials of happiness", namely friendship, love and religion, were "by no means to be contemned", the true answer to the question 'Quid pure tranquillet?' must be 'Religio tantum pure tranquillet'. Leyden was nevertheless much struck by the novelty and depth of Tweddell's argument that our inability to form an idea of perfect felicity proves that "we are not intended for its enjoyment here", and by the propriety of his definition of tranquillity as "that Happiness attainable by mortals":

"Here the votaries of turbulent pleasure and of indifference are to be controverted and... the fallacious arguments of the Sensualist & the verbal quackery of the Stoic exposed..." ¹

The question 'Whether a rude or a polished age be best adapted to the formation of Poetic genius' was equally "incapable of being reduced within the bounds of a precise and accurate Logic", ³ from the difficulty of determining the exact components of that genius; but Leyden commended heartily Tweddell's deft manipulation of comparatively modern ideas, his "compendious terseness" in expressing common thoughts, and the "copious rotundity of phrase and completeness of members" constituting that "ebb and flow of the period" conspicuous in this oration. In general, indeed, so far from

¹ Leyden to Lundie, Sept. 29, 1797.
² Leyden suspected that Lundie, being addicted to the use of metaphor, simile and hyperbole, would derive the greater pleasure from this very manner which he was disposed to blame. (Ibid.)
³ Cf. Leyden on criticism, pp. 120-21 sup.
detecting any errors in Tweddell's Latin and Greek, Leyden was fain to applaud his skilful adaptation of classic phraseology to every kind of sentiment; and although his opinion of Tweddell's Greek verses was qualified by dislike of their many elisions and harsh lines, and by a firm conviction that no Greek verse could be good which forced him "to turn over Scapula", 1 he yet owned that in no modern Greek poetry was the idiom better preserved or the modern way of composing and connecting thoughts more purely and felicitously expressed. 2

Having thus delivered his promised critique, Leyden went on to apologize for it and for his lack of news:

"By this tedious assortment of stale reflections &c you perceive yourself deprived of the News of Town. But as I am never in the habit of knowing anything that has not happened at least 500 years ago you cannot possibly have much reason to regret the omission;" 3

to deplore Lundie's general conduct:

"N. B. are not you an useless member of the Academy of Physics - who never send them Chymical Moral nor Metaphysical Papers, nor yet descriptions of either mountains or vallies. If you be resolved to play the fool with the church 4 - why dont you come into town & play the devil with the law or death with medicine; 5 to discuss Professor John Robison's Proofs of a conspiracy against all the religions and governments of Europe, carried on in the secret meetings of the Free Masons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies 6 - a work written in a style inferior to that of Robison's articles in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 7 and one which, although it indeed "developed the history and proceedings of an execrable association", failed completely in its aim of connecting that association with the French Revolution 8; and to enlarge upon the "Jesuitical maxim... That the end sanctifies the means". 9 Although not seeking to justify the conduct which Dr Adam Weishaupt's Order of Illuminati had based upon this maxim, Leyden felt that the maxim itself was "certainly not so absurd or unreasonable as it is represented", the danger of its application lying in the ignorance and passion of men, which rendered "general rules or laws" necessary.

"In the common routine of human actions, there is no principle of more extensive actual application. If the only use of laws human or divine be to produce happiness by salutary restraints, there must be a sacrifice of the lesser happiness to the greater in every application of the legal restraint -... human affairs... what then is a Code of laws but a collection of cases in which the end justifies the means... the laws of God are the only ones which it is hazardous (speaking cosmo-politically) to infringe." 10

1 Joannes Scapula's Lexicon Graeco-Latinum novum; Basileae, 1580.
2 Leyden to Lundie, Sept.29, 1797.
3 Lundie did eventually enter the Church. Cf. p.56 sup.
4 Edin., 1797. Robison was himself a freemason.
On January 14, 1796, Leyden had been rash enough to declare, also to Robert Lundie, apropos of verse-writing: "... to me who never fall in love, one name is as good as another"; but since then he had apparently modified this opinion. For on November 4, 1797, on the very eve of his departure to "the eastern shore" of Fife, he inscribed a poem of six quatrains To the Maid of my Love: a maid who bore the initials J.B., and whose portrait we probably have in the yellow-haired, blushing heroine of Leyden's fragmentary A Love Tale, in which the hero, about to leave his love and "wander o'er the ocean-sea", assures her fervently: "I'll love thee though thou love not me". This was Janet or Jessie Brown, an amiable young woman of twenty-eight, the elder sister of Thomas Brown, in whose home Leyden had spent so many pleasant evenings of tea-drinking and debate. Leyden had probably made as favourable an impression on the members of Brown's family as upon Dr Anderson and his daughters; and Jessie, like Margaret Anderson, had doubtless been attracted by his "frank, open-hearted manner" and the cheerful animation of his aspect and conversation. Perhaps, too, she had perceived that for all his apparent self-confidence, John Leyden was a sensitive young man, afflicted with a shyness that could make him stand hesitating in the street before nerving himself to knock at the door of the house he was seeking. For his part, Leyden, tired of the insincerity and selfishness of the fashionable people who made up his employer's social circle, responded readily to the sincere friendliness of an unpretentious family, and not least to that of a lively young lady, "an adept in the happy art of teasing", who attracted him not so much by her fair hair and clear complexion as by the kindness and attention she showed him.

That mien has long my peace beguil'd
That frank demeanor kind and free
That playful archness sweetly wild
Sweet maid have not been lost on me...
Yet not because these tresses twine
In yellow ringlets round thy brow
I sigh to clasp that breast to mine
With passion's earliest fondest vow.

1 To the Maid of my Love, 11. 22, 5-8 & 13-16.
2 Cf. To the Maid of my Love, 1. 20; Leyden's lines to Margaret MacKenzie, 11. 8, 16 & 24 (see p. infra); & To J. B. from J. L., 1. 45: 'I still will love thee, thou love not me'.
3 'Janet' and 'Jessie' were often interchanged in 18th century Scotland. Cf. John Galt's Annals of the Parish, Ch. IX, where Sabrina Hooky, as parish schoolmistress, 'began by calling our Jennies Jessies'; & in Brash & Reid's Poetry: original and selected, a Song addressed to a young lady...on the commonness of her name Jenny, by W. R. Glasgow, 1799, has the line: 'Thou Jess art as the Jessamine'.
4 Janet Brown, b. Feb. 10, 1769, was six & a half years Leyden's senior.
5 Margaret Anderson to Mrs. C. Anderson, Jan. 5, 1812. Cf. p. 65 sup.
6 Leyden to Thomas Logan, March 29, 1798.
7 Leyden to Thomas Brown, Dec., 1797.
But ah! that good, that gentle heart,
It knits my inmost soul to thee.
That tender smile devoid of art! -
I'll love thee tho' thou love not me. ¹

In the sequel, it was Jessie who was to love the longer. But for the present, no more estranging sea than the Firth of Forth was to separate Leyden from Jessie Brown and from all the "favourite haunts"² of bookshop and library, student society and friendly hearth, from which he was reluctantly to absent himself for the next six months.

² Leyden, Sonnet Written at St Andrews in 1798, 1.14.
The venerable city of St Andrews, which has been to so many a delectable and haunted town, might well have been deemed a pleasant enough retreat, even at the beginning of winter. But to one who prided himself, as did John Leyden, on the liberality of his views both in politics and theology, a place so "overrun by Moderatism" and highly patriotic and conservative in temper, appeared by no means free from "the pestilential air of monkery". And to an indefatigable seeker after knowledge there was little attraction in a small university where staff and students alike seemed to be engrossed in the pleasures of society to the exclusion of those of study. So it is perhaps scarcely surprising that after an absence of eight days (during which Leyden lived so hard that it seemed an age) from that "combination of domestic happiness... philosophic pursuit and literary society" which he had enjoyed in Edinburgh, Leyden should send Thomas Brown a long and satirical account of the life, and especially the academic life, of St Andrews.

"Is the Literary Society met, and how do you contrive to spend the time in the Academy of Physics? There is a matter which appears to me a mystery now. We have Societies too in St Andrews... but they are of a very different kind. Edinburgh for learning, & Aberdeen for Masonry but for good-eating, drinking & playing at Cards St. Andrews has no rival. In St Andrews and thro all the adjacent country for a Century and a half this has been the uniform order of the day. The truth is I suspect the natives have been devoted to prelacy ever since the days of Archbp. Sharp at least, so adverse are their manners to those of rigid presbytery. But as for Societies of Law Literature, Logic, Theology or Physics, these are plants... too delicate to vegetation in so rank a soil." The people of Cupar and Auchtermuchty had indeed decided "to call in Politics to their aid by way of variety" and were believed "to have taken the wrong side", the question being somewhat "involved in secrecy or darkness (as is generally the case with questions, especially Political ones)", so that there were reports of men training in barns by the light of the moon or of candles.

"But thereby hangs a tale only fit for Brougham, so I return to the Societies formerly mentioned, which are pestilently loyal, since Kings and Queens are never out of their hands, on which account it is not surprising that they should often meet with knaves. Indeed I am puzzled to think what the inhabitants will do for Kings and Queens should the present system of Republicanizing go on, for Numquam de Republica desperandum est. Our

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St Andrews Societies are very taciturn, and no wonder since Logic has never been able to set his nose into them. Last Saturday night however an alarm was given that the enemy was beating up the quarters. During the pause of a desperate contest at Whist between four learned professors i.e. of Greek, Hebrew, Civil and Ecclesiastical History, in the house of the Greek Professor, a slight whisper concerning abstract ideas being heard, the whole party cried to arms and rushing up to attack the enemy discovered your humble servant & Professor Baron in a very Metaphysical attitude, with contracted brows & elevated forefingers placed across their thumbs descanting most mysteriously in a corner on the nature of Judgment and the Reasoning Faculty. Other four Professors were called from as many Card Tables to sit in judgment on the cause. Upon my pleading ignorance not only of Whist but of every other game that could be mentioned, I was condemned to be put under the tuition of the Greek professor to learn Whist Cassino and the Devil knows what other hard-named games; I protested that I would rather collate any Greek MS in the Library and was released in present on condition of telling the Greek for a pack of Cards. But if Logic and Metaphysics are excluded from these Societies, you are not to suppose that learned discussions do not occur on several occasions. Nay I have already heard many deep points of antiquarian research and Etymological investigation settled. For instance, over a large bowl of most excellent punch there occurred a few nights ago a very minute inquiry into the use of spirituous liquors among the ancients; when it was settled that tho there was no mention of the thing in Homer, it is very probable that Punch was termed by the Greeks from its original five ingredients. We have also had some Botanical discussions E.G. Whether Cellery belong to the genus Apium, Cicuta virosa or the Conium maculatum i.e., Parsley or hemlock. Neither has Mathematics been entirely excluded - aut pura aut applicata. Thus the learned Dr Rotheram ever since he caught cold in some hydrostatical Experiments has been more closely than ever attached to Pneumatics and the Chemical products of the vinous fermentation. He lately demonstrated to us the continual approximation of the horns of the hyperbola by the practical instance of a man not dead drunk but only misty, whose head continually approaches the ground without ever coming in contact with it.

Leyden also hoped; since he was proceeding to study the noble science of Cookery... beginning with Apicius", to be able soon to furnish Brown (should he desire it) with a receipt for Mollesshonus, "a very famous Academical liqueur... much gone into disrepute". And he gave a brief description of an ancient St Andrews custom which had excited his curiosity: that of Gown-sealing, which he could not describe formally for the Academy of Physics, as its origin was too profoundly buried in antiquity.

1 Profs. Henry David Hill (younger brother of Principal George Hill), John Trotter, John Adamson and Charles Wilson (formerly Prof. of Hebrew, and succeeded in both chairs by Trotter). The dates of their professorships were 1789-1820, 1794-1802, 1798-1808, and 1793-1801, respectively.
2 Leyden's usual spelling of the name of William Barron, Prof. of Logic, Rhetoric and Metaphysics, from 1778-till his death in 1803.
3 Leyden later overcame his aversion to playing cards. Cf. p. in
4 John Rotheram, Prof. of Natural and Experimental Philosophy from 1795 till his death in 1804. 5 Leyden to Thos Brown, Nov. 14, 1797.
6 Sinton, in his ed. of Leyden's Tour, p. 313, has 'gown-stealing'. 
"A number of Students are invited when the new-comer has got his gown; on the neck of it a student of each of the four... years standing puts a large seal of red wax, and then the New Student is invested with it and the company regale themselves with raisins almonds & apples and afterwards get drunk. Upon my faith we did not understand the method of study in Edinburgh.

A young man of Leyden's mental energy and talents, transplanted from a place of such literary and academic activity as Edinburgh, might perhaps be excused for thus allowing himself to feel a trifle superior to the inhabitants of an ancient University town lying "so much out of the line of the great rolling current of public life" as to enjoy an atmosphere of unbroken rest and repose. By the end of November, however, this atmosphere was taking effect to some extent upon Leyden, who, although still thinking regretfully of Edinburgh and the agreeable conversation of his friends there, was by then ready to acknowledge that St Andrews was not without redeeming features, in its University Library, its antiquities (which Leyden had lost no time in examining), and the geology of its coast, which included such striking features as the East Rocks with their Maiden Craig, Kinkell Cave and Spindles, all invaluable to a "hammer man". The rocks were indeed "entirely composed of sand-stone containing a considerable number of Pyrites", but they were numerous, steep and rugged, and displayed the various strata very clearly; and the sea, which had evidently retreated from the extensive golf links, had encroached with picturesque effect over land once used for grazing cattle, to undermine the ruinous walls of the castle, which presented... a specimen of the ancient mode of building - two slight walls of mason work... run up at an interval of about 3 feet... filled up by stones thrown in disorderly and firmly cemented by liquid mortar".

The most impressive of the ruins in which St Andrews abounded, however, was the great square tower, now known as St Rule's, which Leyden, walking round the Cathedral ruins on the day after his arrival, had taken for "a piece of modern workmanship" from its lack of the signs of age or decay: only to be told, on expressing his admiration for the St Andreans' architectural taste, that this was the town's most ancient monument and that no tradition of its building remained. Also of very respectable antiquity was the thirteenth century manuscript of St Augustine's works, which Leyden...
contrived to borrow from the University Library, perhaps through the good offices of Professor Barron, professors alone being then permitted to take out books from the Library.¹

"... here am I in a cold wet night in a solitary room, with the Devil & two Beajies² Solus perusing an old MS of St Augustine which the Professor of Rhetoric tells me was declared by an English Professor to be as beautiful a MS as one can see in the Bodleian Library.³ Is not this being scholastic with a vengeance? is not this to be subject to College-Rules. Who will say after this that Leyden is not religious. Indeed I am almost affected by the orthodox air of this place... ⁴ Lectures and Conversations perfectly orthodox and obstinately dull. Indeed I am become a very grave orthodox stupid animal, if you may judge by my walk and conversation.

When fitful howls the hollow wind
Beside the murmuring stream I stray
To muse on friends I left behind
And lash the willow buds away
And then along the shelving shore
I pass with steps well pois’d and slow
To hear the waves impetuous roar
O’er rocks where slippery sea-weeds grow"⁵:

lines for which Leyden was "much obliged" to Ausonius,⁶ and which he thriftily recast some months later as a sonnet, beginning

Along the shelves that line Kilriven’s shore⁷
I lingering pass, with steps well-pois’d and slow,
Where brown the slippery wreaths of sea-weeds grow,
And listen to the weltering ocean’s roar.
When o’er the crisping waves the sun-beams gleam,
And from the hills the latest streaks of day
Recede, by Eden’s shadowy banks I stray,
And lash the willows blue that fringe the stream.⁸

And both on the lonely banks of the Eden and "mid the bustling crowd" of students and townspeople, Leyden found his thoughts turning persistently to Jessie Brown, so that each "lingering hour seemed lengthening as it flew", and he likened his situation to that of Ovid, "banish’d from his favourite fair" and pining by the frozen Getic shore.⁹

¹ There is accordingly no record of students’ borrowings, which were made through the professors.
² Bejants or first year students; doubtless Wm & George Campbell.
³ Presented to the Priory of St Andrews by Lord James Stewart, Commendator; this was one of St Andrews’ few surviving early MSS., and is still on exhibition in the University Library there.
⁴ This leaf of the MS. (Ms.971 , f.2) is torn here and elsewhere.
⁵ Leyden to Erskine, Nov.29,1797. ⁶ Leyden to Erskine, Dec.26,1797.
⁷ 1819 ed., p.14, has 'Kilriven's shore': an error repeated elsew
where & probably derived from the text in B.M.Add.,MSS.26,555,f.8r.
⁸ Written at St Andrews, 1798,11.1–8. This sonnet, prefixed by a biographical note on Leyden, is No.XIV in Prof. Knight’s Andrea-
polis being writings in praise of St Andrews, p.27. And 11.5–14 are quoted on p.277 of Votiva Tabella. A Memorial Volume of St Andrews University, where there is a brief account of Leyden by George Soutar in the chapter on the University’s poets, pp.276–77.
⁹ Scenes of Infancy, pt.i,11.153–70.
The College Rules to which Leyden found himself subject were those of the United College, formed in 1747, for reasons of economy, by the union of St Salvator's and St Leonard's Colleges, and devoted to the teaching of Arts subjects, instruction in Divinity being reserved to St Mary's, the 'New College' in South Street, at the other side of the town from the 'Old College' of St Salvator, the buildings of which now housed the United College. The facade presented to North Street by the Old College with its Gothic church and lofty tower was imposing, albeit in indifferent repair; but behind it lay a large quadrangle of a "distinctly shoddy and unimpressive" aspect, having on the east the melancholy ruins, and on the south the reconstructed remnants, of an older cloister court. On the west side stood the Great Hall of the College and on the north a "flimsy structure of vaguely classical design", erected forty years earlier to provide lecture rooms on its arcaded ground floor and students' living quarters on its two upper storeys, which were approached by a central stair in a wing projecting from the north side. The system of college residence, temporarily abandoned in the United College in 1791, had since been revived on "an even more miserable footing" than before. And so it came about that John Leyden was occupying a 'solitary room', probably some ten feet square in size, on the top floor of the unsatisfactory north building, which had been troubled ever since its erection by damp, draughts and smoking chimneys. Nor was the College board superior to the lodging, for the food provided at the daily meals of breakfast and supper (taken at 9 a.m. and 7 p.m. in the students' own poorly-furnished apartments) and dinner (served at the Common Table in the Old Library Hall of the College) was adequate neither in quality nor in quantity. 'Common schools' were held once a month for the enforcing of discipline; and for its better preservation the College gates were closed nightly at ten o'clock, being reopened at six the following morning.

1 St Salvator's was founded in 1456, St Leonard's in 1512, and St Mary's in 1537. The division between Arts and Divinity teaching being made in 1579. The United College staff comprised the Principal, & Professors of Greek, Humanity, Mathematics, Natural & Experimental Philosophy, Ethics & Pneumatics, Logic, Rhetoric & Metaphysics, Civil History & Medicine, the last two being sinecures.
2 Even before the Reformation this had often been the case.
3 Ronald G. Cant: The College of St Salvator, p.213.
4 Ibid. p.212. Doubtless the stair from which Leyden jumped. (See p.131 inf.) Two students generally shared a room, and there were ten rooms on each of the two storeys.
5 Ibid. p.196. The Common Tables were finally given up in 1820 at the United College and in 1816 at St Mary's.
6 The College Library was then housed on the top storey of the south-west block adjoining the entrance tower.
7 Cant, op. cit., p.216, quoting Roger's History of St Andrews, pp124-5
In these circumstances, it is perhaps scarcely to be wondered at that the orthodox air of St Andrews did not prove potent enough wholly to reconcile Leyden to living under the discipline of College rules. Accustomed as he was to the freedom of Edinburgh University's non-collegiate system, he felt it irksome to be "mewed up within the walls of an old Monkish cloister", where the Rector Court maintained "a sovereign despotic authority over the persons, properties and lives of its subjects".\(^1\) And this impatience of restraint so far overcame discretion that before the session was half over John Leyden had been threatened with the authority of that court "for leaping a two pair of stairs window, after bursting the iron bars, at 10 o'Clock at night, on a particular occasion, in order to clear the College Walls". Threats of legal penalties for this offence Leyden complacently reckoned vain, considering himself "under benefit of Clergy & subject to the College of St Andrews, and no other delegated jurisdiction in Great Britain".\(^1\) And indeed no disciplinary or legal action appears to have been taken in the matter.

The precise nature of the occasion on which Leyden thus broke College bounds remains unknown; but it is unlikely to have been a conventional social one, since his views on fashionable life, as expressed to Thomas Brown early in December, continued to be those of an earnest young man with a mind above such frivolities as balls and card-parties.

"I have just now perused your kind Epistle with great pleasure in the solitude of St Andrews College - Solitude did you say!!! yes that I did... for what pleasure can I, an animal always thinking, however foolishly, receive from the puerile manoeuvres of Cards or the equally childish prattle of giggling girls about Balls, Dances, Card parties & nonsense. Last Thursday a very elegant Ball was given by Col. Duncan after their colours had been presented to the Volunteers, at which there was an exhibition of all the beauty in St Andrews; I was present and waited I assure you with great ennui for 4 complete hours. I despise the empty parade of fashion and the affectation of greatness in little men of feeble minds. It is only a flimsy veil to conceal the understanding or rather want of understanding in a fribble and its trammels are very awkward for a person of moderate sense. It makes one sick at heart to see the thoughtless folly or insensible hardness of those puny animals who can with deliberation make so many of their fellow-creatures wretched. The thought continually obtrudes itself upon me whenever I hear their shallow selfish remarks. How often have I retreated from the irksomeness and insignificance of a Company who thought themselves great to relieve relax my mind in the society of your Family where I could always find elegance simplicity & virtue devoid of grimece and affectation and whom I could therefore both love and respect. I would in vain hope to be equally fortunate in St Andrews, but it is my

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1 Leyden to Thomas Logan, January 21, 1798. (MS. 3333, Nat. Lib. Scot.)
maxim always to take things as I find them. There was once a wife took what she had, & she never wanted, says the Scotch Apologue or rather proverb, and you know that under the husk of proverbs lies concealed the wisdom of ages but I am afraid this is too much of a Seria mixta jocis.”

Nor was Leyden's opinion of the intellectual climate of St Andrews improved by the discoveries that it obtained almost no literary intelligence, no magazines nor reviews being received apart from the Monthly Review (which indeed took "a month in walking the round of the Professors")¹, and that there was a lamentable dearth of student societies.

"...at this wretched College there is not spirit enough for a free Society and at any rate the Students are too much under the controul [sic] of the Professors. In Dr Rotheram's Introductory Lecture he cautioned his Class against foolish Theorists particularly Buffon, Bosewich² and Dr Hutton.³"

Accordingly, even although the Divinity College at St Andrews was "just sitting down", so that he would "soon have an opportunity of discovering what kind of persons" its members were, Leyden was more interested in such matters as the "miserable falling off" (due to " perverse unanimity") in the Literary Society in Edinburgh, and his own mock indignation, for some unspecified reason, with the Browns:

"May the Old gentleman in black take the young lady in yellow. By the holy poker¹ I think you and Jesse your sister are my Devils. For you, mum's the word or I shall immediately discharge a whole chapter of curses sufficient to sink you so deep in the bottomless pit that tho you should lay hold of Satans cloven foot, he will never be able to hoist you up again. For Jesse... whom I strongly suspect of collusion with you in this business, I can think of no penalty so fit as falling in love with herself which (except you exculpate her to my satisfaction in your next) I intend to set about as soon as I have finished S. Augustini Opera, and therefore in the interim give her the Alternative of having me pathetically enamoured or as madly in love as a hare. What a prospect of whining sonnets, love elegies &c. Tho' I could never fall in love with any person when present yet I can easily fall in love when absent, whenever I please."¹

Leyden was to remain unshaken in his conviction that St Andrews in general afforded "no company worth the mentioning for a musing animal that loved cards no better than a monkey, and dancing than an elephant taught to figure away upon a hot floor".⁵ But fortunately for himself and for the credit of St Andrews he found a few exceptions to this rule, notably in that "accurate and much-loved philosophical Latinist", Dr John Hunter,⁶ whose house stood

1 Leyden to Thomas Brown, Dec., 1797. (MS. 3380, Nat. Lib. Scot.)
2 Roger Joseph Boscoovich (1711-1787), the Italian Jesuit natural philosopher and mathematician.
3 Charles Hutton (1737-1823), professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich.
4 Cf. Leyden to Richard Hobcr, [1801]: "I swear by the Holy poker..."
5 Leyden to James Brown, Sept. 24, 1798; quoted by Hanna, op. cit. I, 462
6 David Mason, Memories of two cities, p. 45. Hanna, op. cit., I, p. 10, calls Hunter the University's chief ornament.
conveniently near Leyden's quarters in the United College, and who had been since 1782 the steady correspondent of Leyden's mentor, Professor Dalzel; in William Barron, the "very sensible and ingeniæbus" professor of Logic (who was, however, "very close" and, unlike Hunter, "a ministerial bigot in Politics")2; and in Dr. James Brown, once himself a student of Hunter's, formerly assistant in Mathematics at St Andrews University, and now professor of Natural Philosophy at Glasgow, but residing again in St Andrews while recovering from a nervous illness. Hunter Leyden viewed as "perhaps the most philosophical philologist" of his acquaintance, a man both of very wide general knowledge and of "uncommon merit and ability", and the only person, apart from Barron, with whom Leyden held "any sensible or as most persons would think senseless conversation" in his first month at St Andrews.2 And with James Brown, who was a strong Whig in politics and a person of singularly varied accomplishments and great conversational powers,4 he maintained an erratic but uniformly friendly correspondence, conducted on the principles that "each should write and reply as he pleased and how he pleased" and that neither should believe ill of his friend until he had obtained the whole statement of the case from the other's own lips5, and including the blunt assertion by Leyden that his acquaintance with Brown and Hunter was almost the only circumstance of his stay in St Andrews on which he looked back with any degree of satisfaction.6

The opening of the Divinity session early in December7 introduced Leyden not only to St Mary's College and to the classes in Divinity, Biblical Criticism, Ecclesiastical History and Hebrew taught there by Principal George Hill and Professors Robert Arnot, Charles Wilson and John Trotter respectively,8 but also to the doubtless more lively debates of the Theological Society. This body, founded in 1760, was made up of past and present students of Divinity; and its membership in 1797-98, although so small that only two speakers instead of the usual four were appointed for each

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1 Hunter (1746-1837) was professor of Humanity at St Andrews 1775-1835 and Principal of the United College for the last year of his life. Grierson, op.cit., pp.201-4, gives a list of his celebrated editions of the classics. His house was that to the east of the Church of St Salvator now used as University offices.
3 Brown (1763-1838) had gone to Glasgow in 1796, after failing to get the Nat. Phil. Chair at St Andrews in 1795. Cf. p.163 inf.
5 Leyden to James Brown, Dec. 23, 1799; quoted by Hanna, ibid., I, p.467.
6 Leyden to James Brown, Sept. 24, 1798; quoted ibid., I, pp.461-2.
7 The session ran from roughly the end of November to the start of April.
8 Arnot held his Chair 1791-1803. - Cf. also p.138 inf.
debate,¹ was not without distinction, including as it did Leyden himself, the eloquent Thomas Chalmers, Thomas Duncan, later to be Professor of Mathematics at St Andrews, and John Campbell, the future Baron Campbell and Lord Chancellor of England.² New members, whose admission was decided by ballot,³ were required to assent to the Society’s twenty-five laws, which provided in detail for the conduct of meetings and laid down a system of fines designed to secure regular attendance, punctuality, orderly behaviour and the fulfilment of debating responsibilities.⁴ No threat of fines, however, was needed to ensure the interest and attendance of the discussion-starved Leyden, who had by now so fully overcome his early awkwardness in public speaking as to prove "far superior to any other speaker in the Society".⁵ The opening meeting of the season on December 9, attended by nine members, saw two Divinity students and "Mr Leyden Probationer" proposed and seconded as members, the motions being ordered to lie on the table until the next meeting a week later,⁶ when these three "Gentlemen... were admitted with the usual formalities & the laws were read", apparently with the approbation of the new members. The Society, having thus made a start, was then adjourned for the Christmas recess until January 6, 1798;⁷ but even this opportunity seems to have sufficed for Leyden to make his presence felt, although the Society's records ignore the incident. It was a rule that at each ordinary meeting one member should deliver, before the debate, a discourse on "some one of the Subjects in the System of Divinity recorded in the Books of the Society", the other members present then giving their opinions on the discourse, and the hapless author being thereafter "allowed to make replies".⁷ Leyden, having been accustomed to this procedure in the Divinity Hall at Edinburgh, lost no time in living up to his reputation of being a "very able critic and dreaded by many"⁸: but with somewhat untoward results, by his own account.

¹ Proposed by Chalmers on Dec. 9 and carried by a small majority or Dec. 16. There were 29 regular Divinity students that session.
² Chalmers, Duncan and Campbell had joined the Society in 1795-96.
³ Two-thirds of the votes cast was the number necessary to elect or expel a member.
⁴ E.g. the President might "restrain disorderly behaviour by the imposition of a fine not exceeding Six-pence": a member unable to open the debate or give the discourse when required must find a substitute or pay 1/6; one absent for a whole night was to be fined sixpence, and one arriving late or going out for more than five minutes after the Society was constituted was to pay one penny for every five minutes, up to sixpence.
⁵ Thomas Duncan; quoted by Hanna, op. cit., I, p. 22.
⁶ This was the rule. The proposers and seconders are not named.
⁷ Proceedings of the Theological Society, St Andrews University, in the Society’s Records, Vol. II.
⁸ Robert Leyden’s Notes.
"Last Saturday, I entered a Theological Society here and for the first time opened my mouth in this atmosphere on my legs after animadverting severely on a most orthodox dull Essay, I began my Oratorical career with a brilliant attack upon both sides of the Question - but was shortly called to order & thus confuted most victoriously & so here I lie under the paw of triumphant orthodoxy. - Home I bounced and in order to condole [sic] myself, put into very pitiful lamentable rhymes the fall of Jonathan and Saul i.e., Jonathan's garland by David Ben Jesse of which take a Specimen

On proud Gilbo with altars crown'd
   Alas that I should live to tell!
The mighty sleep beneath the ground
   For there the flower of Israel fell

How fell stern Battles crimson race
   Alas that I should live to tell!
How by his altars blood-stained base
   My friend. the dauntless Jonas fell!

Such is the burden of the song and I was just going to have added another verse when fortunately for you it occurred to me that to give you a verse as the sample of an Elegy was equally wise with exhibiting a stone for the sample of a house." 2

Lacking the stimulus of the Theological Society during the Christmas vacation, Leyden allowed the somnolent atmosphere of St Andrews to lull him into a state of indolence in which he was reluctant to exchange his reading in St Augustine for the more active labour of composition either in prose or verse. But having received from its author a copy of William Erskine's poetical Epistle from Lady Grange to Edward D — ,Esq., written during her confinement in...St Kilda, he bestirred himself to acknowledge its receipt, on Boxing Day, taking the pen "in a moment of true Germanic drowsiness", induced by the air of the German Ocean and Colonel Duncan's sherry:

"... for it appeareth that your good sherry (sack) hath a two-fold operation in it, for by virtue of some occult (but that is exploded now that we are proceeding to know everything) sopori-ferous quality it mistsifies the eyes and mudefies the brain, presenting at the same time the delightful visions of nothing at all. I shall however... rouse my dormant Majesty so far as to return you my best thanks for your Epistle from Lady G — but shall not say one syllable concerning it till I can get the opinion of Dr Hunter, who I hope will criticize you without mercy for the unpardonable omission of and that & several other very important words... very necessary to the grammarian if not to the sense. Who is the philosopher, the man of taste, learning, science and ingenuity but the verbal critic? Does not the man who criticizes words therewith criticize the sense which is contained in them — the meaning that is in the form of words. He is not a tailor who criticizes the make of your cloaths but a censor who examines whether you are really the man you pretend to be — A tonsor who strips from your face the hairy mask and

1 Cf. 2 Samuel, I,21; & cf. Leyden's Ode on... Flodden,11.31-34.
2 Leyden to Wm Erskine, Dec.26, 1797.(...971, Nat.Lib.Scot.)
3 Published anonymously at 2s. by Mundell and Longman & Rees, it gave an idealized picture of Lady Grange, and was well received. Cf.pp.140-41 & 177 inf.
presents the true naked countenance of the man. You must express your meaning in words if your words have any meaning at all – & who is so fit to criticize them as a verbal Critic who knows all the predicaments and qualities of words, and not only whence they came but whither they are going.

Leyden's stock of "Germanic patience and perseverance" had also proved unequal to the completion of "a single analysis" for the Academy of Physics since his arrival in St Andrews, where indeed he had been unable to procure any of the books allotted to him. So at present, despite his undiminished interest in the Academy's "brief annals", including its reception of original essays, he had himself nothing to offer except an analysis (likely to appear very dry unless accompanied by "Herculanean plates" for reference) of memoirs published by Christian Heyne in the "Gottingen Transactions" twenty years before. And although he purposed, while spending most of the ensuing week in the country, to draw up a memoir on "the Sandstone Strata of our shore"; it was not until the following summer that the Academy, after reminding Leyden how highly this proposed communication would be valued, at last received from him "an interesting account of the geological phenomena on the coast of St. Andrews drawn up on the spot" from observations made by himself "in company with some Gentlemen of that place".

Nor had Leyden fulfilled a verse-writing commission imposed upon him, apparently before he left Edinburgh, by a lady whose surname began with B., and who may have been either Janet Brown or Anne Bannerman, a poetically-inclined young woman with whose mother William Erskine lodged in Drummond Street. The "slippery rocks", which had "precisely 8 lines as Miss B. desired", formed Leyden's only relevant composition; and he was seeking to escape from writing any others. "for various and manifold reasons... too strong & numerous" to yield to Erskine's "Casuistry about good & pleasures & ghosts &c", particularly as there was nothing disturbing in the idea of a female ghost aged "at least 49½". The "most invincible and irrefragible" of these reasons was Leyden's "own ponderous indolence", which had not been lessened by residence in "a monkish cloister"; and his other arguments he listed in order.

1 Leyden to Erskine, Dec. 26, 1797. Cf. Infis Ibid. There are several lacunae in this part of the MS.
2 Ibid. There are several lacunae in this part of the MS.
3 Erskine to Leyden, May [76], 1798. (MS. 756, Nat.Lib.Scot.)
4 Francis Horner to Thos. Logan, July 21, 1798. (Ibid.) The Academy had "long been looking" impatiently for a "mineralogical communication" from Logan also. (Ibid.)
5 Leyden to Erskine, loc. cit. He ends by sending his respects to Mrs and Miss Bannerman, with the assurance: 'Auld Reikie I will ne'er forget for any town that I've seen yet... But the sneer at Miss B.'s age fits Janet Brown (6 years Leyden's senior) better than Anne Bannerman, who was scarcely out of her teens in 1800.
6 See p. 129 sub. for these lines: 'When fitful howls the hollow wind'.
2. Miss Forbes' farewell is an Irish tune whereas I am only fond of Scotch ones. 3. It is a most valorous martial tune and consequently ill-adapted to my Elegiac. 4. It would require a long drawling psalm-singing measure if it were granted to be pathetic - a measure in short precisely like Lochaber:ng more which I cannot write because I have never attempted it. Now whenever I think of composing a stanza or two these and a thousand other considerations present themselves... and drive me from the pathetic posture in which I have placed my imagination even as the North wind drives the sea spray over the top of my chimney... Now tho...there is no person in the world whom I would more desire to please and gratify and rejoice yourself except myself (for I despise lying as much as I do telling the truth) e. I am ready to do either (as it suits me) I cannot resolve all at once to dismiss my prolific friend St Augustine (I wonder much by the bye where the scoundrel picked up his Saintship) for the barren business of beating my brains in order to bother you with verses. But when my MSS. shall appear (I mean the wrecks of them for I cannot suppose that they will arrive safe after such a long voyage with such a careless pilot)² be so good as send them for I may probably correct tho I cannot now take the trouble to write new ones." ⁵

Leyden may indeed have taken this trouble nevertheless, for in the Edinburgh Magazine for April, 1798, appeared three poems subscribed 'United College, St Andrews. J.L.'; and although the first of these, the feverish Ode to Phantasy, must now have been merely retouched, having been written by November, 1795, and published in April, 1797,⁶ the others, being both translations from the Greek in which the sea is viewed with disfavour, may well have been composed at St Andrews. The Wail of Danae. From... Simonides gives the lullaby sung by the hapless Danae to her infant Perseus "While imprisoned in her floating cell" on the windswept sea:

In brazen folds immured, my love!
Sleep sweetly, sure thou dost not know
The silver moon shines bright above,
While darkness broods o'er us below.

And The Shepherd's Wish. From... Moschus (whose poems Leyden was then reading) declares how much a country life is to be preferred, save in the calmest of weather, to that of the sailor "toss'd along the rolling main":

More sweet to me, beneath the wood
To sit, than skim along the brine;
When tempests rage o'er ocean's flood
They only whistle through the pine.

1 Evidently the air for which Leyden had been asked to write words.
2 Cf. Leyden's reference in To the Ladies of Tinwald Downs to the Irishman who did not know he could play the harp, because he had never tried; and Dean Ramsay's story of the Scotsman's same "most cautious answer" anent the fiddle. (Reminiscences, p.29.)
3 What immediately follows 'themselves' is illegible.
5 Leyden to Wm Erskine Dec-26 -1797.
6 In the first issue of the KelsoMail. See pp.83-84 & 112 sup.
8 Ll.9-12. The poetry section of this number of the Edin. Mag. (Vol.XI, pp.902-5) comprised only four poems.
Whether or not Leyden spent the Christmas vacation in Perthshire or Angus, as he had expected to do, does not appear; and it seems extremely unlikely that he visited Edinburgh, despite the entry of his name in the Matriculation Album of the University there under the date December 21, 1797. But in any event, his brief absence apparently made him none the fonder of St Andrews, for the account of the Professors and their lectures, and of his own pursuits, which he gave William Erskine on January 20, 1798, had in it more of criticism than of enthusiasm.

"...truly verily & indeed St Andrews is a very good place for professors and the Professors are learned men for they study their bottles as well as their books - They form a little Re-public of letters for within the Walls of the College they are sovereign lords & kings - only their authority is not the most rigid. Dr Hunter is superlative in Philology and Grammar and Dr Hill in Theology. Dr Wilson excelled when... Professor of Hebrew but in Ecclesiastical History sinks prodigiously beneath Dr Hardy. Mr Baron gives excellent lectures on Rhetoric & Logic for Students but I have not seen much occasion to admire his profundity - Dr Rotheram chats over the principles of natural Philosophy very briefly. Mr Cook teaches Hutcheson's System of Ethics. Mr Trotter teaches Hebrew with points & Hill teaches Dunlop's base confused Grammar but wt. some pretty good English Annotatons. All the Professors examine There is a miserable aristocratic division of Students into Seconds & Ternars which only fosters pride. My only studies are Lang.:ages Philology and Theology and neither of these are prosecuted with much avidity I assure you. I read any book that comes in my way that I have not seen for instance I have just now - Runkenius' Homers hymn to Ceres & Valckenaeers Theocritus & Maimonides' More Nevochim from the library. There is much amusement here for any person that is fond of Dancing Card-playing or Golf-playing but these are nothing to me I am however practising Fencing with a French emigrant who has taken up a school here & I skate a little when there is frost and read whenever my eyes permit & I have leisure & dine regularly at the College Table and Breakfast and Sup in my own room sic transit Gloria."

Leyden's aversion to dancing seems to have been due chiefly to his own self-consciousness, since he later confessed:

1 Cf. Leyden's letter to Erskine, Dec.26, with its complaints of lack of books and of news from Edinburgh; & he sent papers to Edinburgh in the vacation. (See p.141 infra.) 'John Leyden' is the last entry in the 'L' section of the Matric Album, 1797-98.
2 Dr George Hill, Principal of St Mary's 1791-1819.
3 Dr Thomas Hardie of Edinburgh. See pp.59-60 sup.
4 John Leslie (to James Brown, ?1795) called Rotheram an 'arrant sycophant', with poor qualifications, whom St Andrews Univ. would soon regret choosing when they saw through his pretensions.
5 Francis Hutcheson, A System of Moral Philosophy, 1755.
6 Prof.Henry Hill; Alex. Dunlop's Greek Grammar, 1736.
7 Sons of landed gentry, and of ordinary citizens, respectively. Primars, sons of the nobility, formed the remaining class.
8 Homeri hymnus in Cererem... editus a D.Ruhnkenio. Lug.Bat., 1782.
10 Rabbi Moses ben Maimon's Moreh Nebuchim, or 'guide of the perplexed', ed.
"There have been a great many Balls Assemblies &c. here this winter, wh. I have attended pretty regularly, indeed, as often as my eyes would permit - but without dancing, wh. I should certainly have engaged in but for your mauv [mauv] honte - This alone was necessary to complete my Career. For both in literary & athletic exercises I can defy both the Colleges with ease."

In giving Logan advice on how to combat such diffidence, Leyden had his own experience to draw upon:

"The circumstance wh. gives me the greatest pleasure in your letter, is the account of your Oratory. That will give you more confidence than anything you can think. Your mauvaise honte is extremely inconvenient, & I have felt it in all vigour; - but in the name of the 7 golden candlesticks, how can you enter a room where there is a fine lady, when you cannot bear to look at an old female acquaintance. I shrewdly suspect you take her for a witch, notwithstanding your philosophy, and are frightened lest you find her metamorphosed into a cat spitting fire &c... Reason alone should cure you of this foible - if you go whistling to the door I'll wager anything you shall knock for the great trial... is not when you see the person you are afraid of - it then dispenses like smoke - your horror is at first when you are going to enter the house. The observation of this phaenomenon taught me the method of cure."

And Leyden eventually cured himself so thoroughly of his diffidence in dancing also that by 1801 he was partnering (doubtless clumsily enough) no less a leader of society than Lady Charlotte Campbell, to whom he addressed on the occasion a lively and satirical Epistle to a Lady. From a Dancing-Bear:

What praise deserves Almira, dauntless fair,
Who first aspired to lead a Dancing Bear,
Taught him to bound on firm elastic heel,
In winding orbits round the fair to whee,,
Advance, retreat, the twining maze pursue,
As wanton kittens use the tumbling clue.

In fencing, Leyden made faster progress; to judge from his satisfied, if facetious, reference to the subject at the end of a long epistolary tirade upbraiding the unfortunate Logan for having ventured to doubt the constancy of Leyden's friendship.

"... your angry suspicious remark\(^3\) gives me an opportunity of drawing a favourable inference that you cultivate the acquaintance of the mild Erskine - but I hope not in Gillespie's manner,\(^4\) who used to declare that he could never find in his heart to dissent from the undogmatical unassuming Erskine - but what the deuce prevented you from understanding either my ideas or my expressions I hope you did not find any Hebrew idioms among them, & Brougham himself will allow that I am always perspicuous when I write. If your contempt for the opinions of others had been as real as it is imaginary I cannot believe that you would have used the big dashing word Sovereign in declaring it; & it must also be presumed that you dont mean

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1 Leyden to Thomas Logan, March 29, 1798. (MS. 3383, Nat. Lib. Scot.)
3 This remark apparently concerned the Academy of Physics and particularly Leyden's promised mineralogical paper. Cf. p. 142 infra.
4 William Gillespie, later minister of Kelso.
5 'Sovereign' is written large in the MS.

\(^{\text{MS.26,555, f.13, has 'As wanton kittens vex the tumbling clue'}}\)
to include my opinion among these you despise, for if you do, why did you give me an opportunity of animadverting on your suspicions. Farther how came you to imagine that I entertained any unworthy notions or sentiments concerning you which I would not have declared to yourself — that is not my way — Do I not tell you downright what is my opinion on every occasion. To show you how much your suspicions wrong me, I must inform you that I received Yours when writing you somewhat more good-humouredly than you did your own. Q. Would you have wrote me except in your official capacity? 2 Did you write to me in Summer? Did you call upon me when you came to town? I mention these merely to let you know that I have likewise ground for suspicions if I chose to entertain them. But I know all these and much more may happen without any perverse intention of pitching to the Devil &c. I mention all this to quash your suspicions, and if you have any proof of your insinuations write me next week and I will extinguish them if not I remain Yours cordially. till I have an opportunity of whipping you through the lungs like a piece of toasted cheese. For I must give you to know that I am one of the most redoubtable swordsmen in Fife and by the assistance of emigrant Vogel fencing master here can fence like a Gladiator, Quart tierce &c. Wherefore if you refuse to write according to order you may remain in sure hope expectation & confidence that I will cut slash and carbonado you, like a grilled salmon at my return I will flea you alive like an eel or pink you as full of eyelet holes as your Dearie's pincushion. 3

On the day before dealing thus faithfully with Logan and his suspicions, Leyden had been engaged in answering a somewhat better-founded accusation brought by William Erskine. Finding, to his annoyance, that his Epistle from Lady Grange had been publicly ascribed to him in the Monthly Magazine despite his strong desire for anonymity, Erskine was inclined to lay the blame for this breach of confidence on John Leyden, to whom he had recently lent the poem, and who was in the habit of sending verses to George Dyer for insertion in London periodicals. 5 So Leyden, who had been asking Erskine, "Is there no word at all from Dyer? I suppose he will be hunting for some complaints of the poor, and consequently our Scotch complaints agt. his negligence will reach him very opportunely" 6 was now obliged to meet Erskine's complaint against himself with an admission that the charge had indeed some basis in fact.

1 'Condemn' is deleted in the MS., and 'despise' written above it.
2 As Secretary to the Academy of Physics.
3 Leyden to Thomas Logan, Jan. 21, 1798. (MSS. 786 & 3383, Nat. Lib. Scot.)
4 See p. 135 sup. Erskine wrote to Lundie, Jan. 15, 1798: "You wd. see from the Monthly Mag., that the Epistle from Kilda was by a Mr. Erskine — I suppose I owe this good office to Leydon... Do not speak of it as mine." (Lundie had ascribed it to Brougham.)
5 Dyer wrote to Dr Anderson, Aug. 3, 1798, that he had had a letter some time since from Leyden, whose poem addressed to Dr Anderson (probably the Dryad's Warning) he had sent first to the Monthly Mag. and then to the Gentleman's Mag. (Adv. MSS. 22.4.12, H. L. S.)
6 Leyden to Erskine, Dec. 23, 1797. Dyer's The complaints of the poor people of England... had reached a 2nd ed. in 1795.
wrote Dyer - so far good - I expostulated on the delay of Brown's announcement. I informed him that we were doing something in Edinr. according to our own slow way - that Mr Erskine had prepared for the Press a Heroic Epistle supposed to be written from St Kilda to which there lay the same objection as to my Epistle to Dr Anderson that it could hardly have been conveyed since the roads were not only bad but a never navigated sea intercepted all communication. I added it may be proper to notice the Epistle, but recollect that Mr E. obstinately refuses to add his name while I sojourned for a day in the inn at Cupar I wrote to Dyer after writing the first page of a letter I blotted it - began anew - and as the day was [not?] good - employed the rest of it in scribbling verses upon the spoilt sheet. I have examined it just now and find the statement perfectly correct. - I knew that Dyer was fond of names to a degree of Quakerism but could not suppose that after what I had said and after having forbid him to add my own name that he would have the pertinacity to do it. Thus you see, however much I am obliged to Brown for his good opinion, I am afraid that Sin lieth at the Door. I gave the notice but I could not have believed the precaution insufficient - & I am certain you cannot believe that I did the evil designedly when you recollect your own injunction. I have not heard from Dyer since, and did not mean to write till I should hear from him in some shape or other - but will if you desire me. 3

Erskine's letter had also conveyed other unpleasant literary tidings of "a wicked and malicious attack on Dr Anderson" by Robert Heron, of which Leyden was entirely ignorant, as he had seen nothing in print concerning Anderson except a "shilly-shally notice in last Magazine," 4 and Anderson himself, in a letter two weeks before, had mentioned Heron only as "Editor of some Journal" of which Leyden was equally ignorant; 5 but on reading the attack in question, Leyden, who took a friendly interest in what "the Dr." was doing and saying, 6 found it indeed both despicable and malicious, and pronounced:

"I am satisfied on that score to retort upon Heron would be merely to grapple with a chimney-sweep." 7

Equally unsatisfactory was the news that Leyden's sketch of the life of Panini 7 had not been given in to the Academy of Physics, although taken to Edinburgh in the vacation by "Messrs Stewart & Grant" 8 along with letters to Brougham which had been duly received. And indeed Leyden's contributions to the Academy were so far in arrears that he was obliged to beseech Thomas Logan, as Secretary, to send him a list of his "appointments unperform'd":

1 The announcement of Thomas Brown's Observations on Zoonomia.
2 Mr Doble's conjecture.
3 Leyden to Erskine, Jan. 20, 1798. (MS. 971, Nat. Lib. Scot.) Erskine endorsed this: "Cause of my Name appearing... as Author of Ly. G."
4 Erskine made a marginal note: "N.B. This notice was by Dr A. himself. What wld Leyden say to this?"
5 Heron was then still composing his History of Scotland. He became editor of The Globe, etc, on going to London in 1799.
6 Leyden to Logan, Jan. 21, 1798.
7 Presumably the Sanskrit grammarian, fl.? 4th cent. B.C. This sketch was among the papers which Leyden asked his brother Robert to send to him in London from Edinburgh in March, 1803.
8 Probably Ludovic Grant and John Stewart, who both matriculated at St Andrews on Feb. 25, 1796.
"I know I am appointed to analyze some Vols. of the Manchester Transactions, but don't know which they are. It is impossible for me to procure a Copy of Robertson's Conspiracy in order to complete my analysis, so that if any person can be appointed by the Academy to finish it I will transmit what I have done. The Mineralogical observations to wh. you allude will probably appear in another shape."

One reason for Leyden's slowness in fulfilling his Academy commitments may have been the attention he had been paying to the more abstruse subject of Chinese; for in the vacation he had "made the experiment of committing to memory about 2,000 characters from Bayer's Museum Sinicum", and "From Bayer's Latin version of the Chinese" he translated an ode on The Saul Tree, that marsh-loving herald of spring which, almost before the end of winter, bedecked her yellow bark with "a robe of vivid green"; to the envy of the proud and radiant pomegranate. And finding also in Bayer a "Fragment of the Kidi Wonpa. A Tamulic Poem", he put that too into verse of a decidedly oriental cast:

The Persian pearl, Golconda's ore,  
The tamur blossom fair to view,  
For beauty, Tamul's race adore,  
Nor ask the place where first they grew.

The musk's sweet odour scents the air,  
The silk displays its glossy hue;  
Sweet is the juice the bees prepare,  
And yet we ask not where they grew:

Nor ask we, as we fondly gaze  
On the red sandal's perfumed flame;  
Then give fair Virtue's sons their praise,  
Nor ask the race from which they came.

Leyden was still interested, however, in the more commonplace studies and pursuits of his friends in Edinburgh, asking Logan:

"What classes do you attend, & how many hours of study have you? Do you attend the Divinity Hall, & read Tristram Shandy, like a good Christian, while the Dr. Lectures. Are there any Critics in the Hall? Do you attend the Theological Society, or are you expelled? Do you speak extempore in the literary Society? Are you in love, or in Drink at times?... Are you studying Mathematics along with Anatomy and attending the Infirmary;"

and again:

"Why don't you enter into some details concerning the Academy's proceedings: your Cor. Secretary only teases me with rant and

1 Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, the second series of which began to appear in 1793.
2 Prof. John Robison's Proofs of a conspiracy... See p.123 sup.
3 Leyden to Thomas Logan, Jan. 21, 1798, Ct. p.136 sup.
4 Leyden to Lt. Col. Richardson, 1786 (B.M. Add MS 265, 565.) Theophilus Bayer's Museum Sinicum, in quo Sinicae Linguae et Literaturae ratio explicatur... appeared in two volumes in 1730.
5 Leyden transcribed the three stanzas of The Saul Tree (1819 ed., p. 196) in his letter to Erskine, Jan. 20, 1798. It appeared in the Scots Magazine for April, 1802. (Vol. 55, p. 345.)
6 Published in the Scots Magazine, Aug., 1802. (Vol. 64, p. 694.) Dated
palaver. What experiments have you been making: & what are the results. There is no Chemistry taught here, and no books upon it to be got except from Drs. Hunter and Brown... So that I have been studying nothing but Conchology - I mean the philosophical: & not the bawdy sense of the word - these double entendres are shocking to a Philos. mind. whatever accident may suggest them - I am just going to botanize in a fine garden belonging to Col. Duncan.

To Thomas Brown also were addressed enquiries after his "excellent Mother and very amiable sisters" and such friends as James Reddie, with "Compliments φιλος κυριλλις πνευματις", queries on minor literary points - "Is not Augusta in the M. Mag. Miss A. Bannerman" and in the translation from Metastasio do you not recognize Erskine, and comments on Brown's forthcoming Observations on Darwin's Zo- nomia, on the shortcomings of English reviewers, and on the Academy of Physics and its Corresponding Secretary, Henry Brougham:

"Well we will soon see you baited by the dogs of criticism, but expect that you will sing forth most lustily not for mercy, but for victory. Drs Hunter & Brown... expect you impatiently - men of the right stamp & well versed in the business - Who can be the reviewer of Erskine? He must be attacked in the Monthly or elsewhere - I suspect the whole of these English blades of a non penchant to all the Transtweedean Bards or Phil. It was therefore wished some periodical paper could have been established in Edinr. either by the Academy or elsewhere. Appropriately, you tell me nothing of the Academy's proceedings - rather in the small way I suspect. But, thunder and lightning [sic]!!! what is your Cor. Secretary about - He talks as big as ancient Pistol and mentions valiant words as Fluellin says. As for instance that he will never write any more on philosophical subjects in the British kingdom. Death and fire! Ouds pistols & bullets! ods bullets and bludgeons does he mean to bring the sun moon & seven stars about our ears. He seems already to imagine that the little roundabout of the Academy has as powerful a vortex as the Gulf of Malstrum. In St Andrews the existence of such a thing is never suspected. I long to have a round with him viva voce - is he as much a Christian as ever - Take care lest Irish Politics run in his head for I suspect he has but an Irish head for Politics - He is not pliant enough with all his cunning. He will blow us & himself too, if he does not take care - You engineers ought to know that springing a mine is best! Beat him down from the pinnacle of fancy!"

Leyden's own occupations, scientific and social, were described in some detail:

"Yesterday I accompanied a brace of beautiful young ladies to a cave about 2 miles down the shore, situated amid the most romantic scenery rocks, & prodigious blocks of granatine &c. when unfortunately as we were chatting away most deliciously at the head of the Brae, Dr Brown appeared below examining the Strata - sea rocks &c. I felt a mortal inclination to

1 Leyden to Thomas Logan, March 29, 1798.
2 Leyden to Thomas Brown, Nov 14, 1797; & similarly on Feb. 19, 1798.
3 Leyden to Thomas Brown, Feb. 19, 1798. (MS. 3380, H.L.S.)
4 A hope fulfilled by the establishment of the Edinburgh Review in October, 1802. Cf. p. inf.
5 Leyden to Thomas Brown, March 25, 1798. (MS. 3380.)
desert the party, but this was impossible—I experienced a few of your double-minded twinges but shook them off as fast as possible, since it appeared to be written above that I should accompany the ladies. Heaven has rewarded my resignation & tomorrow I go with the Dr. and another gentleman on a Philos. expedition to the same quarter. You see I write you trifles...

And so, on occasion, were his somewhat morbid reflections on his own personality and on the iniquities of the social order:

"Whether I am John Leyden or not has always been one of the most problematical points of discussion upon which— I have at any time entered... I once knew a beautiful maniac who affirmed resolutely that her body was animated by an infernal spirit while her soul was inhabiting Beelzebub's bosom. Philosophers mention the case of an author—a very good Christian like myself who in the famous preface of his reply to Morgan the Deist declared that for the punishment of his iniquities his soul had been entirely annihilated. The name of this moonstruck man was Brown no doubt a relation of your own. You may also recollect Southey's Donica. Another but more ancient poet Dante in his Inferno states that whenever a person commits some particular crimes his soul is immediately despatched to the regions below while a daemon takes possession of his body and continues to perform with decency and order all the ordinary functions of the person till he is released from his confinement by war sickness sudden death or any other bodily infirmity. Now if any thing like this should chance to have occurred to your humble Servant (as who can tell but may) if the daemon of indolence should have taken possession of the body of the noted infidel as you are pleased to denominate that quondam good Christian, Full of faith and hope perfuming the whole Land with the odour of his sanctity, it will no doubt be much to the edification of you and the two Societies of which I or the quondam John Leyden alias Leydon alias Baal Segnis or the devil of indolence was once a Member as I immediately proceed to the composition of another Metamorphosis Asini Aurei accommodated to the present times and existing sects of quack philosophers. But I have divers & manifold reasons in store sufficient to convince nobody but myself that I am the same identical John Leyden soul and body if I have any body for that is a point which I do not barely doubt but entirely disbelieve. For instance if I do not find myself the most invincible reasoner, I find myself as invincible to all reasons/brought against me as ever. The same murderous disposition predominates or rather lurks amid great apparent simplicity &c I am still enraged that 1/10 of the Members of Society should engross all its advantages & I sometimes picture to my fancy the complicated group of human wretchedness till it confounds and disturbs my brain — but when I fix upon a subject of contemplation it is not the Captive of Sterne, it is not an Algerine Guilely Slave, nor even a West-Indian Black but I always recollect the Roman slave thrown to the:..
feed the Lampreys. I figure to myself the miserable wretch debased in mind as well as in body, distracted with fear and at the dreadful recollection of the monsters tumbling in the pond entreating for death but not receiving it - I see him thrown yelling and struggling into the gulf and hear his broken screams as the monsters begin to fasten on him - still I view him rolling on the surface, while every limb he raises is girt with twisted water serpents shining white through the blue waters - They are sucking his blood, - eating him by inches - devouring him peaceable every limb quivers and palpitates - he sinks - no - it is only white bones - and the blue serpents are coiling round them as it were for pleasure - And if I then dash my head agt. the wall - and grind my teeth in sullen silence & resolve not to feel for human wretchedness who will not say that it is the same identical J. Leyden tho infected with clerical indolence."

This professed state of indolence did not prevent Leyden from taking an energetic part in at least one of St Andrews' student activities. The Theological Society, having met for the first time after its Christmas recess on January 6, continued to meet each Saturday until the end of March; and Leyden, apparently undaunted by having been previously called to order by "triumphant orthodoxy", proved himself an indefatigable speaker. The presence of an erudite young man of Leyden's readiness and versatility in speech-making must have been an asset to a society comprising only some twelve members, and Leyden was accordingly often called upon to deputize for another member. Thus, at the spring term's first meeting, one Carstairs, denying that capital punishments are "consistent with justice and sound policy", was "impugned by Mr Leyden in place of Mr Miller", the only other speaker being Thomas Chalmers. "Mr Leyden then took out for next Evening's debate 'Is there a God? negavit Mr. Campbell was appointed to impugn." In the sequel, it was Campbell who opened the debate for the affirmative and Leyden who impugned, secure in the knowledge that the Society's rules provided penalties for the disclosure to any non-member of anything said or done in the Society which might prove prejudicial to that body or to any of its members. At the same meeting, David Symers was appointed to give the next systematic discourse, on January 20;
but when the time came, "Mr Leyden in place of Mr Symers delivered the Systematic Discourse on Regeneration", and did so at such length that he gave only part of his paper that evening, and "agree to favour the Society with the Remainder at their next Meeting".

Nor did this exertion keep him from speaking in the general debate on whether "the recollection of the past or the anticipation of the future affords the greater pleasure to the mind." What he said is unknown, since the Society's records preserve neither the arguments of the debaters nor the outcome of the debates. But we may perhaps guess which side he supported; for to a talented young man on the threshold of his career the future must have appeared bright, and in the memory of the past Leyden seems to have found fully as much sadness as pleasure:

Alas, that fancy's pencil still pourtrays
A fairer scene than ever nature drew!
Alas, that ne'er to reason's placid view
Arise the charms of youth's delusive days!
For all the memory of our tender years,
By contrast vain, impairs our present joys;
Of greener fields we dream and purer skies,
And softer tints than ever nature wears...

Dear scenes! which grateful memory still employ,
Why should you strive to blast the present joy?

On January 27 Leyden "first delivered the remainder of his Discourse on Regeneration and then in absence of Mr Symes opened up the Debate on the question 'Is the power of working Miracles alone a sufficient Proof of a Divine Mission?' affirmavit". The next meeting, on February 3, found Leyden again coming to the rescue of David Symers, who "requested of the Society leave to delay the delivering of his Systematic Discourse till next meeting on condition that Mr Leyden should again deliver a... Discourse for him this Evening, with which request the Society complied. Mr Leyden then read a Discourse on the argument a priori for the Existence of a God. Mr Symes opened up the debate on... 'Have the Writings of the Deists proved hurtful to Christianity' negavit was impugned by Mr Leyden in place of Mr Symers". After this double effort, Leyden contented himself, during the following week's debate on whether atheism or superstition was more pernicious to society, with being "only other Speaker" besides the principals. February 17 found him speaking, on behalf of James Walker, against Symers's contention that "the Method at present adopted by the Missionary Society...".

1 Proceedings of the Theological Society, loc. cit.
2 The Memory of the Past, 11.1-8, 13-14. In B.N. Add. MS. 26, 555, f.15, 11.13-14 have been altered to above version (that of 1819 ed., p.3) in Leyden's hand from: 'Dear scenes! which grateful memory must repeat. Why should you make the present joys less sweet?' Cf. Leyden's sonnet Melancholy, and Scenes of Infancy, pt. i, 116.
3 William Symes, I cannot trace him in Scott's Pasti.
4 1776-1839; minister of Carluke 1813-17 & of Carnwath 1817-39.
in the Country for the Propagation of Christianity" was not favour-
able to its interests. In the debate of February 24, in which
Chalmers figured prominently, Leyden took no active part, although
not listed as absent; but at the next meeting, which saw two new
members admitted to the Society, "Mr Leyden in Mr Melvill's
absence opened up the debate on the question 'Are the wicked lives
of the Professors of Christianity any argument against its divine
origin'. Affirmavit". His position as chairman on March 10 prevented
Leyden from taking sides in the debate on whether the
Mosaic account of the Creation; taken literally, was credible: a
subject on which he had definite views, having decided some time
before that that account was "confirmed undeniably by the Phœnomen
of nature". But he was allotted a large share in the arrangements
then made for the following week:

"Mr Symmers... took out for next debate 'Are the difficulties
attending natural and revealed Religion any excuse for Infidel-
ity'. Negavit. Mr Leyden to impugn. As the systematic Discourses
given out for the Season had already been delivered by the Mem-
bers who attend the Society, Mr Leyden, on the Society's
requesting him, agreed to favour them with another... Discourse
against next meeting."

All this Leyden did, his discourse on Thanksgiving being the last of
the session; and in the concluding debate on March 24, he had also
virtually the last word, as Robert Macdonald, opening for the
negative on 'Does the Christian Religion bind its Professors to
observe the Sabbath' was impugned by Leyden in place of James Hill. Thereafter, all that remained of the Society's business for the
session was for a committee to meet on the next Wednesday to examine
the Secretary's books and accounts and appoint subjects for next
years discourses, and for this committee to make its report at the
final meeting on March 31. At this, the Secretary was accorded a
vote of thanks; and one feels that the unremitting exertions of
John Leyden might well have been similarly acknowledged.

While thus distinguishing himself in the Theological Society,
Leyden was also pursuing a forward, if not undeviating, course
towards becoming a licentiate of the Church of Scotland. At their

1 Messrs. Inglis & Strachan: probably David Inglis (1771-1837), min-
ister of Lochlee 1806-37; and John Strachan.
2 Andrew Melvill (1778-1848), minister of Logie (Logie-Murdoch)
1803-43 and of the Free Church there 1843-48.
3 Proceedings of the Theological Society, loc.cit.
4 The Minutes for the meeting of March 3 end with the note: "Mr
Leyden P.E." - i.e. President Elect.
5 Leyden to Thomas Logan, July 4, 1796.
6 Perhaps Robert Macdonald (1770-1842), minister of Fortingal 1806-
1842. No likely James Hill appears in Scott's Fasti.
monthly meeting on November 29, 1797, the Presbytery of Edinburgh had received their Synod's consent to Leyden's being taken on public probationary trials, and had duly transferred him to the jurisdiction of the Presbytery of St Andrews. The latter, however, had also met on November 29, before Leyden was actually in possession of the necessary extract of authorization from Edinburgh; and as St Andrews Presbytery met only once in two months, Leyden had perforce to wait until their next Sederunt in the Schoolhouse of Crail on January 24, 1798. There he duly "compeard" and produced his Extract certifying that the Presbytery of Edinburgh, having examined and approved of him, now recommended him to their brethren of St Andrews.

"Wherefor the said Mr Leyden was examind coram; and being approved there was prescribd to him Heb.X.38, 'The Just shall live by faith', as the Subject of a private Homily, to be delivered at this Sederunt if he can be ready. — Accordingly the said Homily having been deliverd & sustaind, further Trials were prescribd, For Exercise and Additn Colos.3.3. 'Ye are dead &c.' 2 For Lecture Mark 8.27 & seqq. 3 For popular Sermon Matth.3.8. 'Bring forth fruits meet for Repentance'. For Exegesis, the question 'An Dies Dominica sit Juris Divini' 4 — and for trial in history the 6th Century." 1

Leyden's exercises on these prescribed subjects were delivered at the Presbytery's next meeting on March 21, in St Salvator's Church, St Andrews: a meeting place to which they adjourned after being "constituted in the ordinary place, in the town Church," and finding that the latter was under repair. 5 The first item on the agenda was "Leyden trials", which passed off smoothly, Leyden delivering his "Exercise and Addition, Lecture, & popular Sermon" to the satisfaction of the Presbytery. 1 The text of his Lecture, on that passage of St Mark's Gospel in which Christ asks His disciples 'Whom do men say that I am?' and reveals to them His future course, is extant and bears marks of careful preparation. 6 Neatly divided into two main sections, each having three parts, and each culminating in a direct application to Leyden's hearers of the points under discussion, the Lecture opens in a somewhat stiff style, but gains in vigour as it goes on. Having considered the Messianic hope of the Jews and their identification of Jesus with various prophets, Leyden went on to remind his listeners, with considerable

1 Minutes (1784-1802) and Register (1778-1810) of the Presbytery of St Andrews, the entries in which are virtually identical.
2 "For, ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God."
3 Actually on St Mark VIII,27-34, vv.27-31 being copied out at the head of Leyden's paper. See inf.
4 The question was altered from 'De Existentia Dei', perhaps because Leyden had already spoken on it in the Theological Society.
5 They met in St Salvator's until April 1, 1801, by which time the Parish Church of the Holy Trinity was again fit to receive them.
6 The original MS. is in MS.3333, Nat. Lab. Scot., ff. 75-82.
force, that their own perception of the significance of Christ was by no means superior to that of the Jews:

"Is your religion the effect of examination and conviction?... And is your conduct strictly commensurate with your opinions?... Be not surprized at the Jews for your own carelessness and inattention to the doctrines of truth and the feeble influence of these doctrines upon your conduct is still more surprizing.

Then, after examining Christ's reasons for so questioning His disciples, and their reaction to His revelation of the future, Leyden concluded on a more personal note by exhorting his audience to repress their regret at being placed in a humble station of life to disregard the contumely of the proud, and to shun "the tinsel and splendor of the great", the "empty pageantry of pomp, the blaze & parade of the glory that passeth". And he took the opportunity fortunately for himself, of inveighing against the godlessness of the times, deploring the "outrageous spirit of proselytism" which made "the partizans of a wild and impious philosophy... compass sea and land" in their determination to convert men from religion to their own dubious principles "by dint of furious declamation and malicious representation".1

This lecture and his other discourses having been duly sustained, Leyden was ordered to be ready with his other trials for the Presbytery's next meeting, which fell on May 2, and was an important one for Leyden, since he was then due to be licensed to preach the Gospel, although it appears from his letters that for a time at least it was problematical whether he would be so licensed. His Presbytery might well have looked askance at the pseudo-Scriptural style in which Leyden had begun a letter to Thomas Logan three days before his first appearance before them:

"God is a great God & the righteous are his servants - and it came to pass in the latter days when Men began to refuse to call on the name of God, & many persons took unto themselves the name of the Men without a God, & wrought evil in the sight of the most High, that Thomas of the seed of Logan wrote unto John Leyden of the race of the priests sojourning in the kingdom of Fife saying &c..."2

It certainly would not please them to find Leyden designated, even in jest, as 'that noted infidel Atheist': a description applied to him by Thomas Brown in a letter which found its way into the wrong hands, as Leyden recounted to Brown just four days after his second set of trials before the Presbytery.

"Here I have been interrupted by a visit from Dr Hunter & shall again interrupt myself in order to give you a brace of curses. If I had but Ermulpheus' comprehensive digest by me by the horns

1 Leyden, Lecture on St Mark VIII, 27-34. (MS.3383, Nat.Lib.Scot.)
2 Leyden to Logan, January 21, 1798. Cf. Leyden's letter to 'the most worshipful & tolerant father in God". Col.Macaulay, Sept.5, 1805. (See p. inf.)
of Amnon I would not omit a single curse in the Calendar.1 Do you not remember a little scrap you sent me some time ago addressed to that noted infidel atheist JL, which certainly could never be intended to denote the orthodox John Leyden but more probably by the error of the MS, Thomas Logan or some other noted infidel of your acquaintance But as the Devil would have it, does not this same little scrap pop into a book of Dr Hunters which I was perusing, and being like a Grain of corn in a bushel of Chaff passed undiscovered to the Drs habitation where some way or other it was discovered a few days ago So there is an end of my orthodoxy just when I had begun to be flagrant in the odour of sanctity, and by dint of declamation agt every kind of French principles had become a general favourite with the Terrorists of Church & State. I do [not] intend to describe by this term those who excite terror in others - but the Craftsmen who are terrified themselves. It was the most unfortunate time in the world for I had delivered 3 discourses only last Wednesday with the unanimous approbation of Orthodox & heterodox.2 So that you see there is mischief enough to make one tremble in every hair of their head, to make one's. hair lift up their hat & perhaps their wig too, if they have one.3

Brown's view of Leyden as an infidel was certainly shared by other members of their Edinburgh circle, who even doubted whether Leyden would be prepared to sign the Confession of Faith which probationers were required to subscribe on being licensed. Leyden himself had no qualms about taking this step; but the terms in which he expressed himself on the subject to Thomas Logan would have given the Presbytery of St Andrews much food for thought.

"And so you have been lamenting in your self retirement, like an owl in the desert I suppose,4 the defection of the quondam J. Leyden from the principles of strict honour, integrity and Morality; the deliberate villainy, the diabolical dispositions of that now-wolf in sheeps cloathing who was formerly the very lamb among the goats and kids of theology. Thank you heartily My Dear Sir, for with me it is not the question what are your principles, but to find that you have any principles at all is a circumstance wh. gives me infinite pleasure. You inform me how much you were surprized at my conduct, when you knew perfectly that I always intended this consummation, when you knew me to be entirely inflexible & unchangeable, and never to repent of my purposes.5 This wide mouth'd wonder in you, would have been absolutely unaccountable had you not told me in a breath that you are daily becoming more and more hypochondriacal, whimsical, weak-minded, moveable, cowardly, nonsensical, and learnedly paradoxical, of all which you have given us a notable specimen in the present instance & have left us to account for your sobriety amid the tempest of all these hurly-burly qualifications in the best manner we can. To be sure a learned writer of your quondam acquaintance accounts for it pretty well - 'He that wavereth is like a wave of the sea, driven by the wind and

1 The Pope's dreadfull curse: being the form of an excommunication of the Church of Rome. Taken out of the Leger-Book of the Church of Rochester... writ by Erasimus the bishop. 1661.
2 Leyden's discourses of Wednesday, March 21, 1798. See p.148 sup.
3 Leyden to Thomas Brown, March 25, 1798.
4 Psalm 102; v.6: '...I am like an owl of the desert.'
5 'an' in the MS.
6 Leyden, like Scott, prided himself on the inflexibility of his character.
tossed – a double minded man is unstable in all his ways. 1
But you also say the Academy was confounded – & what wonder, –
when you also tell me that the people with you are all mad
except yourself – who are only a little whimsical, weak minded
or so. From all wh. the conclusion is perfectly obvious that
I myself am taller by at least two handfuls in the head-piece
than any of you, & that none of you are qualified to decide
upon my actions & measures whether they be good or... evil; and
to conclude, when the proper time comes round which will not be
till the beginning of May, I shall not scruple to take the
reason-word of Theology in the sense in wh. it is intended by
the mystic brethren. And what tho' yet, supposing it to be
contrary to truth, is not truth merely a quality of a Proposition
– and is it not proper to do a little evil, that much good
may come of it, as the Illuminati say, and as surgeons Doctors
& do. 2

The Presbytery, not being altogether obtuse; had indeed had some
doubts of Leyden's orthodoxy, as he himself realized; 3 but these he
set at rest by simply making a successful, if somewhat sudden,
volte-face, as he shamelessly owned to Thomas Brown:

"I have not advanced so far in clericality as to think that
every heterodox son of a – church or state, ought not only to
be hanged drawn and quartered but to be offered a whole burnt-
offering to the God of Mercy as our good brethren and allies of
Portugal do – therein overstepping by two or three inches our
trusty lieges of the town suburbs and dependencies of St Andrew
But I can tell you that should your faithfulness visit St
Andrews nay should you actually be burnt by a slow fire for
your infidelity, you would not be the first alive or dead that
have perished by the same destruction. 4 The threat of my Saint
you will understand literally if you understand it at all...
The town abounds in Volunteers who have a Gallic maxim among
them 'He that is not for us, is against us' which these Comment-
ators interpret He- that is not a volunteer is a democrat – One
democrat at home is worse than seven Frenchmen abroad, where-
fore let us Spit them all like partridges upon our bayonets as
soon as ever Buonaparte sets foot on England – & so terminates
the conclusion of this formidable syllogism which at least
appears to be of excellent mettle. Great consolation for any
infidel atheistic republican but perfectly innocuous to your
humble Servant – For as my cloak was certainly beginning to
turn threadbare what did I but wheel dexterously round to the
right alias the wrong side and for a mantle large and broad
close-wrapt me in religion. viz. In one of my trial discourses
preached in the open church, I commenced a brilliant cannonade
on modern Atheism which had a glorious effect. The Presby-
ter taken by surprise, and I had at the clerical dinner, my health
drunk with thanks for my excellent doctrines. excellent doctrines! mark that! Who will now dou-
Ut the orthodoxy of John
Leyden. So no more of your soul and body infidel Atheists but
plain John Leyden the orthodox who remains Yours Affectionately;
               o, whom -' power & glory Amen. " 5

1 St James I, 6 & 8. 'For he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea
 driven with the wind and tossed...'
2 Leyden to Thomas Logan, March 29, 1798. Cf. p.123 sup. for Leyden's
views on the Illuminati & the justifying of the means by the end.
3 Cf. pp.149-50 for the 'mischief' of Leyden's infidel reputation.
4 Between 1432 and 1558, Paul Crawar, Patrick Hamilton, Henry For-
rest, George Wishart and Walter Miln were burned at the stake in
St Andrews by the Roman Catholic Church.
5 Probably the end of his Lecture on St Mark, VIII, 27-34. (p.149 sup)
6 Leyden to Thomas Brown, April 17, 1798. (Ms.3380.1)
To affect an attitude of unbelief was one thing; to make formal and deliberate avowal of it was quite another. So on May 2, before a Presbytery comprising fifteen ministers and one elder,

"Mr Leyden being called deliver'd his Exegesis, was tried in Church History and in the Languages; and removed. The brethren having unanimously sustained all his trials and judged him fit to be licensed, he was called in and signed the formula coram. Upon all which, the Moderator did in name of the Presbytery license him to preach the Gospel... and to exercise his gifts as a Probationer and the Clerk... was authorised to give him an Extract of his license when demanded."¹

In subscribing the Confession of Faith, Leyden declared that he seriously owned and believed the whole doctrine contained therein; that, believing the doctrine, worship and church government of the established Church of Scotland to be founded upon, and agreeable to the Word of God, he would "firmly and constantly adhere to the same; and that he would "follow no divisive course... renouncing all Doctrines, tenets & opinions whatsoever contrary to or inconsistent with the said Doctrine, Worship, Discipline & Government".² There was no doubt of John Leyden's involvement in the mantle of religion.

From his frequent protestations that his stay in St Andrews was in the nature of an exile from all he held dear, it was to be expected that Leyden would quit Fife for Edinburgh at the first possible moment; and this indeed he did. But towards the end of March, when the country in that quarter began to grow much more agreeable, although still "consumedly chill," and when Leyden began to observe that there were "some romantic parts of the Shore particularly one termed the Lovers Walk,"³ he had been harbouring thoughts of spending the summer on the east coast:

"Our good Saint is so much enraged at your invective that he threatens to detain me here all summer. To be sure when I think of my Edinr. friends, this circumstance will figure somewhat like a cross - but you know I have a certain facility in yielding to fate..."³

and by the middle of April he was still toying with the idea:

"Perhaps there is no place where I can spend the summer more usefully than in St Andrews where there is the very best scope for Botany & where there is access to an excellent Library well stored with Rabbin Fathers &c. Except you have the power of transmuting folios into octodecimos your wish can never take effect. The accounts you give me of the proceedings of the Academy do not increase my desire of visiting Edinr. Now will not the advantages which I have mentioned countervail a few inconveniences as thus In St Andrews the lower classes are speaking in general terms extremely debauched dissipated and profligate while the higher Classes are selfish ambitious and deceitful. They are almost all made of loyal mettle, tho' perhaps a few might need a political tinker."⁴

¹ Minutes and Register of St Andrews Presbytery, loc. cit.
² From the Formula Book of St Andrews Presbytery, where Leyden's signature appears on p. 59, under date "2nd May, 1798".
³ Leyden to Thomas Brown, March 25, 1798.
⁴ Leyden to Thomas Brown, April 17, 1798.
Accordingly, the Academy of Physics, hoping to see Leyden in town in the course of the summer, but uncertain how long it might be until his return, judged it expedient to remind him that they still entertained hopes of being favoured with some of his speculations, including his promised mineralogical paper, and also to draw his attention to other subjects of interest. So on April 22, at the first meeting of a committee appointed the day before to deal with correspondence during Brougham's absence in England, "Mr Erskine was desired to write to Mr Leydon," which he did on, or just after, May 6, enclosing a letter of that date from Skrimshire to Peter Murray of St Andrews, in which a corresponding member's ticket was sent with the assumption that it would be unnecessary to prescribe any particular object of investigation, as John Leyden would doubtless have already acquainted Murray with the Academy's aims. To Leyden himself, who knew "the objects of the Academy too well to need to be informed what communication would be most agreeable", Erskine wrote:

"I think I have heard Mr Brougham mention that he intended to ask your opinion of the explanations which have been given of the Punic Scene in Plautus and that he would at the same time communicate to you the interpretation of Mr Pearson of Cambridge. If you have seen any more probable conjectures concerning this particular Scene or have pursued any general enquiries concerning the probable structure of the Punic language, the result of your researches would be received with pleasure—particularly if your enquiries served to reflect any light on the supposed Inland Carthaginian Colony. The existence of such a Colony must... occupy some portion of the attention of the Members entrusted with the proposed view of the African Continent."

But after all, the Academy had not long to wait for Leyden's return, the project of remaining in St Andrews being evidently abandoned, for unspecified reasons; for on May 12 "Mr Leyden, being lately come to town," was added to the Academy's correspondence committee. Although he had professed to be unattracted by Thomas Brown's description of the Academy's proceedings, Leyden must have found something of interest in a programme of research which embraced geology, "the theory of the earth, the nature of winds, and the

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1 The Committee comprised Erskine, Birkbeck, Skrimshire and Francis Horner (Secretary).
2 Correspondence Book of Academy of Physics, II, f.2. (MS. 756, N.L.S.)
3 Petrus Murray matriculated at St Andrews University, Feb. 16, 1797. The enrolment of Murray, Grant and Stuart (see p.141 sup.) as corresponding members of the Academy was no doubt due to Leyden's recruiting efforts at St Andrews.
4 Plautus, Poenulus, Act V, Sc.1-3, especially Sc.1, which comprises a 30-line speech by Hanno of which 20 lines are in Punic.
5 Erskine to Leyden, May [96] 1798. (MS. 756.) The identity of the members entrusted with a survey of Africa is not recorded.
6 Correspondence Book of Academy of Physics, II, f.19.
7 Leyden to Thomas Brown, April 17, 1798. See p.152 sup.
history, natural and civil, of the African Continent": \(^1\) with special reference to the language and manners of ancient Carthage. The history of Africa was to provide Leyden with material for his first full-length, independent publication; \(^2\) but for the present he merely proceeded to play his part as a member of the Academy’s Committee of Correspondence, which met every Sunday at 10 a.m. On May 13 there was read a letter from Henry Brougham, who suggested inter alia that after consultation with Mr. Leyden it might perhaps appear proper to take steps to hasten an answer from Messrs. Stuart and Grant of St. Andrews, neither of whom had replied to the letters sent to them from the Academy, along with corresponding members’ tickets, on February 19 and 22 respectively; \(^3\) but there is no indication of the Academy’s action, if any. At the same meeting, however, Leyden wrote a letter full of queries and instructions to the newest St. Andrews member, Peter Murray, making it abundantly clear that the Academy looked to Murray to supply at least some of the many deficiencies of its natural history collection, including preserved specimens of the sucking fish and of the grey and red Nereis, together with a specimen and account of the long blue Nereis (to be sent as soon as possible), and specimens of “any species of Doris, and a well preserved Sea anemone” as accompaniment to a description already provided by Murray. On the glasses containing these specimens it would be “proper to give a brief account of the animal, its habits, &c., with the technical name on the label”; and as the Academy had no collection of shells, Murray would gratify it members and do Leyden a particular favour by sending any he could find, along with unwanted duplicates from his own collection and with short descriptions and the technical names of Da Costa and Pennant. \(^4\) The result of this hopeful application is not recorded; but that of the next question involving Leyden was certainly negative. The irrepressible Brougham, writing from London on July 4, suggested that in the hope of forming a new and useful connection the Academy might make overtures to the Moravians, or society of united brethren, and that there was no better source of information on that body than Mr. Leyden; but Leyden’s account of the Moravians, whatever its tenor, did not overcome the Academy’s general reluctance to become involved with any religious or political body.

1 Brougham to Wm. Henry, Feb. 12, 1798. (MS. 756.) The “Subjects of Enquiry – Begun Feb’y 1798” listed in the Academy’s Correspondence Book, f. 14, comprises only three topics; but hints of others, including three insoluble geometrical problems, appear in letters.

2 Leyden’s Historical and Philosophical Sketch of... Northern and Western Africa... published 1799. See pp. 182-96 infra.

3 Brougham to the Academy, April 24 – May 8, 1798. (MS. 756.)

4 The extract from this letter in MS. 756 is in Francis Horner’s hand. No reply is recorded, but there was a hiatus in the entries between Aug. 5, 1798, and July 13, 1799.
on June 11 Horner, complying with Brougham's desire to know the Academy's decision as soon as possible, informed him that the Academy viewed with suspicion the Moravians' studious concealment of their affairs and doubted whether their missionaries would be likely to "observe with the cool, discriminating and cautious spirit of science"; and that in any case the Academy deprecated any association with another collective body, the temper of the times being such that a general suspicion prevailed against all associated bodies; especially if these exhibited "the least symptom of affilia-tion among them, or of secrecy in their proceedings."¹

Leyden was still writing verse, composing after his return from St Andrews a metrical account of a Trip to Arthur's Seat,² of which James Forster spoke in high terms.³ Of this the only extant portion seems to be the apparently unrelated piece of doggerel entitled The Sailor and the Virgin, which appeared in the Scots Magazine for July, 1802, and which describes how the sailor in question felt safe in repudiating his vow of a candle, made in extremity, since it was unlikely that

...the God of Heaven would condescend

To dun Jack Bowsprit for a candle's end.

And the month of June saw the climax of Leyden's recently-resumed career as a contributor of verse to the Edinburgh Magazine. Thereafter only three of his poems were to appear in the Magazine: The Dryad's Warning, openly ascribed to Mr Leyden, in July, 1798;⁴ the sanguinary Revenge, signed 'Edinburgh. J.L.', in August, 1798; and finally, in April, 1799, an Elegy, On the death of a Favourite Linnet. Addressed to Miss A——n, and written on March 16, 1799. The linnet's owner was Anne, eldest daughter of Dr Robert Anderson and later wife of David Irving; and the burden of Leyden's consolation and not inelegant address to her is summed up in its fifth stanza:

Then mourn not Maid! the ruffled wing,
The plumes that all disorder'd lie;
Perhaps thy Linnet lives to sing
Again beneath a purer sky.

¹ Correspondence Books of the Academy of Physics, II, ff.7-10.
² Robert Leyden to Sir John Malcolm, Aug. 26, 1814, (Ms.3381.)
³ Thomas Park to Dr Anderson, Dec. 16, [1800], [Ad. 1AS. 22.4.17 N. L.]. Park enquired whether this "effusion...on the prospect of Edinburgh from some adjacent hill" was "come-at-able".
⁵ See pp.101-2. This poem appears in the 1875 (Cent.) ed., pp.199-203, but not in the 1819 ed., probably because Sir John Malcolm noted 'Not to be published' on the B.M. Add. MS.26,556 copy.
The Edinburgh Magazine for June, 1798, however, contained no fewer than ten poems, translated from the Italian, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian and Ethiopic, which bore the signature 'Edinr. J. L.' Of these, six were in the martial strain which Leyden so often favoured despite his declared disapproval of those who sang in praise of war. Both the Amorite War Ode, from the Hebrew, and the Spartan War Ode, from the Greek of Tyrtaeus, are in Leyden's favourite ten-line stanza; but the former, abounding in such exotic proper names as Sihon, Arnon, Mediba and Chemosh, simply celebrates the victory of Heshbon's arms over Moab. The latter, inciting the youth of Sparta to cast aside languor and

\[
\text{let Peace be heard no more,} \\
\text{While murder floats the earth with gore,}^{4}
\]

sets forth with appropriate rhetoric the claims and glories of militant patriotism. And so indeed do all Leyden's translations from Tyrtaeus: the poet's long and emphatic refusal to lift "to fame sublime" in his verse any, however notable, save the-

\[
\text{...warrior good and true} \\
\text{Who crimson'd heaps of slain can view;}^{5}
\]

the exposition of how it is good and fitting to "perish in the front of fight" in defence of one's country-

\[
\text{Press on the foe with fearless stride;} \\
\text{Tramp with strong heel the slippery field;} \\
\text{Grasp the hard steel with warrior-pride;} \\
\text{Clench your set teeth, and never yield!}^{6}
\]

and the "very spirited" exhortation to "the stern unbending race" of Hercules to

\[
\text{Deem dastard life your deadly foe,} \\
\text{Though round you close the shadows dun} \\
\text{Of murky death; the realms below}^{8}
\]

Also in the ten-line stanza, with the extension of the last line into a pentameter, is the Ode to Virtue From Aristotle: a tribute to those Greek heroes whose ardent thoughts led them to set aside

1 Edin. Mag., Vol. XI, pp. 465-67. This number contained thirteen poets in all. 2 Leyden to Lundie, Feb. 14, 1797. See p. 105 sup. 3 Comprising 10 octosyllabic lines, rhyming ababccdeed. See p. 114 in B.M. Add. MS. 26. 556 & N. L. S. MS. 3383 have a version with 11 lines in each stanza (ababccdeed). 1875 (Cent.) ed. has the Edin. Mag. text. 4 Cf. Leyden's Revenge, 1. 31: 'when floats his corse in tepid gore'. 5 MS. 26. 556 & MS. 3383, but unpublished. Sir John Malcolm, who reckoned the last 40 of its 72 lines "very fine", queried the phrases 'Samson's strength' and 'treasures of Peru' (11. 5 & 8), doubting whether Tyrtaeus could legitimately be made acquainted with them. 6 In both 1819 and 1875 (Cent.) eds. This last stanza moved Malcolm, who thought the whole "very fine" to write "Hurrah". (MS. 26. 556.) 7 Malcolm's marginal comment, ibid. 8 In both 1819 & 1875 (Cent.) ed. - Copies of all these four translations, entitled simply 'From Tyrtaeus' appear in MS. 26. 556, ff. 31-36, along with 12 lines on the poet Tyrtaeus From the Greek, which are also in MS. 3383, f. 40v.
wealth, ease and pride of birth, and to endure hardship and death for the sake of Virtue:

For thee, our Grecian heroes bore
Griefs that no mortal tongue can tell;
For thee, they sought the Stygean shore,
And reach’d the awful dome of Hell.¹

Over six years later, this piece was to undergo a curious metamorphosis, being recast as an ode imitated from Aristotle and "Written on the death of General Frazer, killed at the battle of Deeg",² in which "brave Frazer" replaced Atarnean Hermas, and the sons of Grecia’s soil became the chiefs of Albion, encountering the fell Mahrattas beneath "the noontide’s sultry star"³: an instance of Leyden’s thrifty habit of making the utmost possible use of his poetical stock.⁴

Timur’s War Song. From the Persic of Ali Yezdi develops, with a certain barbaric and "very Tartarean"⁴ energy, the image of battle as a banquet:

Behold the feast with goblets crown’d,
Ye men of blood come all along!
Our Hall, the Battle’s purpled ground,
The warrior’s shriek our drinking-song.⁵

And in The Arab Warrior. From the Arabic of Hariri, Leyden again retains the Oriental quality of the heroic bombast:

O'er yawning rocks abrupt that scowl
Terrific o'er the ostrich grey,
Where fairies scream and demons howl,
I fearless hold my midnight way...

Where guides are lost — where yells the owl
Her dirge — Where men in wild affright,
Fly from the Jackal's famish’d howl,'⁶
I plunge amid the shades of night.

Equally spirited is The Cretan Warrior, Leyden's rendering of Hybrias Cretensis' often-translated song in praise of brigandism — a subject which doubtless made its own appeal to a Borderer:⁷

My spear, my sword, my shaggy shield!
With these I till, with these I sow,
With these I reap my harvest-field;
No other wealth the gods bestow.
With these I plant the fruitful vine;
With these I press the luscious wine.

1 Ll.11-14. In the later version 'India's dusky shore' replaced that of Styx, and 1.14 became 'They nobly fought and proudly fell.'
2 The storming of Deeg by Lord Lake in December, 1804, in the 2nd Mahratta War. At the earlier battle of Deeg in the 1st Mahratta War, 1780, another General Fraser (in command) had been killed.
3 B.M.Add.ms.26.555,f.56v, has a copy of this later (1805) version, in which ll. 8 & 9, as well as ll. 10 of each stanza, are pentameters.
5 Ll.1-4. The 1819 ed., p.248, text, has some variants, beginning, 'The feast is set, the goblets crown'd.'
6 Ll.1-4 & 17-20. The 1875 (Cent.) ed.,p.272, text has such variants as 'Fly the hyena's famished howl' (1.19), and has in general some loss of Eastern colouring.
7 In the introduction to the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, I, 1807, Scott quotes this translation apropos of the old Border
My spear, my sword, my shaggy shield!
They make me lord of all below,
For those that dread my spear to wield
Before my shaggy shield they bow.
Their fields, their vineyards they resign;
And all the coward's wealth is mine.

In not unwelcome contrast to these heroics there follow three odes to spring (a favourite subject with Leyden), two of them taken from the Greek, and one from the Ethiopic. The first, from Meleager, paints in its nine stanzas a varied and often charming pastoral picture:

Now purple spring, with spring-born flowers,
Succeeds dark Winter's tempests keen,
The russet earth imbued with showers
Is fring'd with vegetable green...

The haleyan skims along the wave,
The swallow round the thatchy eaves,
In chrysal streams the cygnets leave;
The coozel sings beneath the leaves;
The tender plants their leaves expand,
The flowery earth blooms fresh and gay,
The woolly flocks delighted stand,
To hear the shepherd's roundelay.

The translation from Ibycus, which exists also in another and considerably superior version, describes equally the face of nature and the sensations of a lover, and demonstrates clearly that as a poet Leyden was certainly more effective in the "original and characteristic appropriation of Epithets" and the description of "external Nature, than in sentiment, in pathos or in passion". The Fragment from the Ethiopic is refreshing in its association of the externals of spring with the quickening not of earthly, but of heavenly, love:

Now winter flies on wings of speed,
With far-resounding showers of rain,
The flow'rs bloom beauteous o'er the mead,
And shed their scented sweets again.

But thou great Heav'n's eternal King,
That rul'st the splendid stars above,
Cause in our clay-formed hearts to spring,
The roses of thy heavenly love.

And this religious note becomes deeper and more personal in the last of the ten poems, a sonnet from the Italian of Michelangelo:

1 1819 ed. p.205 & 1875(Cent.)ed., p.242, have some variants, including 'And all that cowards have is mine' (1.12), which Sir John Malcolm (to Hébert, Oct. 14, [1814]) called "that noble Tartarean line". Lord NVeaves, The Greek Anthology, p.210, quotes this version as deserving to be rescued from threatened oblivion.
2 Cf. 'vegetable snow' in To the Maid of my Love, l.6; & 'vegetative gold' in Scenes of Infancy, pt. i, 1.90.
3 Cf. Scenes of Infancy, pt. iii, 1.273-74, & pt. iv, 1.74.
4 Ll.1-4, 25-32. 5 MS:3333, Nat. Lib. Scot. f.34v.
5 Wm Gillespie to Dr Anderson, March 9, 1804.(Adv. MS. 22.4.11, N. L. S.)
6 Ll.1-8. The third of the poems's three stanzas may be omitted, as here, without injury to its pattern.
Laden with years and foul with many a crime,
While rooted evil habits hem my path,
Fast onward to the first and second death,
I shuddering pass, impell'd by lapeing time:—
To change a life confirm'd by manhood's prime,
Exceeds my natural strength, my Christian faith,
Exceeds the fear of thine eternal wrath,
Except thou aid me by thy power sublime. 1

Leyden's sonnets of this period have indeed a general cast of gloom, their prevailing themes being the transience of time and life, and the sadness lying in thoughts of death and of the past. The churchyard yew, spreading its branches as if to shroud him with the dead, now attracted him more than the apple-tree in blossom or the majestic oak. 2 And as he mused alone among the green grave-mounds, gazing pensively on a "shapeless, mossy, time-corroded stone" lying beneath the shade of a cypress, Leyden was moved to wish that his own head might be there laid at last, without the mockery of "sepulchral pomp and vain parade", and that he might be mourned simply by the peasant, pausing on his way to church to part the rustling grass with his staff and remember in silent prayer the "youth unknown to fame" 3 who lay beneath it. 4 Leyden could realize that to lonely old age death might promise "joys supreme, instead of sorrows"; 5 but for himself, at the age of twenty-three, the terrors of flood and earthquake were less appalling than the ineluctable consciousness of man's mortality, so that

...not the shaken earth, the lightning's blaze,
When yawning gulf's wide peopled realms devour,
But nature's secret all-destroying power
With ceaseless torment on my spirit preys:
While man's vain knowledge in his fleeting hour
Serves but to show how fast himself decays.

In the recollection of the past he found but scant consolation:

Where its blue pallid boughs the poplar rears
I sit, to mark the passing rivulet's chime,
And muse whence flows the silent stream of time;
And to what clime depart the winged years:
In fancy's eye each scene of youth appears
Bright as the setting sun's last purple gleam,
Which streaks the mist that winds along the stream,
Bathing the harebell with eve's dewy tears.

1 Sonnet. From the Italian of Michelangelo Buonaroti, 11.1-8.
2 To the Yew. B.M.Aud.MS. 26,555, f.3, copy is dated 1799 in Leyden's hand. The text of this sonnet in Blackwood's Magazine, I, p.277, (June, 1817), is better than that of the 1819 ed., p.17.
3 Cf. Thomas Gray, Elegy... I.118.
6 To Ruin, 11.9-14. Dated 1798, ibid., & probably written in autumn.
Ah! blissful days of youth, that ne'er again
Revive, with scenes of every fairy hue,
And sunny tints which fancy's pencil drew,
Are you not false as hope's delusive train?
For, as your scenes to memory's view return,
You ever point to a lov'd sister's urn.

And even the song of the soaring lark brought to Leyden's mind
both the "cheerless sorrows of maturer age" and the "moody musings
of youth's earlier day"—itself never wholly "free from the
solicitudes generally supposed to be appropriated to maturer
years"—when, couched on the yellow, curling moss, he had
heard with a pleasing sadness "the first wild music of the Spring"
and pondered on the brevity of human life.

But to Leyden, who habitually sought in intense study not
the amusement of his understanding but "the relief from anxiety
which no amusement could give", melancholy, like ill-health, was
never conducive to inactivity; and even had it been so, his
resumption of life in Edinburgh would have given small scope for
any such indulgence.

1. Melancholy. The title and date, 1798, are written in Leyden's
hand in Add.MS.26,555.f.29v, copy. For the death of Leyden's
sister Isabella in 1791 at the age of three, see pp.37-38 sup.
2. To the Lark. Dated 1797 in Leyden's hand, MS.26,555,f.30. Pub-
lished in The Poetical Register for 1810-11,p.163. A different,
and on the whole inferior, version appeared in the Edin. Annual
Register for 1810,Vol.III,pt.2,p.xcvii, and was reprinted in
3. Leyden to Richard Heber, April [7],1803. (MS.939,Nat.Lib.Scot.)
Besides continuing to tutor in the Campbell household, and to take an active interest in the concerns of the Literary Society and the Academy of Physics, Leyden, being now a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, began to appear frequently in the pulpits of various churches in Edinburgh and its vicinity. ¹ His success as a preacher was, however, less than a man of his abilities and training might have been expected to enjoy, so that he himself felt some disappointment at falling short of his own ideas of excellence. His sermons were indeed well constructed, vigorous in style, and garnished with striking and original illustrations; and, being kept judiciously free from the paradoxes in which Leyden generally delighted, ³ were earnest, although not evangelical, in tone, ⁴ breathing a "sound and rational piety", ¹ and demonstrating their author's "uncommon extent of learning, knowledge of ethics, and sincere zeal for the interest of religion". ² But Leyden's manner of delivery was ungraceful, with gestures more violent than elegant, and "the tones of his voice, when extended so as to be heard by a large audience, were harsh and discordant" ¹; so that "neither his voice nor manner fitted him for an orator". ³ Moreover, he had "always a good deal of timidity in preaching which he never could get the better of, probably owing to the short time he took for preparation, which was generally not more than two or three hours in the Sunday morning before sermon"; ⁵ and, doubtless in consequence of this, "his stile in the pulpit, tho' impressive, was rather dry and logical", ³ being indeed more striking than rhetorical. ² This nervousness did not, however, hinder Leyden from preaching at considerable length; for on one occasion he had to report, not without a hint of pride:

"I am just returned from Ratho where I preached today merely by the help of notes containing the heads of my discourse, trusting to the moment for the language. I was a little discontented two or three times in the forenoon, particularly as there was present a large assortment of pretty ladies. But there was no hope of retreat. I had put my hand to the plough and could not draw back, to use the religious phrase. How long do you think I continued - 56 minutes in my Lecture and 50 minutes in my Sermon - I could not believe that it was half an hour. I made the people both hunger and thirst after the word was spoken. An honest farmer to whom I had formerly been introduced told me quietly that I was too many for him, and he would not venture a second time upon one of my Sermons." ⁶

And his articulation also seems sometimes to have been too much for Leyden's hearers:

"Last Sunday... I contrived to preach to the Witches of Calder, who were once illustrious enough, but at present neither young nor old are remarkable for their powers of fascination... Next Sunday I have engaged to preach at Kirk-Newton; & I mean to deliver an extemporary sermon after two or three days hard study; but I hope to have better success than at Calder, where the question is agitated with great earnestness, I understand, whether I prayed for the Pope or for his downfall, though I never mentioned his Holiness at all - You know it would have been a very critical point in what terms he ought to have been mentioned - You know I am no friend of the Pope."

Of Leyden's sermons of this period, numerous and lengthy as they must have been, we can now judge only ex pede Herculem, the only extant fragment being an extract transcribed by one of Dr Robert Anderson's daughters from a sermon delivered by Leyden in the Old Church, Edinburgh: that is, in the western portion of St Giles' Cathedral, where the people of the South-East Quarter of Edinburgh worshipped under Dr James MacKnight. In this, as in his trial discourse on St Mark, VIII, 27-34, Leyden gives the impression that he was most eloquent when on the attack. His text was from St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, IV, 18: 'But it is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing...'; and in considering that "ostentatiously forward and obtrusive" species of zeal in which vanity "deforms the religious affections" and which lives only in the admiration of the vulgar, requiring "to be puffed by the breath of popular applause", he did not mince his words.

"It glimmers with a false and deceitful light, and like the hovering fire of the marsh, shines only to bewilder and mislead the ignorant and the weak. Dependent entirely on popular opinion, it is more extravagant in its effects than that zeal which proceeds from constitutional warmth. This zeal manifests itself by a servile fawning spirit that crouches to all the little arts that can attract the vulgar, - to the despicable tricks of religious quackery, and the meanness of personal abuse. When this puny vanity of spirit takes a religious turn if we may use the expression it will stoop to every low art to obtain the applause of men, it will even adopt the pride of humility, while it seems to say with the hypocritical Jehu, 'Come and see my zeal for the Lord'."

Thereafter, having sketched with disapprobation the character of Jehu, Leyden proceeded to the perhaps less congenial task of asserting the essential gentleness and charity of that true religion which is the enemy of violence and discord. And the extract ends

1 The 'Calder Witches' were at one time proverbial (Hardy B. McCaI1, 'The History...of Mid-Calder, p.31). Cf. Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. X, p.372, for an account of witchcraft in the parish.
2 This, as Reith, p.77, says, would please a Presbyterian audience.
3 Leyden to Thomas Brown, Sept. 14, 1799. (MS.3380, Nat. Lib. Scot.)
4 Dr Anderson to James Hutton, Feb. 22, 1816.
5 St Giles' was then split into four congregations.
6 MS.3380, ff.150-51; quoted (not fully) by Hutton, op. cit., pp. xix-xxi
with the declaration that in the records of religion one can find
only "affections of kindness and love, acts of sublime benevolence,
and examples of patience, mildness, and mercy". 1 Leyden's sermons,
however ungracefully delivered, were certainly not ill-constructed,
and as a young man of his command of words would in any case be very
useful for pulpit supply, he does not seem to have lacked for invita-
tions to preach; but to obtain a living or even an assistantship
was to prove a very different matter.

September, 1798, brought a reminder of Leyden's stay in St
Andrews in the shape of a letter from Dr James Brown, now living
again in Glasgow and regarding with misgiving the prospect of lect-
turing in person to his Natural Philosophy class in the face of poor
health and of ill-natured criticism. 2 This Leyden answered within
a week of its arrival, giving sound and sympathetic advice:

"Your account of the state of your health gives me much uneasi-
ness, as well as all the fraternity; but chagrin - that is the
word - I wish no person, especially you, were chagrined at any
thing, - I do believe this self-same chagrin aggravates the
effect of your disorder upon your mind. We are convinced that if
you were able to teach the class this winter, you would finish
the strife of tongues for ever, in spite of every malicious
suggestion; but this depends on the state of your health, which
must be attended to. If you can come to Edinburgh, it will be
very agreeable to many of us; and I have no doubt that the
society of persons attached to you merely for your worth could
have no bad effect in alleviating that wounded sensibility which
you will never convince me does not infrequently affect your
conduct". 3

If Leyden's friendship for James Brown had not altered with
the passing of the months, neither had his dislike of St Andrews. 4
He could assure Brown that, despite St Andrews' possession of a
"moderately good" library, containing several books which Leyden had
not seen, he was by no means anxious to transport himself there
again even in fancy, away from "the charming coterie of true hearts
and sound heads", including "Erskine, Reddie, Brown and family," 5 Dr
Anderson, Thomson the poet, 6 and his cara sposa", which, almost in
spite of himself, attached Leyden to Edinburgh. 7 And this assertion
was fully borne out by what Leyden had to say about St Andrews over
two months later when writing to George Craig, a divinity student
who, like himself, had gone to St Andrews in charge of a pupil.

1 US.3380; quoted by Morton, op.cit., p.xxi.
2 Cf.p.133 sup. Brown had taught in person only in 1796-97, and
even then irregularly; and after teaching by assistants for a few
years, he resigned altogether, receiving a pension until his death
(Hanna, op.cit., I, pp.465-67, quoting Prof.Thomas Duncan, St Andrews.
3 Leyden to James Brown, Sept. 24, 1798.
4 Scott, Memoir, followed by 1875(Cent.) ed., p.xxxiii, quite over-
rates the attraction of St Andrews' "monastic life" for Leyden.
5 Leyden concluded with compliments from these three members of the
fraternity" and from Brougham.
6 Alexander Thomson (1763-1803), Dr Anderson's intimate friend.
Having opened with sundry pleasantries on the existence and nature of reasons; confessed that he himself had no reason at all for having taken so long, despite the best of intentions, to answer a letter from Craig, and avowed in verse his own propensity for dashing in medias res -

I hate a prologue to a story
Tis like the tuning of a fiddle
Squeaking and dinning
Hang order and connection
I love to dash into the middle
Exclusive of the fame and glory
There is much comfort on reflection
To think I'm done with the beginning -

Leyden continued:

"Craig you are then settled at St Andrews for dancing, Cards, Golf Scandal & Drunkenness almost the Capital of Scotland where there is a most plentiful Crop of beauty & ruins, and where in time there may probably be an abundant harvest of the ruins of beauty except some gentle Corydon E.G - yourself compassionate the distressed damsels that oft so mournfully parade the links of St Andrews - Pray how do you like the ladies and... the Town I could wager you are already in love with either Miss Methven or Phemie Gillespie? what think you of the charming Miss Adamson? It is a very queer auld town St Andrews according to my thinking there you have John Knox arm in arm wt. Archbp Sharp, but the manners of the natives rather verge upon Prelacy than very rigid Presbyterianism Their Patron Saint choose [sic] to figure away on a cross and his Eagles are quite as crazy as their patron. What intimate acquaintances have you formed and what is your opinion of the Professors and principal characters of the town - Have you trials or do you wait till you return to Edinr Answer these and other Questions which I have forgot to ask - How does that Boeotian climate suit your pupil?"

Although Leyden had answered James Brown so promptly, he was more dilatory in dealing with letters from home, which were so few as to make it needless for Leyden to visit the carrier's every week for them; for, replying on October 4 to his parents' letter of August 9 (received only a few days before, Leyden's aunt and uncle having been out of town when it arrived), he admitted:

"I am sorry to own that I have been too negligent in writing you but at the same time I cannot see why you should be so punctilious as to insist upon my answering you quite accurately-if I do not immediately answer your first there is little danger that your second would go unanswered. Besides you have 10 times as much time on your hands as I have. It is long, very long since I have been able to amuse myself with doing nothing for a little. You often trifle away more time of an evening than might suffice to write a letter. But I am no sooner freed from the duties of my situation, than innumerable projects to be carried on arise before me, innumerable pieces of business to be performed, innumerable pursuits to be followed - people

1 Leyden to Miss Kay of St Andrews, Oct. 28, 1805, asked in a postscript to be remembered to Miss Kay's brother "very kindly, & above all Miss Adamson".
2 Cf. Leyden to Thos Brown, Nov. 14, 1797 (p. 126 sup.)
3 Leyden to George Craig, December 5, 1798 (pomes Mr Dobie.)
4 Leyden to his Father, Oct. 4, 1798 (MS. 3350, Nat. Lib. Scot.)
that I must see with a long tribe of &c. so that I am often perplexed of 50 things which to do first. No great punctuality can therefore be expected from me - if you do not write oftener than you do - Especially as my disposition is to take all things for the best - so that when you do not write me, I remain always perfectly satisfied that you must be all very well or else you would write. Perhaps this is a very wrong way of arguing, but perhaps it is the justest as well as the most comfortable - Do not however construe this into a wish that I do not want you to write oftener - on the contrary - nothing gives me greater pleasure than to hear from you often - & that not confined to a single remark & the bare notice that you are well -... but at great length and on all kinds of subjects and particularly concerning both my Brothers.-"  

Leyden concerned himself especially with the career of the younger of these brothers, Robert; and, remembering the days when he himself had herded the sheep and attended the blind Andrew Blyth to Hawick market, he warned his father bluntly:

"I wish you would interest yourself a little more in Roberts education than you appear to do - If he be allowed to idle, at an age when I went to College - at which if he had done right he should have been by this time - he will become unfit for excelling in any literary profession. There is really no consideration equal to his making great & speedy progress in his learning - Were he to come into Edinr. as long as I am here - & in the habit of seeing both the Professors and the Masters of the High-school - it would be easy to put him in a way of doing for himself in a year [or] so - But... only if he becomes a very good scholar - Yet I know... the most trivial circumstance will be sufficient for Andrew to detain him from - Mr Duncan - from whom I understand he attends very badly - You have no conception of the harm these interruptions do - and if you consider that his future success in life depends entirely on his application at present, I think you will interest yourself more - Compliments to Andrew Blyth & all friends."  

Nothing apparently came of this plea, although Robert Leyden did visit his brother in Edinburgh in January, 1799. So in the following August, John felt it necessary to repeat his warning:

"As to Robert's shearing in the Harvest I disapprove of it totally - I would rather he came in to me immediately. That kind of business utterly ruins a literary man and destroys the tone of his mind which can ever enable him to excell in any thing he sets about. The trifling money he could gain is easily procured by Teaching when once a person is fit for it. These two weeks I have given to a gentleman from Glasgow for whom I had some regard - three hours teaching at a guinea apiece per Month. How your shearin may acquire some 30 shillings or so and throw him back a whole year - Only calculate and judge I know you cannot very readily see how all this may happen but I tell you I have found to my cost that it is no joke - He must labour and if possibly [sic] read night and day, till he can stand on his own legs, and then if he insists upon it, he may walk off if it should be to the Devil. -Life I conceive is very like a game at dice, as it now stands, therefor since a man must throw at any event, it is surely best to bid fairly for something of consequence - as the risk is seldom greater."  

1 Leyden to his father, Oct. 4, 1798.  
2 Mr John Kennedy to myself, Feb. 28, 1749.  
3 Leyden to his father, Aug. 1799.
This exhortation was so far successful that Robert Leyden "went in to the Classes" at Edinburgh University in the late autumn of 1799, attending the ordinary Latin and Greek classes, and in his second session (1800-1801) the classes of logic and senior Greek. Thereafter, his name appears in the University records only in the List of Arts students for 1802-1803; and in the same session he began the study of medicine, in which he was urged on by the mingled encouragement and threats of his brother John, at whose expense he was being educated, and who wrote forcefully to him from London before taking ship for India:

"...let me beg of you to work hard both at languages and medicine particularly make yourself a good surgeon and I think my interest will be sufficient to get you an appointment as soon as you are ready which should be just three years. Bell will direct your studies, be virtuous and industrious and there is no fear but you will succeed and if you should be a little unlucky I shall always support you to the utmost of my power but it is on yourself you must now and always depend for ultimate success": for if Robert proved the scandal and "Walledragle of the family", John hoped fiercely that he might be cursed in this world and damned in the next, and utterly renounced by all his kin, including his elder brother, who, although hoping better things of him, would in that event put him to death with his own hand, as he would a mad dog. A month later, having made financial arrangements to enable Robert to continue his studies, John informed him:

"I hope you are studying medicine fast for I find I shall be able to promise you an appointment". Robert's silence on the subject, however, soon led John to enquire:

"...how happens it that you say nothing to me of your medical studies. You will make me look very foolish if you have neglected them";

and these suspicions were fully justified, for the medical studies came to nothing in their turn. Over five years later, Robert Leyden, then in a very poor state of health, and living again with his parents in the country after tutoring in "a most disagreeable family" of "haughty meddling officious" people who sought to know everyone's business and had good to say of none, was "wishing much to get into some situation in which he might repair the errors of his former thoughtlessness"; but even in 1815, at the age of 10 years, Leyden wrote:

1 Robert Leyden to James Morton, Sept. 8, 1815.
4 John Leyden to Richard Heber, [April 6, 1803.]
6 He diverted £40 of his father's to this purpose, with his father's consent, as a temporary measure. (Leyden to Heber, loc. cit.
7 John Leyden to Robert Leyden, c. March 26, 1803.
8 John Leyden to Robert Leyden, [April 8, 1803.]
9 Robert Leyden to James Morton, May 28, 1815.
10 James Morton to John Leyden, Dec. 13, 1803.
thirty-two, he could still testify unwittingly to his own weakness of character and purpose by writing to his clergymen cousin:

"I think I shall commence studying Divinity at all events at present as I do not see what else I can do at the present time, and have begun the Greek Testament as you mentioned I wish I may find little difficulty in the other parts as in it, and I shall be much obliged to you to send any of the Books as soon as possible I shall try if I can get any of them here but I doubt it much."  

So, from being sufficiently promising for Alexander Murray to recommend him as a likely person to do a little tutoring in pupils' homes "by way of substitute" for the indisposed Murray, Robert Leyden became "not a very certain person to deal with" from his "bad habits and mental infirmity"; and at the last he could be described simply as "a worthy man who wasted talents that needed only to be exercised to have secured him respect, and made him a very useful member of Society".

The overwork of which John Leyden had complained when writing home at the beginning of October, 1798, must have been intensified with the start of the University session, when he resumed his medical studies, attending the classes of Natural History and of Anatomy and Surgery. The former class, which Leyden had already attended in the summer of 1796, and in which his pupils William and George Campbell were now enrolled along with him, was taught by Dr John Walker, who, on succeeding in 1779 to a Chair treated until then almost as a sinecure by its first holder, Robert Ramsay, had introduced a comprehensive course embracing Meteorology, Hydrography, Geology, Mineralogy, Botany, and Zoology, with a preliminary survey of the "Fossil Kingdom." Although suspicious of such "ephemeral inventions" as new theories, Walker was an enthusiast for his subject, going so far as to improve the Natural History Museum at his own expense. And although Natural History did not form an essential part of the medical curriculum, he attracted a respectable number of students and other listeners; for, despite his rather stiff and formal professorial manner, he delivered lectures of uncommon merit, containing "a great collection of facts gathered from every quarter within his reach", and arranged and written with a tasteful elegance that gave them a highly pleasing novelty and interest.
Anatomy and surgery were probably subjects less to Leyden's liking; but they were taught by a still more successful lecturer, Dr Alexander Monro secundus, who had enjoyed a career of sustained brilliance since succeeding his celebrated father in this Chair in 1758. Although his son and namesake became associated with him in the professorship in 1798, the second Monro continued for another ten years to give the greater part of the course himself; and this circumstance was to Leyden's advantage, since Alexander Monro tertius, although a man of considerable ability, who could present a very clear, precise and complete course of lectures, yet felt himself so burdened by the fame of his father and grandfather that he lectured in an apathetic manner suggesting complete indifference to the effect of his teaching upon his students. Nor did he appear often in the dissecting-room, which was presided over from 1777 to 1814 by a very able Prosector in the person of Andrew Fyfe, a voluminous writer of text-books and "an industrious worthy man and good practical anatomist", albeit "a horrid lecturer", who paid meticulous attention to each student's work, and who enjoyed regaling his class, when the day's work was over, with anecdotes of the medical worthies of Edinburgh. The story that Leyden became so absorbed in the study of anatomy as to carry a severed human hand in his pocket and threaten to produce it at an "evening party" in order to settle an argument on the action of the muscles, is perhaps more picturesque than accurate, especially since medicine was never one of his favourite subjects; but he certainly learned his surgery and anatomy in a supremely efficient school.

How far these studies affected Leyden's reading does not appear since volumes 29 and 30 of the University Library Receipt Books, covering 1798-99, are missing; but his borrowings from the Divinity Hall Library in the first three months of 1799 indicate that he did not neglect Divinity, the classics and literature, for they comprised John Fawcett's Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, Christopher Meiners's Historia doctrinae de vero Deo omnium rerum auctore atque rectore, the works of Clement of Alexandria, the first systematic Professor of Anatomy in the University.

1 Alexander Monro primus, the father of the Edinburgh Medical School was the first systematic Professor of Anatomy in the University.
3 Grant, ibid., p. 389n, quoting Christison and Sir Astley Cooper.
4 Scott, memoir. The story is repeated in, e.g., the 1875 (Cent.) ed of Leyden's poems, p. liii, and Reith, op. cit., p. 89.
5 Lemoviae, 1780. Entered as 'Meiners de Ldeo'.
6 Entered simply as 'Clemens Alex.' The Divinity Hall Library has several editions of Clement's Opera quae exstant.
Ecclesiastical history, \(^1\) Chro nicon, and Praeparatio evangelica of Eusebius, the Voyage of Nearchus, \(^2\) William Cowper’s poems, and the third volume of the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

The pressure of his duties as tutor, preacher, man of letters and medical student did not prevent Leyden from entering vigorously into a controversy concerning the survival of the Literary Society, which had already surmounted a similar crisis three years before. \(^3\)

“There is a dreadful commotion in the Literary Society. Mr. Brougham that Goliath of Gath having sworn by his Gods that it should sleep for ever compareed last Friday with a trusty band avowedly for its destruction. He was opposed stoutly by 3 little Davids - Brown Copland & your Host [humble?] - and as the greater part of the Society was pleased afterwards to say, the throne of the Tyrant was shaken - after a stout battle which lasted from 8 to 12 - it was determined that the Society should still live - On Friday we expect a bloody battle and regret that we cannot even have your prayers for our safety - but we still sing forth lustily Who’s afraid? and if we fall will die hard."

Nor did it keep him from writing reviews, of which he contributed six, signed variously 'H', 'L', 'Y' and 'Z', \(^6\) to the New London Review in the first half of 1799. The Review's January number, its first, contained Leyden's opinions on John Horne Tooke's \(\text{iota \pi\nu\iota \psi\rho\iota\nu\iota\omega\nu\iota\nu\iota\omega\nu\iota\nu\iota\omega}\), and on Thomas Brown's Observations on the \(\zeta\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicr
In the April issue, Leyden had little good to say of Ralph Walker's *A Treatise on the Magnet, or Natural Loadstone*, opining that although Walker's practical remarks, especially on "the position of the edge of the needle", deserved attention, his reasoning was unfortunate, since he advanced "a medley of facts, conjectures and assertions" in place of experiment and observation, digressing "continually from his subject with the most sovereign contempt of order"; and although agreeing cordially with the sentiments expressed by Dr John Smith of Campbeltown in his Lectures on the Nature and End of the Sacred Office, and on the Dignity, Duty, Qualifications and Character of the Sacred Order, and hoping that these would prove "extensively useful in promoting the spirit of religion and piety", Leyden could not but deplore the "looseness of texture in the composition", common to most "popular tracts" and caused by "defective arrangement of the general topics". In May, too, considering General Charles Vallancey's *The Ancient History of Ireland, proved from the Sanscrit Books of the Bramins of India*, Leyden noted, not unnaturally, that this attempt was evidently premature, since in the present state of Sanscrit geography the light shed by Indian antiquities on Irish history resembled rather, in Vallancey's own phrase, that of a dark lantern than of "a lighted flambeau"; but finally, in the same month Leyden took the chance to make amends to William Erskine, for his former indiscretion regarding Erskine's anonymous Epistle from Lady Grange..., placing it among those effusions of verse which "breathe the very soul of poetry and glow with the energy of genuine feeling" and ranking it, despite some criticism of details, so high "in point of original poetic merit... in the class of epistles under feigned characters" as to place it probably next to "the standard model of Pope's Eloisa to Abelard".

It was not long, however, before Leyden, finding the character of his coadjutors in the *New London Review* contemptible, "renounced all engagements with the editors"; and his reviewing in general was soon to come to a less voluntary end. For, even Leyden's ardour and determination being unable to bear up indefinitely under the strain of prolonged overwork and prodigal expenditure of nervous energy, he succumbed in the spring of 1799 to a serious illness, probably largely nervous in origin, of which he gave a graphic account to his "dear friend" James Brown:

3 Ibid., I, pp.508-10. - Here, as in his six volumes of Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicos (1770-1804) and in the earlier Vindication of the History of Ireland, Vallancey's facts were untrustworthy and his theories extravagant. (Norman Moore in D.N.B., Vol.XX, pp.82-83.)
5 Leyden to Dr James Brown, Dec.25,1799; quoted by Hanna, op.cit., I, p.467.
"Perhaps I am to blame in not writing you sooner, but am happy that I am again able to write you at all. It seemed that the time was come when I should only live in the recollection of my friends, and in the near prospect of this, the thought that I had treated with carelessness any of them in whose memory I wished to continue my existence, could not be extremely consoling. Therefore tho I am obliged to stop every line to take breath for perfect weakness, I am resolved to let you know that I have not quite deserted my cottage of clay, tho the tenement has been so rudely shaken as to afford free passage for both Sun and Wind as the saying is. The complicated tortures of an Inflammation of the Intestines with the Medical process of treatment by Blooding, blistering evacuations &c. have reduced me to a state of Weakness from which I scarcely hope to recover, as Pneumonic Symptoms are beginning to appear already. Now tho I regret to leave my good friends, as I lived I shall die a fearless Man, tho I shall think it as foolish to swagger at my exit as in acting my part on the Theatre of life... Brown and Erskine and Reddie who have just now called together beg their respects to you... This letter with another to Miss Kay have so completely exhausted me that I am unable to proceed..."

Contrary to Leyden's apparent expectation, however, this illness did not end fatally, although during it his tendency to depression reached a point at which he contemplated with a gloomy satisfaction the vision of his beloved traversing, alone and disconsolate, the familiar paths where they had walked hand in hand by sunny slope and verdant meadow, or passing through the long waving grass of the churchyard on a summer evening, to gaze pensively on his grave, lit by the westerly sun:

This last fond hope my parting soul shall cheer
That thou wilt heave the sigh and shed the pitying tear. 4

By the summer, Leyden had recovered his health and spirits sufficiently not only to ramble again on Salisbury Craggs with Dr Anderson and his various visitors, but also, being ever ready to repeat his boasted athletic feats, 5 to alarm his companions into begging that he would not "like the wild Chamois precipitate himself from the heights into the vallies at the expence of his own neck" and of their peace of mind. 6 He felt equal also to embarking on a series of prose contributions for the Edinburgh Magazine, which for the past seven months had borne a leading article, generally moralizing in tone, entitled The Gleaner. In June, 1799, in their eighth number, these papers were announced to be now "Continued by another hand"; and this hand, subscribing itself simply 'L', went on gleaning until January, 1800, when the series came to an abrupt end.

1. Cf. Leyden to Thomas Brown, July 25, 1800, on "Our Scotish phrase of-making the sun and wind to pass through a person..."
3. Leyden to James Brown, April 4, 1799. (MS. 3431, N.L.S.) Leyden sent his regards to "Dr Hunter Mr Maule &c" and to George Craig.
4. Sonnet written during sickness, 11.13-14-1799. (MS. 3383, N.L.S.)
5. Scott, Memoir.
6. James Forster to Dr Anderson, March 18, 1800. (Adv. MS. 22. 4. 14.) Forster had made a "northern ramble" in the summer of 1799.
amid some slight mystification: by which time John Leyden, who could never keep a secret indefinitely, had confessed to Dr James Brown: "The 'Gleaners' designated 'L.' are my production, - very rapid, as you perceive; but I neither expect to derive fame nor profit from them, and solely undertook that department to prevent the introduction of a very rancorous, illiberal, and unjust review of the 'Pleasures of Hope'." 1

In beginning this series of hastily-written articles, designed mainly to fill a given number of columns, Leyden prudently chose to deal with the theory and practice of descriptive poetry: a subject both of interest to himself and well adapted to the frequent use of quotation. Leyden had formerly shared the preference of most young people for "the relation of wonderful incidents and the delineation of the fiercer passions" over the most beautiful natural description; for in youth that innate love of novelty which makes spring and autumn seem the most delightful seasons is a passion and grows by indulgence into a desire to see "every thing around us alive active and changing". Growing less avid for novelty, however, Leyden had come to appreciate the poetry which, describing objects familiar from infancy, can excite, not rapture and transport, but calm and mild pleasure; and this appreciation was increased by the insight gained in his own poetical attempts into "the difficulty of conveying by expression to the mind of others, the impression produced by scenery" on one's own. Distinguishing between the descriptive poetry which comprises "the accurate enumeration and graphical delineation of particulars" and that which gives vivid expression to "the mental feelings" aroused by natural objects, Leyden made plain his own preference for the latter. Each species had indeed its "proper effect on the mind, when executed with skill, delicacy and grace"; and each had its own dangers, the first often submerging the general effect in a welter of detail, the second degenerating readily into the obscure and indefinite. 2 But such a "mere enumeration" of the several parts of a group as might appeal to professional men or connoisseurs skilled in landscape gardening and painting must bear to the more subjective type of description "the same relation as a system of Chronological Tables to Philosophical history". Leyden, in fact, preferring "perspicuous descriptions of nature where the character of feeling still predominates", 3 and believing that a reader's

1 Leyden to James Brown, Dec. 23, 1799; quoted by Hanna, op. cit., I, p. 457. I am inclined to attribute also to Leyden the Strictures on Macbeth, signed 'Crito', which appeared in the Edinburgh Mag. for Feb. & March, 1799, making captious criticisms & wild suggestions.
2 Leyden found the latter fault in front of the usually excellent night scenery of Cassian.
3 E.g. Mme. de Genlis' fragment 'The Shepherds of the Pyrenees, & the many descriptive sketches in Fenelon, Rousseau & Saint-Pierre, which needed only versification to become "delightful poetry".
sympathies must be enlisted before his emotions can be roused, required of descriptive poetry "not the delineation of a scene" but the portrayal of an observer reacting to a scene.

"The description of an Arabian desert agitated by the whirlwind, with columns of burning sand, rushing along with frightful velocity, burnished dimly red by sunbeams which penetrate their whole extent, is not half so terrible as it appears, when some hapless traveller is introduced affected with every emotion which such a scene tends to inspire."  

Indeed, if sentiment did not prevail, descriptive poetry would tend instead of affecting the reader, to be coloured by the reader's own state of mind. Thus, an acquaintance of Leyden's, being of a whimsical temper and having once read Grongar Hill during a lingering illness, under great depression of spirits, never ventured on a second perusal; and Leyden himself could affirm that lovers of voyages and travels might well be deeply impressed, from their interest in the narrative, by a description not otherwise notable. Moreover, description being always less affecting than actuality, a poet, with little risk of using over-vivid colouring, might produce a more truly faithful likeness by making his picture "bolder and more striking" than life.  

Thus Thomas Gray's description of the ploughman plodding home "at the close of the curfew" would not have violated "poetical truth" even if literally inaccurate; although in point of fact Leyden himself could vouch for its accuracy, having often seen the ploughman when the sound of the distant clock was resounding from the city, loose his plough, throw himself carelessly across his horses or plod slowly after them, while the sun was going down, the gray mist creeping slowly down the deep vallies, the crows winding homeward in black trains and the quails twittering among the dewy clover".

Having thus defined his position as a critic of descriptive poetry, Leyden judged it best to justify the existence of those critics who attended to sentences, paragraphs, chapters, sections, and even "whole books"; and he presented his views as a defence against the arguments of a learned friend, real or imaginary, who, having read Knight's Essay on the Greek Alphabet and agreed with its contention that there is "no kind of critical merit but that which is verbal", had expressed "a very mean opinion" of the sublime art of criticism with all its rules and compositions. Leyden maintained however, that the principles of criticism, being dependent on a "process of attention or judgment", were "no more fallacious than any other species of scientific reasoning"; for as we can always

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1 Edinburgh Magazine for June, 1799. (Vol. 13. pp. 403-6.)  
2 Leyden's own poetry shows traces of the effects of this somewhat dangerous doctrine.  
3 Leyden himself had contended to William Erskine, Dec. 26, 1797, that the verbal critic was the only man of taste. Cf. pp. 135-36.
ascertain the reasons for our opinions by noting their objects and
the mental sensations produced thereby, so "by attending to objects
in connection with the emotions which they excite, we may discover
both the origin and nature of our different ideas of taste, whether
sublime, beautiful, pathetic, or picturesque, whether witty, humour-
ous, or ludicrous". So criticism "arranges in luminous order our
confused ideas", demonstrating subtle but important relations read-
ily overlooked, unravelling "the mazes of perception and thought",
and separating the essential from the accidental in mental impres-
sions. And in the realm of descriptive poetry, it assists in the
study of nature by enabling us to study the original by means of
a simplified version.1

In making his promised strictures on particular descriptive
poems, Leyden found in William Wordsworth's Descriptive Sketches
"great originality and poetical powers, joined with considerable
faults both of thought and diction". Often succeeding admirably in
conveying both the general character and the individual scenery of
the Alps, Wordsworth sometimes indulged in "uncorrect colouring"
which shed "a false and tawdry lustre over the real beauties of
description". His language was strong and vigorous, but often defect-
ive in simplicity, his phraseology original, but "clogged with
exuberance of epithet", alluring the reader from "the serenity of
observation, and the sweet deceptions of sympathy, to attend to its
own uncommon structure". So a reader of taste, although recognizing
in the sketches "the true enthusiastic energy of poetry", would
find also that the labour of composition was too apparent both in
sentiment and expression, and that the structure, rendered "gawdy
from redundance of ornament", resembled "a Grecian temple deformed
by the minute fritterings of Gothic architecture". 1

For the rest, the "elegant" William Lisle Bowles's "low-
descriptive poem Coombe-Ellen" illustrated Leyden's contention that
the effect of natural objects on the mind depends largely on the
disposition of the observer, a person with a mental climate of
"gaiety and pleasure" tending to over-value kindred features in a
scene and to under-value its opposite qualities. And it was with
personal feeling that Leyden commented on popular failure to
appreciate the sentiments of poets "of the plaintive class:

"When exquisite sensibility is united, as it generally is, with
great benevolence of heart, not only the wrongs, but the evils
of the world, produce the most painful emotions, a diseased
irritability of the soul, that is not only unknown but incon-
ceptible to minds of a harder and less susceptible texture.
Those who cannot conceive how trivial incidents should produce
so great emotions, those who cannot understand how circumstances

1 The Gleaner, No. IX, in Edinburgh Mag., Vol. XIV, pp.4-5.
whence they derive neither pleasure nor pain, should effect [sic] others with all the extravagance of sorrow, laugh at their idle griefs, and mock the querulous egotism of their sensibility."

Thomas Gisborne's *Walks in a Forest*, which suffered from a lack of unity and a superfluity of moral reflections, allowed Leyden to illustrate by a quotation from Barbot how the incomparable grandeur of the African scene could elevate to enthusiasm "the inaccurate language of the most inelegant navigators and travellers": to lament the passing of the old Scots habit of forest-dwelling and the inability of modern man to behold "gods and goddesses, Dryads and Haradryads" in the trees; to allude to the customs of the ancient Germans who, having buried their dead under the roots of venerable oaks, "imagined in the night that they saw the fires of death glimmer over the sepulchres", and to those of the "Druids, the Wagi, the Brachmanes and Samanae of India" who, unlike modern philosophers with their preference for meditating in "an elegant chamber, or amid the gaiety of a fashionable assembly", "haunted the deepest recesses of the forests, to indulge in profound meditation and abstract themselves from the world"; and to reflect on woodland scenery's effect on the human mind in general:

"Forest scenery, which combines in various proportions the beauty, the picturesque effect, the sublime and melancholy grandeur of natural objects, has always been congenial to the characters which display the most vivid traits of enthusiasm, to the lover, the poet, and the devotee. The union of the awful stillness with the weak murmuring sound of the shivering leaves, the shrill singing of the breeze, the stern motionless trunk rough with moss, the wavering branches, and the varying shade, cherish the strongest emotions, confine the current of thought, and prevent the mind from dissipating its attention on variety unconfined."

And John Gisborne's *The Vales of Wever*, having "uniformly ornate and finically splendid" diction and "versification polished and correct, but fatiguingly monotonous", resembled, on a smaller scale, Darwin's *Botanic Garden* (itself marred by glaring colour, exaggerated images and over-obtrusive artistry), but exhibited still more clearly the peculiar faults of descriptive poetry: a species of composition which could become more "cloying and mawkish" than any other when "merely supported by an artificial brilliance of versification and an undistinguishing profusion of epithets".

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1 The Gleaner, No.X. in Edin. Mag., Vol.XIV, p.83. (August 1799.)
2 In Scottish Descriptive Poems, p.30. Leyden quoted 11 lines from this poem for comparison with John Wilson's "characteristic description of forest trees" in his poem Clyde. Cf. p. inf.
3 Cf. Leyden's Preliminary Dissertation to the Complaynt of Scotland, pp.170-71, where he alludes to the idyllic woodland life of mediation led by "the Brumans of Palladius".
4 The Gleaner, No.XI. in Edin. Mag., Vol.XIV, p.163. (Sept., 1799.)
Thereafter Leyden, perhaps finding descriptive poetry indeed a cloying subject, announced that his next topic would be the "dramatic character" of August von Kotzebue. His approach proved to be somewhat tortuous, however; for after an appreciative reference to the high reputation of contemporary German dramatists, and particularly of Kotzebue and Schiller, whom he compared to Euripides and Aeschylus respectively, Leyden embarked on "a rapid survey of the French theatre", for purposes of contrast, which included an approving translation of Laus de Boissy's remarks on Corneille, Racine, Voltaire and Crébillon, Leyden's own opinion of Molière as brilliant but unprincipled, and an exposition of "La Comédie Larmoyante", the only kind of French drama with which the German had any affinity, and which, by presenting "an accurate outline of life and manners, with equal simplicity of plot and of characters", approached more nearly to "the ancient Grecian model, in the spirit of its execution, than those imitations of classical subjects which delineate a species of manners as artificial as if they had been intended for the inhabitants of fairy land". Holding that there is no true imitation of the Greek model in a mere servile copy such as the "miserable modern refaccimentos" from which the true spirit of antiquity has evaporated, leaving only "an insipid caput mortuum", Leyden denied the French drama as a whole any claim to originality, and exalted that of Germany as being far closer to nature. Then, affirming that "the drama becomes more interesting, as it represents life more accurately, approaches more closely to its primitive form, and is divested of its accidental trappings and adventitious splendour", and that the "national drama of every people is modified by their... manners, habits and situation", he undertook an investigation into the origin of the drama, which lies "in the common principles of human nature". 1 In January, 1800, the critique on Kotzebue was postponed "to the next Number" to make room for a "fragment of Icelandic history", communicated to the Gleaner "by a friend", which gave a somewhat ironical account of the introduction of Christianity to tenth-century Iceland2; but thereafter no more was heard either of Kotzebue or of John Leyden as 'Gleaner', although his hand may be traced, in the February Magazine, in a paper, at once facetious and erudite, on the ancient and modern use of ghosts, whose sole present use was "to fill the manager's pocket.

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1 The Gleaner, Nos. XIII-XIV; in Edin. Mag., Vol. XIV, pp. 323-26 & 403-6. (Nov. & Dec., 1799.) The Nov. issue also had "Strictures on the crotchet parts in Kotzebue's plays" (i.e. directions in brackets to the actors); & the Aug. no. had had extracts from his life.
2 Edin. Mag., Vol. XV, pp. 3-5; signed "I", but clearly by Leyden. And perhaps also in a short essay 'On English verse'.
Besides producing such articles as the ' gleaners', Leyden responded, in the summer of 1799, to an appeal made by the indefatigable Henry Brougham, and addressed particularly to the Academy of Physics, for communications and queries likely to assist the investigations Brougham hoped to make during an imminent expedition to Iceland and beyond. Writing in a rather querulous and self-righteous strain from on board "L'Impromptu Privateer, off Greenock at 2 a.m. on a Tuesday late in July," Brougham pointed out to the Academy that of all the papers received in answer to his request, only one, submitted by John Leyden, had come from a member; and that one, whatever its subject, was of very considerable merit:

"Its value is such as to make me feel the more how much I have lost in wanting other such communications from the rest of my fellow members." 2

Interest in the Academy was in fact beginning to decline, so that it survived for less than another year, its last meeting, at which Leyden was not present, being held on May 1, 1800. 3 Meanwhile, their disagreement concerning the Literary Society having been apparently forgotten, Brougham reported on his progress to Leyden, writing twice in mid-August from Stornoway to say that he was "now seated by various gradations at the helm" (which Leyden thought probably "typical of his being seated at a much greater helm"), to give a highly confidential account of his route, which Leyden promptly divulged to William Erskine in the belief that Brougham would not keep it secret himself, 1 and to describe St Kilda as "grand grand grand. The people more savage than Eskimaux", with information on the celebrated Lady Grange which Leyden also passed on to Erskine, with his own comments on the subject:

"...your fine poetry is even poetical with respect to the facts for Lady Grange's cave was only a hut... situated in a pleasant bay among green fields &c. He avers that she killed herself with inordinate drinking of whisky and says he saw an old fellow who remembered her well and said she was a... devil incarnate. I have just had a curious conversation with Mrs Galloway mother of Mrs Campbell, who had seen Old Grange, and called him an ugly devil on one occasion, and who when a child refused to eat the sweetmeats he gave her, because she heard that he was one of the worst men in the world." 4

July, 1799, saw also a return to a subject of controversy on which Leyden had first touched during his stay in St Andrews, when

1 Brougham intended to go via Faro and Iceland to Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Lapland and Russia; but on Sept. 19, 1799, he was in Leith Roads on a Baltic ship, & was back in Britain by Feb. 25, 1800. (Brougham and his early friends, Vol. I, pp. 77 & 107.)
2 Brougham to the Academy of Physics, July 30, 1799. (MS. 756, N.L.S.)
3 Welsh, op. cit., p. 78. Thomas Brown was then its secretary.
he had asserted that Dr George Gleig had treated Dr John Hunter basely by copying the article on grammar for the Encyclopaedia Britannica verbatim from exercises or essays read in Hunter's class and upon the principles of Hunter's lectures:

"He wanted to pass the article even upon Dr Hunter for an original of his own but when he found that the Dr. had the... Exercises from which it was copied in his possession, he employ-ed a long time assiduously in searching for the ideas in other authors but his want of success has extorted a very meagre acknowledgment in the last Vol. of the Encyclop."

In reviewing Horne Tooke's Diversions of Purley in the New London Review for January, 1799, Leyden had repeated this charge with emphasis, deploRing the Encyclopaedia's unauthorized and "frequently inaccurate" statement of many of Hunter's "original and profound views", and the inadequacy of its apology which insinuated that "discoveries in grammar are not, indeed, to be looked for, because, forsooth, the subject is so intimately connected with metaphysics!!!".2

And when no notice was apparently taken of these challenging remarks, there appeared in the Edinburgh Magazine for July, under the provocative heading 'Detection of Plagiarism in the Encyclopaedia Britannica', a letter, signed Philalethes and dated 'Edin. July 8th, 1799', which, after some general remarks on the rarity of originality, referred to this "singular passage" in the Review, which had at first shocked 'Philalethes' as appearing to make a malicious and groundless insinuation against a clergyman "of no mean literary reputation, and of an excellent moral character". On closer investigation, however, 'Philalethes' became less certain what to think, doubting indeed whether Hunter would have let himself be thus "quietly swindled out of the fruit of his laborious hours of study", but acknowledging that the Encyclopaedia article contained some curious discrepancies, "as if the author had not understood his own principles".3 So he hoped for elucidation of the problem from some reader who knew the facts or even from Hunter, Gleig or the Rev. John Bruce, Gleig's coadjutor; and elucidation was forthwith supplied by Dr Gleig himself, writing from Stirling,4 on August 19, to wipe from his own and his friend's characters an aspersion both false and illiberal.5 Undeceived by the "apparent civility" of 'Philalethes', and incensed at the unfair and "upstart review", Gleig would not have hesitated to call the reviewer "an

1 Leyden to Thomas Brown, Dec., 1797.
2 Cf. p.169 sup. for Leyden's review of Horne Tooke, which was quoted on p. 6 of the Edinburgh Magazine for July, 1799, Vol. XIV.
3 Edin. Mag., Vol.XIV,pp.5-7, the nom de guerre being probably taken from Thomas Morgan's dialogue, The Moral Philosopher(1737).
4 Gleig had had charge of the Scottish Episcopal congregation at Stirling since 1790.
infamous calumniator”, had he maintained seriously that Gleig and Bruce had “clandestinely appropriated” Hunter’s lectures; but as the reviewer had modified his tone, Gleig contented himself with pointing out that the offending article actually consisted in part of transcripts of essays written by Bruce when he was a student of Hunter’s at St Andrews and circulated thereafter in manuscript both in Scotland and England. Hunter himself had adjudged prizes to the essays,¹ bestowing on one of them “such praises as no man of letters not lost to all sense of honour and modesty” could have lavished on his own work; and what the reviewer misconstrued as an apology in the Encyclopaedia’s preface was simply “a public expression” of the gratitude which Bruce felt to be due to his old master. Gleig, however, owing Hunter only “STRICT justice”, claimed to have done him this, adding ominously:

“He knows why the word STRICT is here printed in capitals; and if he wishes the public to know likewise, he has but to express that wish, and it shall be complied with”;

for Gleig, who had once held “as high an opinion of Dr Hunter’s moral dispositions” as he still held of his intellectual powers, had come to feel that Hunter and the notorious Horne Tooke, who taught similar grammatical doctrines,² were indeed “men of like learning, like dispositions, and like principles”. Concluding with a promise to take due notice of any reply made by Hunter himself, Gleig affirmed that “any future attack by an anonymous writer” would be disregarded; but neither defence nor attack appearing, Dr Gleig was left in undisputed possession of the field.³

Leyden had in any case more personal matters on his mind by August, his recovery of health having been gradual and helped neither by a tendency to hypochondria nor by Leyden’s extreme sensibility to any disturbance, real or imagined, in his relations with anyone of whom he was fond. For, acknowledging his father’s letter of July 22 on August 7, three days after its receipt, and reporting how he had “discovered some relations” in Edinburgh who seemed “very well pleased” to make his acquaintance,⁴ Leyden wrote:

“I... feel very sensibly the kindness of your anxiety concerning my health. However that need put you under no apprehension I am much better than when I wrote you, being at that time exceedingly vexed by a rheumatism in my head of long continuance which was... uncommonly severe - so you see physicians do not cure themselves. - If I go on studying Medicine I am

1 Prizes given by the then Chancellor, the Earl of Kinnoull.
2 Leyden to Brown, Dec., 1797, stressed that some of Hunter’s principles which were the same as Horne Tooke’s had been “developed in his Lectures prior to any publications of the other”.
3 Gleig had succeeded Colin Macfarquhar as editor of the third edition of the Encyclopaedia on Macfarquhar’s death in 1793.
4 “A Mr Hay and Family, whose sister was the widow of your Cousin Mr Leyden”, & “a Mr Yule... a rich farmer in Lothian”. 
afraid I shall soon have a whole hospital of diseases in my own person - so apt is imagination to pass her tricks upon us... I cannot think why you should apologize for offending me as you term it. You have certainly a very good right to do that as often as you please - I only beg, when you happen to be offended at me for any reason, to tell me the cause broad and flatly, when I shall probably be able to defend myself, but you know nobody can defend themselves against insinuations. When I was at St Andrews two years ago - I formed an acquaintance and very soon a sincere friendship with a Dr Brown one of the Professors of Glasgow University. We knew that we had both been misrepresented by persons whom we did not reckon quite such good men as ourselves, either in respect of moral conduct or abilities. When I left the Professor to prevent all misunderstanding, we agreed that neither was to believe any evil which he might hear of the other, before hearing what he could say for himself. Now such is the confidence I think should be between a father and son who understand one another. And therefore I was certainly chagrined to find you offended at me, though I could not say for what - for I thought the circumstance you mentioned very trifling."

Leyden was as yet uncertain of his plans for the autumn.

"I begin to doubt whether it will be proper for me to come out during the harvest, as I shall be obliged to go with the family to Mid Calder about twelve miles from town, for six or seven weeks which will give me enough of the country I suppose, and probably reestablish my health compleatly... Let me know how Andrew Blyth is for I must come out if he is not like to get better - I owe him much and should be extremly sorry if he contrives to leave me loaded with a debt of gratitude that I could never hope to clear."

But when autumn came, it was to Calder Hall, the residence of the Hare family in Kirknewton parish, that he went; and it was evidently not long before he had indeed had "enough of the country".

"You have often heard me say My Dear Erskine that I referred the prospect of the College Library to any which nature presented, and now I am going to recant my opinion. What would be the use of an opinion if we could not change it according to convenience like a suit of cloaths? If a coat becomes too tight we get it widened, and now I am going to enlarge my former opinion of natural scenes so that it may include the one I have now adopted. The woods here are romantic enough if I had time to wander among them and sigh - that I am not in Edinburgh - the river is rather brownish and not to be compared with the chrystal waters of the Teviot. There are diverse kinds of stones & earths on its banks & it sings a quiet tune to the sleeping woods all night which I sometimes hear from my window whenever I choose to listen. There are no nightingales in the woods that one can hear during the night, but then there..."
are divers cocks that crow both clear and strong. Our habitation very much resembles an old castle, but unfortunately there are no ghosts worth the mentioning, though the wind sings delightfully shrill & cold through the passages. There is not a suit of old armour in the whole house to clatter, but then there are all the military accoutrements of a fencible captain. Notwithstanding these and many other agreeable circumstances, I am often ennuyeux and as often enrume. I do not know what is the matter, but I am certainly growing as reserved in the country as you have already, in the town, and before my return it is very probable that I may have become as sedate as yourself. If I did not apprehend that you might probably read this scrawl aloud, before perusing it solus, I would immediately instal you in the ghostly office of father Confessor and make you acquaint ed with an additional folly of the many which I have perpet rated. But as... you may be reading this at my expense to some person who hears with ears as ancient Pistol says, so I shall not take this opportunity of declaring it."  

A fortnight later, a letter to Thomas Brown, dated "Saturday Night which I conceive is changing day into night when perhaps you are changing night into day" and still remaining to be finished on the Monday for dearth of news, emphasized that Leyden's thoughts were rather in Edinburgh than in "this hermitage, from which the world great and small is as effectually excluded as if we dwelt in the bottom of a coalpit".  

"I have been so long mending my pen, in order to write an elegant spirited Epistle I suppose, that I am every moment in danger of being called down to supper, when all my wit and spirit and vivacity will be certainly exhausted for no purpose at all - so whenever you perceive me becoming insufferably dull and insipid, you may conclude with the utmost propriety that I have been kindling the fire of my fancy with cold beef and porter, which require a long while before they flash forth in any thing brilliant. Besides Vauquelin says that the expenditure of oxygen during the process of digestion and assimilation is so great as to retard the flights of the most versatile fancy that ever existed. But how can I write a charming Epistle when my wits are wandering — & lo! I am already in the midst of you — why how now — what is the matter you all seem to look so shilly shally: — Perfect ghosts I protest. — If you do not contrive to get better as fast as possible your heads will soon be as cold as a turnip and you'll all be planted like potatoes in the large garden of Eden."  

Such society as Leyden did see was hardly brilliant:  

"There is not a single man of ability in Mid Calder, tho I have learned with astonishment, that there is a numerous corps of democrats. The Minister is a very good sort of man, a man of moderation in every sense, though very orthodox, and, which is much better a strenuous friend of morality, among the small and great vulgar. There is a Capt. McDonald who resides with Mr Somers, who is a man of some speculation and acuteness with..."  

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1 Thomas Campbell considered Erskine "the most exceptionable young fellow" he knew; and David Irving thought that "No one could be less inclined to make a display of his talents and learning" than Erskine. (William Beattie, Life...of Thomas Campbell, Vol. I, p. 243.)  
2 Leyden to Wm Erskine, Sept. 14, 1799. (LS. 971 N.L.S.)  
3 Leyden to Thomas Brown, Sept. 14, 1799. (MS. 3380, N.L.S.)  
4 Louis Nicolas Vauquelin (1735-1829), at Mid Calder from 1795 to 1842.  
5 Rev. John Sommers (1765-1842), at Mid Calder from 1795 to 1842.
whom I often converse on Tactics and other warlike matters... extremely proper for the Church Militant to understand. As he has been in America, and served against Washington, I begged him to teach me Yankey Doodle with which I was certain he must have been well acquainted, but though an excellent singer he seemed to have a mortal aversion to that particular tune; so that from my desire to regale Margaret with a republican tune at my coming to town, I had almost involved myself in hostilities with the man of war."  

And, as at St Andrews, he was eager to have news of his friends' activities in the city, facetiously threatening Thomas Brown:

"...if you do not write me immediately, if it were only to tell according to the old formula 'This comes to let you know that we are all in good health thank God for it hoping this will find you in the same', I will have you denounced for an aristocrat & put under the ban of the Empire. As there are only two Empires in which I have heard of any kind of bans, those of Germany & Hymen, I suppose you will be at no loss to discover the empire I mean - and if you should find this impossible you have only to suppose that it is some sublime allegory of Transcendental Science or anything you please which requires the anagogical method of investigation, to which your wisdomship is a perfect stranger. Pray what have you been doing since I saw you last - answer me distinctly but I beseech you do not retort the question. If you do I will certainly answer studying astronomy for which you know I have a great predilection so great indeed that I would at any time much rather contemplate the stars of the firmament than all the stars and garters in the three kingdoms of Great Britain, France, and Ireland."  

Leyden's stay in the country, however, had actually been devoted to something quite different from the study of stars of any kind; for although he affirmed in mid-September,

"I have not seen a new book, I have not wrote a single word in verse or prose during my residence at Calder Hall and what is more, I never intend to do either",  

he had a very different tale to tell Dr James Brown three months later. After attempting to excuse himself by "artful tergiversation" for a culpably long and unreasonable silence (already sufficiently punished by the consequent lack of Brown's valuable letters), Leyden at length owned this error of omission "with sincerity and frankness" and went on:

"It is needless to enquire how I have been employed. I beg you to accept of the African Sketch which I may almost avow now that it is pretty generally known, which was executed during my residence in the country with our family, much engaged; in bad health & in about 6 weeks, with few books, no literary friends even to superintend the press - because I intended it to be unknown. My own MS. was composed page by page for the press, never revised & seldom read over. This may account for many errors - I hope however you will recognize your old friend in the principles supported, for the introduction of which & in

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1 Thomas Brown's second-youngest sister; born April 25, 1772.
2 Leyden to Thomas Brown, Sept. 14, 1799.
3 Contrast Leyden's admission to A.F. Tytler, June 12, 1801, that he was "little acquainted" with astronomy.
order to prevent it from falling into the hands of a satellite
of despotism I could ever have prevailed upon myself to under-
take it."

The "African Sketch" in question was A historical & philo-
sophical sketch of the discoveries & settlements of the Europeans
in Northern & Western Africa, at the close of the eighteenth century
published anonymously in the late autumn of 1799. The subject,
which had attracted Leyden’s attention at least two years before,
had been also among the chief interests of the Academy of Physics,
which; feeling that until very lately little had been done to extend
the scanty knowledge of Africa handed down by the ancients,
had begun, by February, 1798, to investigate the history of Africa,
both natural and civil. Favoring the theory that the Carthagin-
ians had founded colonies in the interior of the continent - an
idea, indeed, "very little consistent with probability", although
Leyden gave a carefully guarded assent to its possibility, the
Academy paid particular attention to the language and manners of
ancient Carthage and to the civilization and traditions of those
peoples inhabiting such supposed Carthaginian sites as Haussa and
Timbuctoo; but, its interest covering the whole continent, it
strove also to establish contact with anyone who could contribute
information, preferably gained at first hand, on any aspect of
African life, and in particular to gain "speedy notice" of the
"late famous discoveries" of Mungo Park, whose return to Britain in
December, 1797, had focused public attention on the exploration of
the rivers Gambia and Niger which he had carried out under the
auspices of the African Association in the past two years. No such
notice was forthcoming, however, since by the following March, when
Park was expected soon to publish an account of his expedition, the
gist of his observations was still unknown even to the African
Association itself; and although the Association did receive a
summary of Park’s travels, drawn up by its own secretary, Bryan
Edwards, on May 26, 1798, Park’s own narrative, Travels in the
Interior of Africa, did not appear until a year later.

1 Leyden to Dr James Brown, Dec. 19, 1799. (MS. 3431, N.L.S.)
2 The preface is dated October 16, 1799. - Printed at Edinburgh by J.
3 By the summer of 1797; see p. 114 sup.
4 Henry Brougham to Robert Lundie, Feb. 20, 1798.
6 Thomas Young to Brougham, March 4, 1798.
7 He thought it not unlikely that some of the interior regions
might have derived their civilization thence. (Africa, pp. 86-87.)
8 Brougham to Dr Harrington, Carlisle, Feb. 6, 1798. Cf. pp. 153-54 sup.
9 Brougham to Thomas Young, Feb. 23, 1798.
10 E.g. Rev. Henry Brunton, missionary in the "Foulah country".
11 Brougham to Robert Spangle, Feb. 20, 1798.
There had been other journeys and other publications of the same kind since the founding of the African Association in 1788 for "promoting the Discovery of the Inland Districts of Africa." In that year William Lucas had explored the Sahara; in January, 1789, John Ledyard, the energetic but ill-fated American commissioned by Sir Joseph Banks and the Association to investigate overland routes from Alexandria to the Niger, had died in Cairo at the very start of his enterprise; and in 1790 Major Daniel Houghton, Lucas's successor, having ascended the Gambia towards Timbuctoo, had disappeared near Ludamar. The same year had seen the publication of James Bruce of Kinnaird's Travels to discover the source of the Nile in... 1768-1773; and from 1792 to 1798 William George Browne had pursued those Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria of which he brought out an account in 1799. All this activity helped to direct public attention to Africa and to provide grist for Leyden's mill; but it was Mungo Park's detailed and lucid narrative which particularly caught the popular fancy, especially in Scotland, and Leyden, who believed that within the century "the current of civilization" might "revert to its supposed source" in Africa, was prompt to take advantage of the general interest in a subject which appealed so strongly to his own love of adventure and of "the grand the marvellous, the romantic and even the horrible".

So promptly did he take advantage of it indeed that the more perfervid of Park's many Border admirers suspected him of trying to "hurt the sale" of Park's book by his own much less expensive publication; but the charge was hardly justified, as Leyden's "extract" from Park comprised a single chapter, albeit a long one of seventy-three pages, into which he introduced such individual notes as an example of his favourite pun on barber and barbarous or barbarian, fourteen not very apposite lines of his own verse describing a forest fire in Mysore, and a disquisition on the

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2 Ledyard's travels were described in the Association's Proceedings for 1790; & J. Spark published an account of his life in 1828.
3 Borrowed by Leyden from the Divinity Hall Library in March, 1794.
4 Extracts appeared in the Edinburgh Magazine (Vol. XIV, passim) from August to November, 1799.
5 Leyden, Africa, p. 442.
6 Scott, Memoir.
7 Scott, op. cit., wrongly derives this suspicion from a supposed difference of opinion between Park and Leyden on the direction of the Niger; but Leyden (Africa, p. 324) accepts Park's statement on its eastward course.
8 Park was stated to be "installed in the office of barber to his barbarian majesty" (Africa, p. 313). Cf. p. inf.
9 Africa, pp. 345-46, meant the annual burning of long grass in the negro countries. Extended to 16 lines in Scenes of Infancy, pt. i, 11. 459-74, where hyenas replace an earlier lion.
fact that

"Force, which predominates in human affairs, has been more frequently the subject of the poet's panegyric, than any of the mild and useful virtues. Every nation applauds those qualities that are useful to itself. Civilized nations praise talents and virtues, savages hunting and fishing. 'That valiant man is dead,' say the Brazilians... 'who gave us so many captives to devour.' The Scandinavian bards sung the praises of piracy, the Huns of robbery, and the Moorish minstrels applaud dexterity in plundering the Negroes."¹

Leyden certainly commended Park's sagacity, prudence, intrepidity and perseverance, declaring his journey to be "unquestionably the most important ever performed by an European in Negritia";² but Park's admirers may have felt also that Leyden was rather fond of representing Park as alarmed, dejected, humiliated and despondent, that he hardly did justice to such incidents as Park's reaction to the thoughts of God's providence aroused by the perfection of a tiny moss growing in the wilderness,³ and that, doubtless with the conscious pride of one who himself knew Arabic, Persian and Hebrew well before leaving College,⁴ he was unnecessarily emphatic in describing Park's ignorance of Arabic as a most important disadvantage which probably had "considerable influence in preventing his attempt from being crowned with the most brilliant success".⁵ In any event, on his first visit home after the publication of his Africa,⁶ Leyden was informed by some busybody that one of Mungo Park's friends, apparently a member of the Western troop of the Roxburgshire Yeomanry,⁷ had expressed the intention of giving Leyden a thrashing at the first opportunity.⁸ Nothing loath, Leyden went in to Hawick "on purpose to meet the fellow"⁹ at a time when the crack Western troop of volunteers, the best mounted and appointed in the Borders, were drilling there in all the glory of their scarlet jackets and white buckskins.⁷ "Friendly interposition" appeased the antagonists, however, and the matter ended, like most of John Leyden's adventures, with no bloodshed whatever and in something of an anticlimax.

¹ Leyden, Africa, p. 322. Cf. p. 105 supra. ² Africa, p. 358. ³ Ibid., pp. 353-39. Mr. Doble comments, rather strongly, that Leyden spoils this story with "what looks like deliberate sabotage" and that Hugh Murray, History of Africa, I, p. 379, restores it in full. ⁴ Alex. Murray to Scott, Feb. 7, 1512. (MS. 3882, N.L.S.) ⁵ Africa, p. 360. Park learned Arabic characters while in Africa. ⁶ Probably in May, 1800, on his way to Cumberland. See p. 223 infra. ⁷ Benson Freeman, Historical Records of the Border Regiments, quoted in H.A.S.T. for 1918, gives an account of the Roxburghshire Gentlemen & Yeomanry, founded 1797 and renamed in 1800 the Roxburghshire Light Dragoons Yeomanry. It was divided into the Eastern troop (at Kelso) and the Western (at Jedburgh), the latter being subdivided into the Western (Hawick) & Middle (Jedburgh) troops. ⁸ Robert Leyden to James Morton, Aug. 24, 1815. ⁹ Ibid. Scott, op. cit., says that Leyden was already in Hawick, and on the point of leaving it, when this was told to him.
As its title indicated, Leyden's sketch followed, on a much smaller scale, the plan of the Abbé Guillaume Raynal's _L'Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes_, pithily described by Voltaire as "du rechauffé avec de la déclaration". And, as Leyden acknowledged in his preface, the chief defect of that plan was its "want of strict unity of subject", the recurring dilemma being whether to assign a particular circumstance to the story of the traveller relating it or to the description of the appropriate geographical area. It was Leyden's purpose to "exhibit the progress of discoveries" in North and West Africa towards the close of the eighteenth century: a period when the researches and transactions of Europeans in Africa began at last to be "directed by justice, benevolence and the desire of knowledge, instead of avarice and ambition", the attention of "the friends of religion and science" having been then attracted to a continent which had been the theatre of splendid and important transactions during "the brilliant aeras of Egypt, Cyrene and Carthage", the terror of Europe in the dark ages, and since the fifteenth century the object of European greed; and he sought to achieve that purpose by "combining a delineation of the appearance of the country, an account of its native productions, and a description of the peculiar manners of the African tribes" with a detail of the adventures of those travellers by whom the discoveries were made. Confining himself practically to the area between the Nile basin and the North Atlantic, with special reference to the uncivilized and almost unknown interior, Leyden said little of "Benin, the slave, gold, ivory and grain coasts", and virtually disregarded the history of ancient and modern Egypt, Abyssinia, Cyrene and Barbary, of Madagascar, of the Portuguese and Dutch settlements, and of the Caffrarian tribes, whom he considered even more indolent and less civilized than the negroes. Desiring, however, to connect the geography of the interior with that of the South and East, and preferring irregularity to obscurity, he added: "a rapid sketch of the Moorish character" (essentially "quick, fiery and impatient, treacherous and cruel") in Barbary and some inland districts, and touched on such topics as the manners of the Egyptians whose villages were "wretched assemblages of mud huts... full of dust, lice, fleas, bed-bugs, flies, and all the curses of Moses", and on Bruce's Abyssinian travels and the discoveries of Sparrman, Patterson and Le Vaillant in Caffraria. And although, his emphasis.
being on recent achievement, Leyden drew largely on such eighteenth century works as John Hamilton Moore’s A new and complete collection of voyages and travels,¹ William Snelgrave’s New account of some parts of Guinea, and the slave trade,² Joseph Morgan’s Complete history of Algiers,³ Archibald Dalzel’s History of Dahomy,⁴ Pierre de Brisson’s Histoire du naufrage et de la captivité,⁵ Louis de Chénier’s Recherches historiques sur les Maures et...l’empire de Maroc,⁶ Jean Barbot’s Description of the coasts of...Guinea; and of Ethiopia Inferior, vulgarly Angola,⁷ and the Nouvelle relation de l’Afrique occidentale compiled by the Dominican Jean Baptiste Labat from the notes of André Brue, governor of Senegal.⁸ He did not, however, neglect the seventeenth century narratives of Samuel Purchas’s Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrims; Hiob Ludolf’s Historia aethiopica,¹⁰ and the Voyage historique d’Abissinie translated by the Abbé Joachim le Grand from the Portuguese of the Jesuit Jeronimo Lobo,¹¹ or the older sources of Leo Africanus’ Africae descriptio¹² and the Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, “the most accurate of the Rabbinical travellers”.¹³ Also, while relying mainly on the geography of the “learned and ingenious” Major James Rennell,¹⁴ Leyden, following his “usual mode of enquiring what say the ancients”,¹⁵ consulted Herodotus, the elder Pliny, Diodorus Siculus, Claudius Ptolemaeus, Lucian and Procopius, delighting to note such evident parallels as the lozan shrub found at Tunis and “the plant which nourished the Lybian Lotophagi of Homer and Pliny”, to trace “the origin of the Gorgons and Furies of Grecian antiquity to the African and Virginian custom of adorning one’s person with living or dead reptiles, to note the tribes assigned by Ptolemy to the Negritarum regio, to identify the Foulahs with “the Leucathæopes of Ptolemy and Pliny”, and to compare native rites and processions with “the orgies of Peor, Priapus and Bacchus”;¹⁶ and it

³ 2 vols., Lond., 1785.
¹ 2 vols., Lond., 1734.
² 2 vols., Lond., 1728. It gave an epitome of the history of Barbary
⁴ Lond., 1793. And also Robert Norris’s Memoirs of the reign of Bossa Adée, King of Dahomy, Lond., 1789.
⁵ geneve, 1789. Translated into English in 1730.
⁶ 3 tomes, Paris, 1787. A translation from vol. 3 appeared in London, 2 vols., 1788, as The present state of the Empire of Morocco.
⁷ An “account of the western maritime countries of Africa” in six books. It appeared in vol. 5 of Awnsham & John Churchill’s Collection of voyages and travels, 1732.
⁸ 5 tomes, Paris, 1728, containing “une description exacte du Senegal”.
¹⁰ Frankfort, 1681, the Commentarius being added 1691 & the Appendices 1693-94. Ludolf or Leuthold(1624-1704) knew 25 languages.
¹¹ Translated into French in 1728 from a MS. copy of the original.
¹² Earliest extant version is Descrizione dell’Africa, Rome, 1526.
¹⁴ Africa, p. vii. His Illustrations were in the Proceedings for 1790.
¹⁵ Leyden to Thomas Brown, Nov. 14, 1797.
may well have been in this connection that Leyden undertook the translation of several books of Strabo's Geography, of which he gave a list, distinguishing between those "written in short hand and those written at length" to Thomas Falconer, nephew of a translator of Strabo, who had been introduced to Leyden by a card of Professor Dalzel's on coming to Edinburgh to study medicine in 1793.

The many narrative passages, with their "detail of adventures", which gave Leyden scope for little more than analysis and the arrangement of the omissions and insertions necessary for perspicuity, were interspersed, after the manner of "that flighty historian" Raynal, with the compiler's comments on political, social and religious questions; and this method enabled Leyden to express, in forthright and sometimes eloquent terms, his views on such important topics as the slave trade, the French Revolution, commercial and missionary activities, the character and influence of women, and human nature in general. They were the views of a level-headed liberal, who looked askance equally at the "compendious method of distributive justice" generally favoured by monarchs and the despotism which, being both violent and weak, degrades the character, "chills the heart and palsies the understanding", and at the "sublime doctrine" of equality of property which would disastrously weaken the incentives to personal diligence by making the industrious share their superfluities with the indolent; and who, while deploring the violent convulsions that had deprived France of any possible advantage from the Revolution and "united the name of liberty with every epithet of horror and detestation", yet deplored equally the current fashion of decrying virulently and indiscriminately all who had ever approved of that Revolution and so confounding many humane, upright, benevolent and compassionate, if credulous, men with "those votaries of anarchy and confusion, whose rapacious hands and unfeeling hearts" had marked the Revolution's path with murder and blood.

It was Leyden's confident claim that his opinions "in no respect injured the interests of either religion or humanity"; but his anonymous publication of *Africa* suggests that he may have

1 Thos Falconer, in Gentleman's Magazine for 1812, Vol. 82, pt. i, p. 420 (misprinted 424). He did not see Leyden's actual translation.
2 Falconer edited the last 10 books of the translation left by his uncle, Thomas Falconer (1738-1792); & his own son William was one of the translators of Strabo for Bohn's Library edition.
3 Leyden to Dr Anderson, April 5, 1803. Falconer b. 1772, became a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; in 1795, took holy orders, and then studied medicine at Edinburgh for some years.
6 *Africa*, pp. 24 & 100. 7 *Africa*, pp. 122 & 125. Leyden, like his friend Lockie, may himself have viewed the French Revolution at first with enthusiasm, then with anxiety, & later with loathing.
8 *Africa*, n. xii.
doubted whether all his readers would accept this statement. Nor could he expect the general tenor of his observations on missionaries and their works to be acceptable to the more rigid members of his own profession; for, being doubtful of the value of formal creeds and confessions of faith, he had no sympathy with "the ardour of religious bigotry", whether displayed in the Mahometan irrationality of the king of Fouta Torra, vainly waging war on his infidel neighbours for the good of their souls, the blindness of a Spanish ecclesiastical council condemning black men to slavery "because they had the colour of the damned", or the futile zeal of a Protestant preacher delivering a spirited sermon in English to a congregation in Sierra Leone who could not understand a word of it. Acknowledging, nevertheless, that it was highly desirable to replace "the vague and uncertain dogmas of paganism, and the ferocious and intolerant principles" of Islam by the mild doctrines and pure morals of the Christian religion of universal love and benevolence, of which the superior excellence and obvious practical application were generally admitted by rude tribes, Leyden recognized the difficulty of presenting abstractions to negroes who could gauge the truth of an idea only by the liveliness of their own conception of it, and the danger of inculcating doctrines which ignorance might "misconceive or weakness misinterpret for the relaxation of morals and the palliation of crime" among a people whose native religion had consisted essentially in ceremony and abstinence from prohibited food, without relation to morality. And he accordingly regretted deeply that the learning and ability of Protestant missionaries in Africa seldom bore any proportion to their enthusiasm, many being as bigotted as Muslems or pagans, and unfortunately "much better acquainted with the peculiar tenets of their different sects" than with the opinions which they sought to confute. Incoherence of doctrine might be harmless enough among established bodies where a little zeal evidently sufficed to reconcile the least compatible views; but it formed a grave obstacle to the propagation of the Gospel, especially when discrepancy and contradiction were among the chief objections to be urged against the diversity of ideas among the negroes' existing sects, produced by the very factors which had "occasioned so many incurable religious dissensions among civilized nations". 

Nor had Leyden much good to say of commerce; for, while admitting that trade might be used profitably to excite the

1 Africa, pp. 12, 24-25, 73-74, 198-202, 350. Cf. Leyden on the Bushreen attempt to smuggle a dying herdman into Paradise by teaching him the Mahometan confession of faith; & on the pagans of Shilluk converted to Islam for the sake of commerce: (pp. 304 & 417).

curiosity and industry of savage peoples and establish the credit and influence of their country, he was convinced that intercourse conducted on "iniquitous commercial principles" between scheming whites and irresponsible blacks had had uniformly degrading and pernicious effects on the Africans' minds, manners, morals, happiness and security. For since the Europeans practised every kind of injustice, fraud and violence, the natives naturally resorted to similar conduct, so as to trade on equal terms: so that every European contact proved fatal, "like the touch of the putrid side of the gigantic devil, in which the negroes of...the Gold Coast believe". 1 Exceptions to this lamentable rule might be found, however, in the eminently disinterested exertions, amounting sometimes almost to extravagant philanthropy, made for the good of Africa by such nations as Sweden and Denmark, and by individuals like George Fox, Charles Wadstrom, Henry Smeathman and William Wilberforce, who sought to demolish "the infernal prison-house" of slavery, with its groans of anguish and clanking of chains, and whose names merited remembrance particularly in contrast to those of villains whose memory should have died with them, but who had been "gibbeted to immortality in the full blazon and glory of their crimes". 4 Nor could civilized society, for all its prejudices and limitations, be pronounced "the cause of evil and vice", since, the principles of the human constitution being radically the same everywhere, the stupidity of the savage could be converted only too easily by caprice into fiercely inhuman passion. Civilization indeed had much to offer, having the supreme merit of preserving that "most powerful support of social order, the free and innocent intercourse of the sexes", so disastrously lacking both in Islam and in the negro systems of polygamy and domestic slavery, which reduced women to domestic chattels and conjugal affection to mere animal appetite; for Leyden, despite his fondness for waxing facetious over feminine loquacity, curiosity and skilful "management of the spleen and vapours", had the highest opinion of women as beings of superior humanity, who formed the source of man's "dearest happiness". 5

The white nations were responsible, however, for that most degrading traffic, the "detestable slave-trade", which Leyden condemned with a fervour worthy of a former student of Dr Thomas

1 Africa, pp. 99 & 103-7.
2 Leyden deals with Wadstrom (a Swede) and his Essay on Colonization (1794) in Africa, pp. 122-28.
3 Originator of the plan of colonization tried out at Sierra Leone with which Leyden dealt, not uncritically, ibid., pp. 176-203.
4 Gibbeting yourselves to immortality, 1.26:
5 Africa, pp. 13, 25, 74, 130, 224, 242, 253 & 311.
Hardie, whose Ecclesiastical History course included an indictment of slave-trading couched in "the strongest and most feeling" terms. Its evil effects were not confined to the unfortunate victims of the "atrocious outrages and incredible barbarities" practised by illiterate and dissolute traders, since by inducing a general insecurity and anarchy it intensified the complicated evils wrought by the "execrable practice of domestic slavery" and the inhuman, barbarous and bloody sacrificial 'customs' of Africa, rendering the inhabitants of areas adjoining slave-factories notably drunken, crafty, savage, selfish, unreasonable and, not unnaturally, suspicious of white men. Nevertheless, its large and easily-made profits appealed to the indolence and ferocity of rude tribes impatient of the slow processes and returns of agriculture and trade in raw materials, so that there were not lacking apologists who for the sake of gain excused their participation in the traffic on the "stale and silly pretext" that it would be carried on by others in any case; or who, like Adahoonzou, prince of Dahomey, sought to prove, with some address but with totally unsatisfactory and inconclusive arguments, that many ills attributed to the malign influence of the slave-trade were really due to such other causes as the character, situation and political requirements of the negro. That character indeed, with its ineradicable element of levity, varied in different districts, some nations being more fierce, wily and uncultivated than others, so that Dahomey could produce, in Guadja Trudo, "almost as good a conqueror as any Barbarian that was ever dignified with that appellation", who "waded to glory through seas of blood", displaying "a true belligerent insensibility" to the miseries of his own and every other people; but the negroes as a whole, although their passions, good and bad, were more violent, and their intellectual powers less highly trained, than those of Europeans, were certainly by no means incurably stupid, ignorant or wicked. So, quoting with approval Raynal's dictum that any supporter of slavery deserved from the philosopher the deepest contempt, and from the negro a stab of his dagger, Leyden rejected indignantly the suggestion that slave-trading was rendered the less culpable by the supposed brutishness of its victims, and pointed out emphatically the very great damage done by such defamation of character which enabled the supporters of slavery to cite in their own defence those very propensities fostered by the slave-trade itself for the past two hundred years.

1 Robert Lundie to Rev. Cornelius Lundie, Jan. 17, 1792. (MS. 1675, NLS)
2 Africa, pp. 92-95 & 383-84.
3 Leyden quotes Adahoonzou's speech in Africa, pp. 378-83, as "an excellent specimen of Negro acuteness".
4 Africa, pp. 96-98 & 377.
5 Ibid., p. 175.
Having been produced with such haste that some material which had come to hand too late for inclusion in "the proper sheets" had to be inserted in the preface, the African Sketch bore traces of this hurry in such slips as typographical errors, a thirty-page mistake in pagination, and the apparent omission of the fifth chapter, as well as in the carelessness of Leyden's style, which partook of the looseness, repetition, and slack connection of ideas which Leyden had detected in Wadström's Essay on Colonization. Sentences and paragraphs tended to become long and disjointed, the temptation to digress on such topics as the "doctrine of fetiches" and the titular epithets of barbarous princes being never long resisted, and such diverse personages as Hafez and Tamerlane, Ossian and "the Irish, Gaelic and Welch bards", Frotho, King of Denmark and a Flemish painter who, from "the rancour of his ulcerated mind", gave his devils a peculiar expression of malice, being introduced with rather more freedom than discretion. Nevertheless, Leyden's illustrations and comments, if occasionally far-fetched or question-able, as in his assertion that the "fashions of dress admit of little variety, as they are defined by the human form", were always interesting, particularly in their reflection of his own personal-ity: his interest in philology, botany, mineralogy, zoology and geography, his delight in the "pleasure of lively and variegated conversation", his suspicion of masonic "mysticism and mummary", and especially his admiration for a courageous, manly, active and independent character and "stubborn serenity of soul", both in individuals like John Ledyard, "formed for dangers and daring", and the enterprising and versatile Frederick Hornemann, and in such peoples as the Eboops and the villagers of Kooma, with their "native benevolence and pastoral simplicity".

Leyden's own ardent fancy delighted in the outlandish names of African tribes—the Bullams, Bagoes, Timmaneys, Suzees, Nallos and Mandineyes, and in tales of "hosts whose arrows intercepted the sunbeams, of kings and leaders who judged of the numberless number of their soldiers by marching them over the trunk of a cedar, and only deemed their strength sufficient to take the field when such myriads had passed as to reduce the solid timber to impalpable dust", and of the royal halls of Dahomey, "built of skulls and..."
cross-bones, and moistened with the daily blood of new victims of tyranny. And he had the perception to select, and the ability to present graphically and sometimes poetically, material of popular interest: accounts of enormous serpents large enough to swallow a buffalo; of fatal arrows poisoned with the black juice of koona leaves; of magic rites, the terrors of Mumbo Jumbo and the secret societies of the Belli and Nessoge; of kingdoms abounding in gold, where elephants were tamed; of night-journeys when "the moon shone bright, and the deep silence of the woods was only interrupted by the howling of the wolves and hyaenas, that glided like shadows through the thickets"; and of burning wastes where all animal and vegetable life quickly succumbed to "the yellow breath of the simoom", so that only the shrieking of the wind, scattering the dead bodies of birds, broke "the dreadful repose of the desert".

It was indeed "not very difficult to compose an interesting work" on the plan of collecting, condensing and arranging the information on Africa "scattered over a wide surface of crude, superficial, inconsistent and desultory relations", great being "the delight of man to read of dangers past, and great... his curiosity to know the habits and customs of distant people"; and Leyden may be held to have succeeded in his design by producing both an entertaining book and one which at least to some extent performed, as he had hoped, "an acceptable service to men of literature, taste and philosophy" by helping to elucidate the early history of mankind by delineating opinions, manners and customs displaying "the simple and unmixed operation of those principles which, in civilized society, are always combined with extraneous circumstances". His Sketch, affording for only five shillings "a clear and lively abridgement" of much more expensive and less accessible works, was well received by the public, and reviewed on the whole approvingly, although not widely. Thomas Park, having amused himself during convalescence with Leyden's "valuable volume, and found in it" that luminous information" expected from Leyden's pen, made only one mild suggestion, that "a marginal explanation of many uncouth terms" would be an improvement in a second edition.

1 Scott, Memoir.
3 Africa, p.132: "In the Mahometan kingdom of Degombah, which abounds in gold, they tame the elephant".
4 Ibid., pp.115-21, 227-29, 262, 297 & 396. And cf. ibid., p.75, on how the land had "devoured its inhabitants" in Egypt and Barbary.
6 Africa, p.xi.
7 Thos Park to Dr Anderson, Jan.17, 1800. (Adv. MS. 22.3.11, N.L.S.) Park had had for two weeks a heavy cold which had deprived him of all inclination to open a book: "a symptom of real invalidism".
8 Ibid. Leyden revels in such terms as slatee, coffle & saphie.
and he expressed his favourable opinion of the book and its author in the Monthly Mirror for February, 1800, a friendly hand having preoccupied The European Magazine and London Review for that month with a statement that Leyden had succeeded in producing an instructive and entertaining work "containing a great quantity of information" at an unusually moderate price. 1 The Monthly Review, in a belated notice in April, 1801, criticised adversely only the lack of a map 3 and a certain want of profundity in Leyden's original observations; and the New London Review for March, 1800, although feeling that in forming his "perspicuous philosophical narrative" from a "crude, indigested and contradictory mass of superficial observations", Leyden was sometimes unconvincing in detail and not fully informed, found that his style, if occasionally careless and "infected with Scoticisms" and undignified expressions, was in general correct and vigorous, often rising to strength and elegance and never sinking into "tame mediocrity", so that, having praised the ardent manner in which he opposed the "nefarious traffic" of the slave trade "with energy, elegance and success", it concluded: "The descriptions are appropriate and characteristic; the vein of reflection is correct and judicious; the narration always perspicuous and interesting; and the delineation of character often executed with great felicity. The quantity of information condensed into a small size will render it acceptable to the philosophic and scientific reader; but not more so than the benevolence of sentiment which pervades the work to the friends of humanity." 4

There were also private commendations no less gratifying. Joseph Martin, an "ingenuous and good" 6 young London barrister, introduced to Dr Anderson and his circle by a letter from George Dyer during an enjoyable though solitary pedestrian tour of Scotland in the autumn of 1798, 7 had since then remembered Leyden, inter alios, with sincere regard; 8 and now, learning from Dyer that he was obliged to Leyden's "friendly remembrance" for a copy of the anonymous Africa, he expressed satisfaction both with Leyden's views on the detestable slave-trade - "As I should expect he fights on the Side of Liberty" - and with what he had so far seen of the work in general: "I like it much it is entertaining and conveys great Information." 9 James Forster, too, a graduate of Trinity

1 Thos. Park to Dr Anderson, Jan. 17, 1800.
2 The European Magazine, Vol. 37, p. 139.
3 An omission noted also by the European Mag., loc. cit.
4 Cf. Leyden to Logan, Jan. 21, 1798: "... I am always perspicuous when I write." (See p. 139 sup.)
6 Dyer to Anderson, Aug. 3, 1798.
7 Ibid.; & Martin to Anderson, Jan. 8, 1800, (Adv. MS. 22.4.12.)
8 Martin to Anderson, July 26, 1802. (Ibid.)
9 Martin to Anderson, Jan. 8, 1800, enclosing a letter for Leyden.
195.

College, Cambridge, now overburdened by his work as a Customs official, had been similarly received by Anderson in Edinburgh in the summer of 1799, being introduced by a letter from his old friend Thomas Park; and having then felt much admiration for Leyden's brilliant talents and a sincere respect for his "literary and moral acquirements," he was pleased to receive through Park the very acceptable present of a copy of Africa, which would form "the mentis pabulum of his Christmas Holidays"; being perused with much gratification, so that Forster's gratitude for Leyden's gift was expressed "in the most handsome terms" two months later.-

"I have read it with much entertainment and I hope instruction the moral sentiments with which it universally abounds are mainly noble & dignified - & I am particularly charm'd with those interesting passages which so strongly recommend that humanity, amelioration and intellectual culture which should always accompany the lucrative motives of colonization. - The great national scandal, the Slave Trade, is deplored with the honorable feelings of a Man and chastised with the dignity of a Philosophical Censor - 'tis by illuminating the human mind gradatim, sometimes by the still and amiable persuasions of the Moralist, and sometimes by the magisterial voice of the Philosopher ex cathedra, this important cause will eventually be carried. - the numerous sources from which friend Leyden has selected his materials evince his extreme industry - with an even felicitous style which neither descends below the gravity of historic narration, nor affectedly essays to soar above it - the reader is lead [sic] from chapter to chapter with pleasing sollicitude... the manuscript memorandum on the Title page records a friendship, which will flatter my pride while I live - and do me honour with those who shall obtain ye future possession of ye volume."

In Ireland, the antiquary Joseph Cooper Walker, who had a high opinion of Leyden's critical and biographical talents, was exceedingly "amused" by this "admirable production", in which the facts were "judiciously chosen, - the arrangement clear, - the reflections deep and just, - and the style excellent"; and in India, over ten years later, Lieut. Francis Irvine (a member, like Leyden, of the Bombay Literary Society) found that, although he disagreed with Leyden's writing of the "nature of rude men and the like" as if all savage peoples necessarily resembled one another in any given point of moral character, he could say of the book as a whole: "Your little work on Africa is good. I have read it once but must read it again." A German translation appeared

1 He hoped to have more leisure on "entering upon a new department...called the India-Corps" at the start of 1800.
2 Park to Anderson, May 31, 1799. (Adv. MS. 22.4.10.)
3 Forster to Anderson, Aug. 22, 1799. (Adv. MS. 22.3.11.)
4 Park to Anderson, Jan. 17, 1800. 5 Park to Anderson, Jan. 27, 1800.
8 Walker to Anderson, Apr. 14, 1803. (Adv. MS. 22.4.15.)
10 Walker to Anderson, May 15, 1800. 11 Irvine to Leyden, Dec. 1, 1810.
at Bremen in 1802;\(^1\) Johann Gottfried Eichhorn numbered it among the most valuable sources for the African part of his Geschichte der drei letzten Jahrhunderte;\(^2\) and Boucher de la Richarderie praised it warmly in his Bibliothèque universelle des voyages, as "un récit fidèle et très-détailé", giving "une description exacte des pays, de leurs productions, des diverses peuplades... et des aventures des voyageurs..."\(^3\) All in all, Africa succeeded sufficiently, despite the defects due mainly to its hasty production, to make Longman and Rees offer Leyden £100 for an extension of the work into two octavo volumes of five hundred pages each\(^4\); and although Leyden, despite considerable labour and confident expectation, never completed this projected History, there eventually appeared in 1817 two volumes generously entitled

"Historical Account of discoveries and travels in Africa, by the late John Leyden M.D., enlarged, and completed to the present time, with illustrations of its geography and natural history, as well as of the moral and social condition of its inhabitants. By Hugh Murray, Esq. F.R.S.E."\(^5\)

The exhilaration of successful authorship did not tempt Leyden, however, to neglect the medical studies which he had come to regard, despite their comparative uncongeniality, as a second string to his bow, should he fail (as began to seem probable) to gain preferment in the church.\(^6\) Having already attended in successive years the classes of Chemistry, Botany, Anatomy and Surgery, as well as that of Natural History,\(^7\) Leyden now set himself to study in one session, together with Midwifery, all the other essentials of a full medical course: Materia Medica, the Theory and the Practice of Medicine, and Clinical Medicine, as lectured on, at the Royal Infirmary,\(^8\) by James Russell, permanent Consulting Surgeon there,\(^9\) who became the first occupant of the Chair of Clinical Surgery set up in 1803. Alexander Hamilton, a "man of war, unflinching in support of his opinions", had made himself, in his twenty years' tenure of his Chair, the first Edinburgh professor of midwifery whose name was known to the outside world;\(^10\) and on his retirement in 1800 he found in his own

1. Historische und philosophische Skizze der Entdeckungen und Nie-
derlassungen der Europäer in Nord- und-West Afrika...
2. 2nd ed., Göttingen, 1806, in 6 volumes.
5. Printed by Geo. Ramsay & Co. for Archd Constable & Co., & Long-
:man, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown; Edin.. 1817. See pp.
6. The idea that Leyden "much preferred science to theology, and medical science to any other kind" (Emily Hahn, Raffles of Sing-
apore, p.39) is inaccurate. 7. 1796-1798, the class of Nat. Hist. (not an essential subject) being attended twice.
8. Midwifery became compulsory only in 1828.
9. He had thus to lecture on other surgeons' cases. 10. Grant, op.
cit., II, p.16.
son and assistant, James, a brilliant and contentious successor, resembling himself both in character and appearance.

Francis Home, too, after thirty years in the Chair of Materia Medica, had resigned it in 1798 to his son James, who was to raise it, in the next twenty-three years, to a height of prosperity never surpassed. Andrew Duncan, primus, a liberal-minded man with a talent for initiating such commendable enterprises as the Harveian Society, was similarly to hand over his Chair of the Institutes of Medicine to his son, Andrew Duncan, secundus, in 1819; but as yet he was in the midst of his career (begun in 1790 after fifteen years of highly successful extra-mural lecturing) as a "respectable and respected" professor, benevolent enough to entertain his students in batches of twenty or thirty to "a dull enough tea and talk party" held in his house every Sunday evening of the session.

And the formidable James Gregory, Duncan's predecessor before succeeding William Cullen as Professor of the Practice of Physic in 1790, was inspiring his students, in his singularly captivating lectures, to feel that they were to be masters over nature in all acute diseases; for Gregory, large, powerful and handsome, fought against disease as energetically as he wrangled with his colleague propagating such sharp and incisive methods of cure as free blood-letting with such success that Gregorian physic, numbering John Leyden among its exponents, came to rule medical practice for many years in the British Isles and Empire. As he had not gone through the formality of taking his degree in Arts, so Leyden did not undergo, on completing this course, the series of trials prescribed for candidates for the M.D. degree at Edinburgh, but instruction by men so notable both for force of character and for professional abilities must have facilitated his task in the revision of his knowledge of medicine dictated by circumstances two years later, in preparation for going to India.

The autumn of 1799 saw also a widening and deepening of Leyden's social and literary life, following on his meeting, under the hospitable roof of Dr Robert Anderson, with Richard Heber, 1

1 Grant, op.cit., II, pp.416-17. James Grant held this Chair until 1839. 2 Ibid., II, p.424. James Home increased the number of his students from an average of 50 to over 300. 3 Ibid., II, pp.406-7, quoting Christison on the tea-parties. 4 Ibid., II, p.405. Gregory (b.1753), who was succeeded by James Home in 1821, produced not only an admirable Conspectus Medicinae Theoreticae (1788) but also a Theory of the Goods of Verbs (1787) & 2 volumes of Literary & Philosophical Essays (1792). 5 See pp. 6 Leyden to Anderson, Apr. 5, 1803, disposing of various claims made by Archd Constable, wrote: "Heber, I met first with you, though I believe he says I met him in his shop" :- an error perpetuated by Lockhart's often-quoted account (op.cit., II, p.55).
"the fiercest and strongest of all the bibliomaniacs", an M.A. of Brasenose College, Oxford, and a young man whose "gentlemanly manners and extensive literary attainments" rendered him altogether "a most desirable companion to any man of letters". Heber, as heir to much landed property in Yorkshire and Shropshire, had the good fortune to possess ample means for indulging his fondness for classical and mediaeval studies and his consuming passion for buying books, with special reference to everything "useful or curious in the department of belles lettres"; and this passion he was now gratifying, during a tour of Scotland, by remaining rather longer than he had intended in Edinburgh, frequenting such pleasant haunts as the Advocates' Library and the shop stocked with "scarce old books" opened four years earlier in the High Street by the enterprising Archibald Constable. Some of the bibliographical treasures sought indeed eluded him; but, being unfailingly ardent and assiduous in "the accumulation of black-letter lore", he accomplished by the end of November the chief object of his journey northward, having amassed a great number of out of the way books, to which John Leyden was to add one by consenting to him on March 5 his MS. volume of Pastoral Ballads, recovered from Alexander Campbell for Heber's perusal in December. In Leyden, with whom he quickly became intimate, and who was to rely on him as one of the most confidential of all his friends, Heber found an enthusiastic associate, two years his junior, whose ardour in the pursuit of knowledge fully equalled his own, and who would "willingly sit up night after night to collate editions and to note various readings"; and he lost no time in introducing Leyden to the polished literary circle in which he himself moved. Some of its members Leyden already knew, notably Prof. Andrew Dalzel, who found Heber "a great treasure" and derived much pleasure and instruction from his bibliographical skill and "truly classical conversation"; but there were also such "literary gentlemen" as the kind, amiable and accomplished Alexander Fraser Tytler, Professor of Universal Civil History at

1 Thos Campbell to Mrs Archd Fletcher, Dec. 24, 1815; quoted by Beattie, op. cit., II, p. 305.
2 Thos Park to Dr Anderson, Dec. 5, 1799. (Adv. MS. 22.3.11.)
3 And. Dalzel to Dr Matthew Raine, Nov. 22, 1799; quoted by Reith, op. cit., p. 99. Dalzel had introduced Heber to Dalzel by letter.
4 Interpreted by rivals as 'scarce o' books'. (Archd Constable, Autobiography; quoted by Thos Constable, op. cit., I, p. 20.)
5 E.B. Neuer was much mortified at missing a sight of some Drummond of Hawthornden papers, buried among the chaotic MSS. of the Society of Antiquaries. (Anderson to Park, Nov. 16, 1799.)
6 Park to Anderson, Nov. 9, 1801. (Adv. MS. 22.4.18.)
9 Scott, Journal for Aug. 6, 1826; quoted by Lockhart, VIII, p. 387.
Edinburgh, and owner of the Pentland estate of "haunted Woodhouselee", from which he was to take his judicial title as a Lord of Session, and in the adornment of which he found unfailing satisfaction; William Craig, the upright and courteous judge with literary leanings, whose contributions to The Mirror had been second in number only to those of Henry Mackenzie; Mackenzie himself, the urbane and sagacious 'Man of feeling', whose excellent conversation, agreeable family and good evening parties made his house one of the pleasantest in Edinburgh; and, of Leyden's own generation, the witty Sydney Smith, with his "genius for the grotesque" and hostility to pomposity and pretension, who was then sojourning in Edinburgh as tutor to the son of Michael Hicks Beach of Nether Avon, Wiltshire. From the Tylters Leyden was to receive consistently "friendly and flattering attentions"; Smith came to think so well of Leyden's poetry that he considered his sonnet On the Sabbath morning (which indeed "deserves a place in anthologies") one of the most beautiful in the language, and so highly of Leyden himself that he lent him forty pounds on his departure for India; and in the Mackenzie household Leyden became sufficiently intimate to address a set of amatory verses to the eldest daughter, Margaret, a most amiable young lady possessed of "beauty of a peculiarly elegant kind, perfect good breeding, fine taste and gentle manners", whose graces of person, mind and temper Leyden extolled with more fervour than spontaneity:

So sweet thy features, void of art,
So fair thy form, thy mien so free,
I'll wear thine image in my heart,
And love thee, though thou love not me. 12

More significant still was Heber's introduction of Leyden to Walter Scott, the young advocate of literary interests and martial zeal in whom Leyden found both "a kindred mind and kindred studies" and the promise of future greatness and who, for all his perception of Leyden's defects and peculiarities...
of manner, not only admired Leyden's soaring independence of spirit, genius and goodness of heart, but came to regard him with a warm and affectionate friendship which indeed resembled "an elder brother's love". Both were whole-hearted enthusiasts for "ballad, romance and border antiquities"; and Scott, who had already noted with approval the verses published in the Edinburgh Magazine by J.L. Banks of the Teviot, soon enlisted their author's talents in the service of that collection of "marvellous Ballade" ancient and modern for which Matthew Gregory Lewis, then still "lord of the ascendant" in the style of German diablerie, had been "beating up in all quarters" for the past two years, and which was to appear at long last, metamorphosed from Tales of Terror to Tales of Wonder, in 1801. Scott, labouring more or less assiduously in Lewis's cause, had already made acceptable contributions to this "hobgoblin repast", which required a ghost or a witch as "a sine-qui-non ingredient" in all its dishes; but by the end of 1799, Lewis, being still "in terrible want of a Cloud-King [and] a Fire-King" to complete his "stock of horribles" on the elemental kings of The Monk, appealed to Scott: "If you will not help me yourself, can you not prevail on some of your acquaintance?" Scott did both, so that by the start of February, 1800, Lewis was thanking him both for his own ballad of The Fire-King (commended as "very pretty; although not conformable to The Monk's 'Will o' the Wisp' conception) and for an extract from John Leyden's verses on the Cloud King (perhaps written at the same time as The Fire-King, composed while Scott was sitting with Leyden and another friend (most likely Richard Heber) and circulating the wine-bottle). Lewis was on the whole so much pleased by this specimen as to declare that he would be very much obliged for the rest of the poem; but, finding it incongruous that a wicked spirit having "nothing to do with heaven except to deface it with Storms" should boast a pair of pale blue wings, he insisted that these should be altered to the "sable pinions" of the Cloud King in The Monk. On receiving the whole poem in a little over a fortnight, Scott emphasized these in his Memoir of Leyden in what the Rev. Andrew Thomson considered an "abominable" and discreditable way which proved that Scott was "destitute alike of religious principle and good moral feeling". (Thomson to R. Lundie, Jan. 20, 1814.)

1 Scott to Heber, April 5, 1800. (Cent. Ed., XII, p. 158.)
2 Erskine, op. cit. 4 Leyden, Scenes of Infancy, pt. II, p. 536.
3 Scott, Memoir. 5 Lewis to Scott, Dec. 31, 1799. (MS. 3874, N. L. S.)
5 The name was changed by April, 1800. Cf.
6 Lewis to Scott, Dec. 31, 1799. (MS. 3874.)
7 Ambrose, or the Monk, Lond. 1785.
8 Lewis to Scott, Feb. 3, 1800. (MS. 3874.)
9 Scott, On imitations of the ancient ballad, Appendix: M. S. B., IV, 5.
however, he was forced, although thinking "a great deal of it extremely good indeed", to renew his objection to the obstinately blue wings, quoting some stanzas of his own on the subject by way of contrast and example; but at the same time, perhaps realizing that his northern recruits were not easily disciplined, he suggested, as an alternative to blackening the wings, that, with Leyden's permission, their possessor might be transformed into 'The Elfin-King': a character in perfect accord with the peculiarly Scottish atmosphere of Leyden's verses, and one who might with propriety have wings of any colour. For the rest, Lewis was exceedingly pleased with the ballad, and "obliged to Mr Leyden for its communication", as he might well be, as it abounded in such dramatic and supernatural features as the contrast between the 'spell-proof St Clair, protected by the holy trefoil on his falchion arm, and the deluded Sir Geoffry [sic] who fondly declared:

-No Elfin-King, with azure wing,
On the dark brown moor I see;
But a courser keen, and a Knight in Green,
And full fair I ween is he';

the warning of the "grizzly wight", once mortal but now "an Elfin gray", against joining the "morrice of the dead" in their "weeds of watchet blue", or quaffing the heather-ale that never shrank in the ruby-studded goblet; the "glimpse of rest" granted the unblest spirits (now dwindled to the "elritch dwarfy size") at the knell of the matin bell before dawn, when "the black monks wend to pray"

The sigh of the trees and the rush of the breeze
Then pause on the lonely hill;
And the frost of the dead clings round their head,
And they slumber cold and still;

and St Clair's perilous task of rescuing his friend by bearing the magic goblet silently across the unhallowed ground within the green circles of enchanted grass:

The knight took up the emerald cup,
And the raven hoarse did scream,
And the shuddering Elfins half rose up,
And murmur'd in their dream...

With panting breast as he forward press'd,
He trode on a mangled head;
And the skull did scream, and the voice did seem
The voice of his mother dead.

1 Lewis had already (Feb. 3, 1800) quoted to Scott some stanzas of a new ballad of his own on all four "elementary Spirits", including two stanzas on the Cloud King, which he asked Scott not to let Leyden "by accident pop...into his ballad".

2 Scott, On imitations of the ancient ballad, M.S.B., IV, p. 48.

3 Or, the Elfin-King, which, Lewis observed, would "do equally well for the metre". (Lewis to Scott, Feb. 20, 1800.)

4 Lewis to Scott, Feb. 20, 1800. (MS. 3874.)

5 Lewis particularly liked this phrase, though he disliked the description of the maidens lifting their limbs in the dance like stony statues all".
He shuddering trode;— on the great name of God
He thought,— but he nought did say;
And the green-sward did shrink as about to sink,
And loud laugh'd the Elfin gray.
And loud did resound o'er the unbless'd ground
The wings of the blue Elf-King;
And the ghostly crew to reach him flew;—
But he cross'd the charmed ring.
The morning was gray, and dying away
Was the sound of the matin bell;
And far to the west the Fays—that ne'er rest
Fled where the moon-beams fell...
And that cup so rare, which the brave St Clair
Did bear from the ghostly crew,
Was suddenly chang'd from the emerald fair
To the ragged whinstone blue;
And instead of the ale that mantled there,  
Was the murky midnight dew.

Nor had Leyden apparently any objection to the proposed change of the spirit's identity, since when Tales of Wonder at last appeared at the start of 1801, the Cloud King was dealt with after all by Lewis's own facetious hand, while Leyden's Elfin King, alias 'The Knight in Green', ranged in undenigrated splendour:

His locks are bright as the streamer's light,
His cheeks like the rose's hue;
The Elfin-King, like the merlin's wing
Are his pinions of glossy blue...
And light and fair are the fields of air,
Where he wanders to and fro;
Still doom'd to fleet from the regions of heat
To the realms of endless snow.

The Tales, indeed, like most long-promised works, disappointed expectation, overstocking the market, as Scott had feared, and being stigmatized as 'Tales of Plunder', so that Scott was keen to have it known that he had done no more than provide Lewis with gratuitous contributions;— which indeed escaped the general censure, as Leyden's single offering probably did also; but by then Scott and Leyden had in hand the far more rewarding and significant task of compiling on their own account that collection of ballads which was to be known, despite Leyden's disapproval of the title, as The Minstrelsye of the Scottish Border.

1 Altered from 'throng' by Lewis on the ground that 'throng that never rest' was 'not English' grammatically.
2 The Elfin King appeared in this form with his train on the moor at "every seven years' end". Cf. Tam Lin. — And cf. Scott's lines on "the vengeful Elfin King". Introd. to Marmion, C.VI, 11.164-67.
3 Tales of Wonder, I, pp. 214-25. — Margaret Maclean Clephane & her mother (to Scott, Feb. 12, 1812) set this poem to music. (MS. 332.)
4 Scott to Heber, Apr. 5, 1800. — Several of the pieces had lately been published elsewhere. 6 Scott to Ellis, Mar. 27, 1801.
5 Scott, On imitations... His 5 contributions included Glenfinlas, The Eve of St John, The Wild Huntsman, & Frederick & Alice.
6 Cf. Maudie's report of Byron's opinion. See p. inf.
7 He thought this title affected. See
At present, being still, despite these new connections, a member of Dr Anderson's circle, Leyden found himself involved in a contention, more serious and unpleasant than that concerning the Literary Society's fate a year before, which affected him both as a member of that circle and as a probationer of the Church of Scotland. Among the most talented and ambitious of Dr Anderson's protégés was Thomas Campbell, Glaswegian by birth and academic training, but resident in Edinburgh since the autumn of 1797, and celebrated since the early summer of 1799 as the author of The Pleasures of Hope. Campbell did not indeed form a lasting friendship with any of his Heriot's Green acquaintances, most of whom were "superior to himself, not in poetical genius, but in acquired knowledge"; but he saw a good deal of them, and no doubt profited by this intercourse with a group of young men whose range of studies was unusually wide and whose zeal for discussion infinite. Being a classical scholar, a poet and a liberal in politics, Campbell had much in common with John Leyden, whom he had first met while visiting Edinburgh in the summer of 1797, and Leyden, the senior by almost two years, had shown a friendly interest in The Pleasures of Hope, taking pains to prevent the appearance of a hostile review in the Edinburgh Magazine, and hastening to bring Campbell news of the poem's early success in winning Dr James Gregory's enthusiastic approval. It was to Leyden, too, that Campbell was to owe his introduction to Scott, from whom he received "much frank and judicious counsel" on his literary projects. But Campbell, being possessed of a proud and moody temper which made him, on his own confession, too often "irritable, petulant and overbearing", especially in his hot-headed youth, was "not the most engaging of all imaginable characters... nor by any means the most perfect", being in fact a highly "impracticable subject," and in the winter of 1799 there took place between him and several

1 Campbell attended Glasgow University, 1791-96, coming to Edinburgh to study medicine in the autumn of 1797 & remaining there basically, until going to London early in 1803.
2 Published April 1799, in Campbell's 22nd year, & gratefully dedicated to Dr Anderson, the poem gave Campbell "a general acquaintance in Edinburgh" by its success. (Beattie, op.cit.,I,p.254)
3 David Irving, quoted by Beattie, ibid.,I,p.244.
4 Campbell ended a letter to Dr Anderson, Aug.10,1797,"With compts. to Messrs Ritchie & Leyden".(Adv.MS.22.4.11, N.L.S.)
5 Cf.Leyden to Dr James Brown, Dec.23,1799, quoted on p.172 sup.
7 Ibid.,I,p.373; & Scott's Journal for June 29,1826.
8 Ibid.,op.cit.,III,p.255, quoting Campbell's own words.— And R.A.Davenport told Dr Anderson, Dec.16,1803, "how heartily he despaired Campbell's "scuffling, squabbling, contentious temper".
9 Francis Jeffrey to Miss Jane Campbell, 1798.
10 Robert Jamieson to Scott, Nov.10,1805. (MS.3875.)
of his associates, including John Leyden, a rupture of which Leyden gave Dr James Brown a full and indignant account.

"Apropos of the 'Pleasures of Hope'; we (i.e., Drs Anderson, Brown, &c, & myself) have had a very serious quarrel with the author, which introduces likewise the history of the 'Clerical Review'. Mr Campbell had been accustomed, without our knowledge, to visit and associate with various young men of infidel principles, which abound, as I understand, in Glasgow. Mr W—, a printer here whose character you probably know, if a man totally devoid of character can be said to have any..., like another Hercules, resolved to destroy the hydra of superstition, i.e., religion, and for this purpose engaged his Atheistic associates in the scheme of the 'Clerical Review'. In this vile publication, most unfortunately, Mr. Campbell was engaged; and the rascal W— dexterously took advantage of his (Campbell's) connection with us to insinuate all over the town that Dr. Anderson was the conductor, and his friends, especially myself, the authors. The ministers admitted all this very currently. We, who had always believed it to be a scheme of the enthusiasts, and expressed our contempt of it, and declared that we would destroy it if no others would, were surprised to hear that we were ourselves the chief objects of suspicion. I waited on Dr. Finlayson in no very complaisant mood and with some acrimony evinced that we had no connection with it. Dr. Anderson and myself were mentioned before the Presbytery as the authors, but Dr Finlayson opposed the supposition. Meanwhile the ministers got upon the right scent, and then the scoundrel W— came forward and delivered up his associates, among whom was Mr Robertson of one of our chapels of Ease, who has a chance to suffer most by the exhibition. We all resented indignantly the conduct of Campbell; he attempted to explain [it] away, but I cannot say that he has succeeded entirely to my satisfaction. But my only concern in the 'Clerical Review' was the discovery of the authors."

The Edinburgh Clerical Review; or, Weekly Report of the different Sermons preached every Sunday by the Established Clergy of Edinburgh. Drawn up by a Society of Gentlemen, and edited by Andrew Oswald, a law clerk with literary ambitions, was a fugitive and evanescent publication, which ran to only two numbers, each comprising two sheets, and dealing respectively with sermons preached on November 10 and November 17,1799. Whatever "insidious designs might be imputed to the projector, or to some of his associates," the actual reports, which inclined rather to leniency than to severity, contained "no statement or insinuation exhibiting the slightest tendency to confirm" Leyden's strictures; and it seems likely that these strictures were rendered somewhat over vehement

1 Thomas Brown, one of Campbell's earliest friends in Edinburgh.
2 The University of Edinburgh, and John Leyden himself, had not escaped the suspicion of having similar principles.
3 Dr James Finlayson, Leyden's early mentor. Cf. pp.42-43 sup. — Neither Leyden's name nor Anderson's appears in the Presbytery record of the inquiry into the Clerical Review in December, 1799.
4 Rev. Joseph Robertson, minister of the Chapel of Ease in Leith Wynd from 1792 till 1818. when he was banished for life.
5 Leyden to James Brown, Dec.23,1799.
6 Campbell contributed also to a 'New Geographical Grammar &c, by a society of gentlemen,1799. Irving, quoted Hanna, 1,p.465.
by Leyden's uneasy recollection of his own less orthodox days.

Much would have depended, indeed, on the character and views of the "three critics placed in every church in town" who were to provide the reports; but the Review perished before it became openly anti-clerical, since, the Presbytery of Edinburgh being hostile and the general temper of the "arbitrary and iniquitous times" unfavourable to the expression of any sort of potentially subversive opinion, it was deemed prudent to discontinue a publication which excited so much alarm and which "no exertion could have rendered profitable" in any case.

This explanation by Leyden of his breach with Campbell, which David Irving was later to endorse as substantially correct and in agreement with the version heard by himself when the events were recent, differed entirely from Campbell's account. According to the latter, of which Irving for one had "never heard the slightest surmise" in Campbell's lifetime, Campbell, being irritated by the prevalence of a rumour that he had been prevented from committing suicide only by the intervention of Dr. Anderson, took some pains to discover the author of the story:

"After some difficulty I found that it originated with John Leyden. I taxed him with it. He denied it; but there was the clearest evidence that I had discovered the real source. The consequence was, that I dropped his acquaintance, and this was the origin of the 'feud' between us."

Campbell doubtless preferred to feel that he and not John Leyden was the injured party; and each account may indeed represent its author's real belief, although the balance of probability would seem to lie with Leyden. In any event, the subsequent feud, being taken up and carefully maintained by both parties, kept them "at a kind of variance", so that by the start of 1802 Walter Scott, having invited the "hero of Copenhagen" to dinner to meet Leyden and Campbell, felt that if he could keep his two poets from disputing he would indeed be "cleverer than Gil Blas". Leyden certainly did not hesitate to express on occasion doubts both of the wisdom of Campbell's general conduct and of the merits of some of his poems, informing William Erskine when Campbell was abroad:

"Campbell is at Altona and means to press to [?Buda], but as he is so thoughtless as to embarrass himself wherever he is,

1 Thos Chalmers to Wm Berry Shaw, Nov. 8, 1799, asking "What think you of the Clerical Review?"; quoted by Hanna, op. cit., I, p. 39.
2 David Irving, quoted by Hanna, op. cit., I, p. 469.
3 Campbell, quoted by Beattie, op. cit., I, p. 246, who gives the passage "as nearly as possible in the words of Campbell - softening only one or two expressions of indignation at the calumny.
5 Probably Capt. James Murray.
6 Scott to Lady Anne Hamilton, Jan. 21, 1802."
in the same manner as formerly - the consequences are to be
dreaded. I disagree very much with your opinion of Wallace, though I admire his Hungarian War Song and Verses on Suicide. The Danish inscription is flat, but Wallace is the worst of his productions in my opinion. The two parts of which it is composed seem quite unconnected.

Nor did Campbell lose any opportunity of waxing sarcastic over Leyden's pretensions, so that Leyden, when in London in 1803, was disconcerted to encounter Campbell's misrepresentations of him so far from home. Nevertheless, there yet existed some degree of mutual appreciation and well-wishing; for Campbell, on hearing at Altona an erroneous report that Leyden had "got a church", expressed pleasure at the circumstance, adding "My best wishes attend him, for all his crankishness of character". And on hearing Scott repeat Hohenlinden, Leyden was prompt in forceful commendation: "Dash it, man, tell the fellow that I hate him; -but, dash him, he has written the finest verses that have been published these fifty years"; - to which Campbell replied with equal frankness: "Tell Leyden that I detest him, but I know the value of his critical approbation". Leyden himself did not hesitate to recite Campbell's verse appreciatively to others; for being with Alexander Murray in Archibald Constable's house at the Calton Hill on a winter evening in 1802, he there repeated to Murray a part of Lochiel's Warning, adding the emphatic tribute to its author: "That fellow, after all we may say, is king of us all, and has the genuine root of the matter in him". So it was not unfitting that in after years a set of verses (unfortunately remarkably bad) entitled Lament for Dr John Leyden, who died in Java, should be sung to the air of Thomas Campbell's extremely popular The Wounded Hussar.

His 'African Sketch' safely published, and his work for the Minstrelsy just beginning, Leyden had undertaken, by the end of 1799, to edit with notes and glossary "that scarce curious Scotch classic The Complaint of Scotland": a task to which he brought a

1 Campbell did not go on to Budapest, but left the Continent in March, 1801, having run very short of money while in Germany.
2 Campbell's Dirge of Wallace, which had 12 introductory lines, some times omitted. Leyden also wrote a Song of Wallace in 7 anapestic quatrains, which appeared in The Spy, No. XXI, p.168, & was reprinted in Scottish Notes & Queries, Vol. VIII, p.60 (2nd ser.).
3 Possibly the same as (5).
4 Possibly The Name unknown. 5 Leyden to Erskine, Jan. 14, 1801.
6 Campbell to Anderson, Nov. 14, 1800.
7 Leyden to Scott, Jan. 29, 1803.
8 Campbell to Anderson, Nov. 14, 1800.
11 Alex. Murray to Archd. Constable, Feb. 7, 1812.
12 John Gordon Barbour, Tributes to the Scottish Genius, pp. 85-86.
singly apposite union of scrupulous regard for textual accuracy and a familiar and life-long acquaintance with the southern Scottish dialect in which the Complaynt was written. Thirty years before, the accurate and judicious Lord Hailes had remarked that, if the study of Scottish history should ever revive, a new edition of this mid-sixteenth century tractate on the state of Scotland would prove "an acceptable present to the public." John Pinkerton had declared his intention of republishing this "curious and classical" work, well written and fraught with great learning, from the slightly imperfect British Museum copy, but thereafter abandoned the plan on the ground of being "sufficiently disgusted with the barren field of Scotch history and antiquities; in which the greatest labours have been repaid not only with ingratitude but with calumny." So it was left to John Leyden to produce a limited edition of this "diffuse and comprehensive" treatise at the suggestion of Richard Heber and under the auspices of Archibald Constable, that connoisseur of "curious books and their curious buyers", whose favourite hobby was the preservation of Scotland's literature.

Of the four extant copies of the Complaynt, Leyden used constantly those belonging to the laborious George Paton and to John M'Gowan, the Edinburgh book-collector, having unfortunately no access to the Duke of Roxburgh's copy, the best of the four. Having confused the words 'Harleian' and 'Bodleian', Francis Jeffrey asked his friend Robert Morehead, then at Oxford, to copy exactly for Leyden's edition the title-page and first four pages, with any notes made by the collector, of the copy of the Complaynt which he believed to be in the Bodleian Library, and although this proved impossible, the copy in question having actually passed from Robert Harley's library to the British Museum, Morehead, who had the utmost respect for Leyden's "sturdy independence of intellect" which reached "infinitely beyond those creeping spirits that can never unshackle themselves from the leading-strings of their teachers", was gratifyingly ready with his help.
assurance of help: "Your friend Leyden shall have all the assistance I can give him, and I shall feel as much pride in his work as the Clerk did who rang the bell when the parson preached a good sermon."1 Leyden did occasionally consult the British Museum copy, however, through "the polite assistance" 2 of Richard Heber, George Ellis and Thomas Park3; so that the three imperfect copies which he used were in some sort "completed from each other" by means of transcripts.2 And from them Leyden produced a text so carefully and faithfully edited as to form a highly creditable piece of scholarship,4 its few textual errors occurring mainly in the leaves which he had not himself seen, despite the "Ritsonian accuracy" with which Park at least had made his collation, so far as his "feeble sight could direct".5 Its accuracy enabled James Murray, seventy years later, to print his edition of the Complaynt from Leyden's text, collated and brought into conformity with the originals in the British Museum;4 for, although not quite fulfilling his intention of making his text correspond page for page with the original,6 and being obliged, for lack of a z type, to represent both "the y consonant and the common z" by the one letter z,7 Leyden was justified in claiming for his edition "the merit of scrupulous fidelity"2— the "first duty" indeed of an editor,8 but one that often disregarded in the general laxity of standards of literal accuracy.4 He was justly scornful of the contemporary tendency to modernize an older author's text both in spelling and style, so that obsolete words and phrases were very often replaced by commoner ones to the great injury of "the true and pithy original";9 but with all his respect for ancient authors, Leyden never forgot that "no ancient of them all is so old as common sense. So the frequently erroneous marginal quotations of classical writers, which illustrated no point of orthography or grammar, were silently emended;11 the punctuation, being unsystematic and generally wrong, was likewise "corrected when necessary" and the semicolon introduced on occasion,12 and as the preservation of an obvious.

1 Morehead to Jeffrey, March 4, 1800; quoted in Memorials of... Rev. Robert Morehead, ed. by Charles Morehead, p. 103. (Edin., 1875.)
2 Leyden, Prelim. Diss. p. 239. Murray, op. cit., pp. xlvii-ixn, points out the inexact use of 'completed' in this context.
3 Park helped especially when Heber was absent from London.
4 Murray, op. cit., pp. cxvi-vii. 5 Park to Anderson, Apr. 9, 1800, when he sent a proof-sheet and offered further assistance.
6 Murray, loc. cit., notes that it corresponds only roughly, especially at the start of chapters, from the large initial letter.
8 Ellis in British Critic, for July, 1802. 9 Leyden, Glossary, p. 348.
10 Leyden, Prelim. Diss. p. 290. 11 Murray also did this.
12 Park to Anderson, loc. cit., found the punctuation "false through-out & better disregarded."
typographical error seemed to Leyden "as flagrant a violation of common sense as the preservation of an inverted word or letter", such mistakes also were set right and an eight-page list of the original readings subjoined, the old orthography,"however barbarous or irregular", being retained in all other cases.1

This strictly edited text Leyden proposed to supplement by a preliminary dissertation ("a tough piece of antiquarian work")2, a glossary and "an examination of the style of the Complaynt with an essay on the history of the Scottish language"3 and the "origin:ation and distinctions" of its dialects.4 This examination, which Leyden was indeed particularly well fitted to make,5 was crushed out by the unexpected length of the dissertation, which became an elaborate treatise6 of 292 pages;7 but in the two remaining sections Leyden poured forth a profusion of antiquarian knowledge, showing an intimate, if not always strictly relevant, acquaintance with Scottish antiquities of every kind, and exhibiting a quite remarkable "extent of research, power of arrangement and facility of recollection".8 In the glossary, "without affecting to trace etymologies", he used his wide linguistic knowledge to adduce such synonyms from cognate languages, ranging from Gothic to Italian, as might tend to elucidate a word's origin or history, although in cases of difficulty he relied chiefly on his intimate acquaintance with the Scottish Border dialect, in which he had "often heard many words in common use" of which glossarists generally had not even attempted an explanation.9 By this means Leyden produced a glossary, since "largely used by others with and without acknowledgement"10, in which, successfully seeking to render it "in some degree amusing",9 he included more or less apposite quotations gleaned from his reading in romances and chronicles,11 in the poem of Alain Chartier, Chaucer, Thomas Occleve, Skelton, Minot, Sir David Lyndsay, Gavin Douglas and Alexander Montgomerie, and in

1 Leyden, Prelim. Diss. pp.289-90. Park to Anderson, Apr.9,1800, thought that some of the "unmeaningly barbarous" original orthography should be "ranked among the typographical errata", but gave "as Mr L.proposes, a faithful account of emendatory variations". (Adv. MS. 22. 4. 10.) Murray followed the same course.
2 Leyden to James Brown, Jan.13,1802. (MS.3432,N.L.S.)
3 Leyden, op. cit. p.289. It was perhaps for this that he studied the Act of James I mentioned in Malcolm's story. Cf. p. inf.
4 Leyden in the Scots Mag. for July,1802.
5 Murray, op. cit. p.cxvii. He felt this essay would have been a real gain to Scottish philology, divesting it of much nonsense.
6 Murray in the British Critic for July,1802.
7 It is separately paginated from the 384 pp.of text & glossary.
8 Scott, Memoir. 9 Leyden, Prelim. Diss. p.291.
10 Murray loc. cit.—Robert Chambers is much indebted to Leyden both in his Popular Rhymes of Scotland & The Scottish Songs: as is George Watson in The Roxburhshire Word Book(Cambridge,1923).
11 Cf. p. Inf.
such works as Thomas Rymer's *Foedera, conventiones, literae... inter reges Angliae*; 1 Joseph Strutt's *Horda Angel-cymman: or a compleat view of the manners, customs, arms, habits, etc., of the inhabitant of England;* 2 Joseph Ritson's, John Pinkerton's and James Watson's 3 collections of Scottish songs and poems, and the *Fragments of Scottish History* 4 of Sir John Graham Dalyell, who had offered to help Leyden in referring to the British Museum copy of the Com- playnt. 5 The University Library provided many of his sources, including histories of Scotland by Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, 6 Pinkerton, 7 and Andrew Stevenson 8 covering over three hundred years in all; one volume of Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry;* 9 one of "Irish Poetry," and one of "Ancient Songs." 10 three volumes of *Fabliaux-et Contes des Poètes François des 12,13,14 et 15 Siecles* published at Paris in 1756; the Geography of Eratosthenes, Philip Allwood's *Literary antiquities of Greece,* as developed in an attempt to ascertain principles for a new analysis of the Greek tongue, 11 and one of Gottlieb Christoph Harless's introductions to Latin or Greek; 12 Cornelis van Kiel's *Kilianus auctus, seu dictionarium Teutonico-Latino-Gallicum;* 13 Francis Grose's *Military antiquities respecting a history of the English army;* 14 and three works at first sight unconnected with sixteenth century Scotland, in *An account of the customs and manners of the Micmakis and Mari- cheets, savage nations, now dependent on the government of Cape Breton,* 15 David Doig's *Two letters on the savage state, addressed * to Lord Kaims, 16 and the younger Johann Bernoulli's *Description historique et géographique de l'Inde.* 17 And from this miscellaneous

1 20 vols., 1704-35. 2 London, 1775,1776.
2 A Choice Collection of comic and serious Scots poems, both anc-
3 cient and modern. 3 pts. Edin., 1706-11.
4 Dalyell's first work, published in 1798.
5 Dalyell to Constable, Oct. 28, 1800. (MS. 671, N. L. S.)
6 History of Scotland from 21 February, 1438, to March, 1565; contd by
7 History of Scotland from the accession of the House of Stuart to
that of Mary. 2 vols. Lond., 1797. Leyden borrowed vol. 2 twice
8 History of the Church & State of Scotland from the accession of
King Charles I to the restoration of King Charles II. 3 vols.,
Edin., 1753. Entered as 'Stevenson's works. 3 vols.'
10 Perhaps Pinkerton's or Lord Hailes's *Ancient Scottish Poems.*
11 Lond., 1799, with plates. 12 Entered simply as 'Harles
Introductio &c so that it might be Introductio in historiam
linguae Latinae (1764), the same for Greek (1773) or Introductio
in notitium litteraturæ Romanae (2 pts in 1,2nd ed., 1794, 1791). 
13 1642 ed. (in E.U. Lib.) has additions by L. Potter on the meaning of
proper names and the nomenclature of animals.
14 2 vols., 111., Lond., 1786-88. 15 'From an original French MS.
letter... by a French Abbot' Lond., 1758. Entered as 'An account
of savage nations'.
16 Lond., 1792.
reading came much curious information on such various topics as the prevalence of mermaids in the Eastern seas and their kinship with the sirens of antiquity; the ferocity of the Scandinavian berserkers, whose custom of consuming human flesh in their paroxysms of fury probably gave rise to the "romances of giants and etens, that devoured quick men"; the distinction between infang and outfang, terms both popular and forensic, which seemed in the Borders to have comprehended "all the different kinds of theft and reif"; the nature of such unpleasant-sounding diseases as warbles, meaths in the melt and ripples or king's evil, with cures involving mole's blood mixed with wine, or "those snayles which have noe domicilles;" and the use of ancient weapons ranging from crakys, a kind of small bomb or fire-ball, "the arms of fire mentioned in the Sanscrit Puranas" and used from time immemorial by Hindus and Chinese, to falcons and half-falcons, employed as reserves in naval engagements when the chief cannon were dismounted, culverines and nag-butts of a yard long, great "murdresaric" with barrels large enough to contain a "very corpulent man;" sakers "smaller than a demi-culverine, much employed in sieges," "paveis" or large shields to protect archers on ship-board, and the barbarous lime-pots from which powdered lime was scattered upon an enemy to leeward in a sea-fight. Often, too, such notes reflected Leyden's own experience, as when he dealt with rural subjects, explaining the terminology of sheep-rearing or the composition of flot quhaye, recalling country rhymes on the three harsh days borrowed from April by March, the popular derivation of 'To cry as if the kiln war on fire,' "the loves of the wren and oxee, the smallest birds in Scotland" the misfortune of the fieldfare which burned its feet "when it wished to domesticate with men like the robin-redbreast," the mysterious figure of "the gyre-carlin, the Queen of Fairies, the
great hag, Hecate, or mother-witch of the peasants, or the fate of the child whose spirit in the form of a bird whistled to his father, 'Pew-wew, pew-wew, My minny me slew'; and noting the names and cries of such real and mythical birds as the little "titlène" attendant on the cuckoo whose name is derived from its cry in almost every language, the bittern or moss-bull with its 'bullir' note; the ill-omened magpie—a less welcome sight to many an old woman than the Devil, "who bodes no more ill-luck than he brings", the carrion-crow with its "hoarse interrupted cry" of "varrok", and "the gorgoul and the graip, Twa feirfull fowls indeed", being the griffin and the gorgon. Leyden delighted in hanging long quotations mostly from manuscript sources, on the peg of a single word, illustrating forfayr (to miscarry or perish) by a curious passage from the Legend of Martha and Mary, lychtinis (cheerfulness, joy) by three pages of quotations with connecting summaries, from the Legend of the Death of Adam, and childehed (used for 'child-bed', if "not an error of the copyist") by four "extremely curious" pages from the Legend of St Mergrete, describing the saint's dealings with "a lothlich dragoun" and his brother, "a wel fouler thing" with hands on his knees and eyes on his toes, whose work was to harm new-born children or their mothers. And in his Preliminary Dissertation he made still more use of such illustrative quotations often bearing remotely enough on the immediate subject, but showing an unusually wide knowledge of early English and Scottish literature and, by giving specimens of works then available only in MSS. or rare editions, doing much to stimulate the formation of such Scottish printing clubs as the Bannatyne and Roxburghe societies.

Many of the desultory introductory remarks in this Dissertation might indeed have appeared more conveniently as notes; had not Leyden preferred a more continuous form as giving a more complete view of the subject, with a "concealed arrangement" of

1 Glossary, pp. 317-19, s.v. carl. Leyden's illustrations include 17 lines on 'Nicene' (or the gyre carlin) from Montgomerie, a tale of a mouse, a louse & little Rede, & a "witching" ghost story.
2 Ibid., p. 361. Leyden compared this nursery tale with M.G. Lewis's The Grim White Woman.
4 Ibid., p. 316, s.v. bullir, a bull's cry, or the rushing of water.
5 Ibid., p. 362.
6 Ibid., p. 380. Leyden noted also warrok, a work-beast, & virrok "a bony excrescence on the feet".
7 Ibid., p. 339, s.v. goulmaü (gull or cormorant). Leyden, quoting from Birrell's Passage of the Pilgrimer, took the 'gorgon' to represent probably the harpy.
8 Ibid., pp. 550-52, s.v. lychtinis, 'the lights or lungs, in common use.'
9 Ibid., pp. 508-12, s.v. bayrnis-bad. Leyden quoted again from this legend (Auchinleck MS., like the others), ibid., p. 366, s.v. reyme.
10 James Murray, op. cit., p. cxvii; cf. ibid., p. xxiii.
11 Pinkerton, in the Critical Review, loc. cit.
12 Leyden, Prelim. Dissert., p. 203.
topics arising naturally from the course of the work; but despite occasional slips, and a lack of sub-divisions which made Pinkerton declare that he would never again attempt to pervade the unbridged chaos of this "extremely tedious and prolix" dissertations "deadly pages;" Leyden's introduction contained "a world of curious re-search and information." Beginning with the vexed and perhaps now insoluble question of the Complaynt's authorship, Leyden rejected, as based on two contradictory assertions and "completely devoid of collateral evidence," the claims of Sir James Inglis and of one of the brothers Wedderburn, put forward respectively by Dr. George Mackenzie and the compilers of the Harleian catalogues, and upheld respectively by Lord Hailes and John Pinkerton. In the absence of external proof of authorship, Leyden had recourse to internal evidence; and, although well aware of the frequent futility and "fallacious nature of such speculations" and hardly expecting his remarks to produce conviction, he put forward, as an opinion early formed and fostered by "successive inquiries," the hypothesis that the "true patriot" who wrote the Complaynt was that favourite author of Leyden's boyhood, Sir David Lyndsay, whose works, along with the metrical histories of Wallace and Bruce, formed "a sort of popular classics" among the common people of Scotland. The "most ingenious arguments" with which Leyden supported this theory unfortunately tended everywhere to decide for the opposite side of the question; but, undaunted by Lyndsay's political and religious principles and transactions as a Protestant, pro-English layman and the Roman Catholic, Francophile and clerical position of the Complaynt, he proceeded, albeit with considerable diffidence, to elaborate an extensive and indeed very striking series of coincidences in form, style, manner and matter between the Complaynt and Lyndsay's poems. These he maintained, with his inveterate fondness for supporting a well-nigh untenable case, to be explicable only in the contrast between the political and religious principles and transactions of the Complaynt; he proceeded, albeit with considerable diffidence, to elaborate an extensive and indeed very striking series of coincidences in form, style, manner and matter between the Complaynt and Lyndsay's poems. There he maintained, with his inveterate fondness for supporting a well-nigh untenable case, to be explicable only in the contrast between

1 Leyden in the Scots Mag., July, 1802, where he admitted that his divisions might have been more numerous & their order clearer.
2 E.g. his "remarkable oversight" in referring the Complaynt's Bib- le references to the version of Junius, published 1550.
3 Pinkerton in the Brit. Rev., loc. cit. Leyden, Scots Mag., loc. cit., noted that Pinkerton had nevertheless made his way through this chaos with impunity "like the Devil of Milton".
4 Park to Anderson, Apr. 9, 1802. 5 Leyden, Prelim. Diss., p. 11-12.
6 Mackenzie, Lives of Scottish Writers, III, p. 42.
7 Catalogus BBL. Harleianae, 1742-45, I, No. 8, 371 & IV, No. 12, 070.
on the ground of common authorship; for, although admitting the
difficulty of making a detailed comparison between prose and verse
compositions, the language of the former being "so materially
different from that of poetry," and acknowledging that arguments
satisfying to himself might seem much less so to others, he yet
held that legitimate deductions might be made from the signific-
ant pattern of an author's thinking, marked by characteristic
associations of ideas and the recurrence of favourite topics, and
so much harder to disguise than mere verbal idiosyncrasy. The
title of the Complaynt, its author's apology for using "the domest-
ic Scottis langage", the quotation from Johann Carion's Cronicles
of a calculation of the world's duration, so introduced as to date
the author's own writing, the Complaynt's resemblance to Lyndsay's
Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis with its condemnation of the same
vices, abuses and discords, and to his Dreme, with a like union of
"sound advice and poignant satire with all the learning of the age
strong moral observation, and considerable powers of description";
and the similarity in plan, sources and illustrations between his
Monarche and the Complaynt's first five chapters on the reasons
for the mutation of monarchies: all were marshalled, with further
minute and particular coincidences, in probably one of the most
successful pieces of special pleading extant, in a valiant if vain
attempt to prove Lyndsay's authorship of the Complaynt in so far
as it could be established by internal evidence. Conscious that
the difficulty of an investigation is often no criterion of its
utility, and that antiquaries seeking "to revive the dim and
fading characters in the mouldering records of tradition are liable
to be classed with erudite triflers" lacking both science and taste
Leyden made a half-apology for the "dry and repulsive" nature of
this inquiry, and went through the form of dismissing in a page
and a half the "probable objections" that Lyndsay would be unlike-
ly either to imitate his own works, to satirize the nobles more.

1 Leyden, Prelim. Diss., pp. 52-53. He held that beauty of style and
harmony of language appeared more clearly in verse, which could
also be more easily understood & recollected than prose. (Ibid., p. 56)
2 Ibid., pp. 16 & 17. Leyden declared that Lyndsay's poems formed a series of 'Complaints' almost unparalleled in
literary history. (Ibid., p. 18.) 3 Leyden stated that in his like apology in the Monarche, Bk. I, Lyndsay called
the vernacular 'our Inglische toung'. (Murray, op. cit., p. cxiv.)
4 The thre bokes of Cronicles... trans. by Walter Lynne, 1550.
5 Prelim. Diss., pp. 44 & 50. Leyden noted (ib., p. 74) that the
original of a Greek author never appeared to be quoted.
6 And Dialog betwix Experience and the Courteour of the Miserably
Estat of the world: which Leyden (op. cit., p. 33) believed to be
the forthcoming work mentioned in the Complaynt's Prologue.
7 Murray, op. cit., p. cxiv.
8 George Ellis in the British Critic for July, 1802.
than the clergy, or to publish the Complaynt anonymously. He kept discreetly silent, however, concerning the much more cogent objection that, whereas the Complaynt advocated friendship with France as the remedy for Scotland's many ills, Lyndsay's works throughout twenty-five years showed a steady movement away from Roman Catholicism and towards alliance with England; and, as if to make up for this omission, he paid considerable attention to the only other prose work in which he conceived that Lyndsay could have had any concern.

This was a manuscript collection of tracts on heraldry, mostly translated from French and Latin, which Leyden, from its heading 'Collectanea Domini Davidis Lindesay', assumed to have been compiled for Lyndsay's personal use as Lyon King of Arms; and although from its highly technical nature it afforded little evidence of peculiarities of style, it gave entrancing accounts of the "law of arms within lytis", the oath and virtue of a knight, and the aspect and properties of heraldic beasts, including the modewarp or mole with its "gronze in forme of ane porc"; the griffin "ane ryt grit beist of body and force", the fair green Papagault or peacock, the phoenix resplendent in purple, rose and gold, the venemous basilisk,"ane fische in maner of ane serpent", and the "strenthy" unicorn, possessing a horse's body, an elephant's feet, a hart's tail, a sharp, shining horn and a "marvalouslie fleand" voice. So Leyden was moved to give sixteen pages of extracts, adding his own observations on heraldry and freemasonry. The "fantastic science" of the former he traced from its simplest form in such rude emblems as "the tattowed symbolical figures, which discriminate the barbarous tribes of the Negroes and Malays" through the devices assigned by Aeschylus to the Greek warriors at the siege of Thebes, and the hieroglyphics traced with ruddle or coloured earth by North American Indians on their tree-bark bucklers when recommending themselves to their gods before battle, to the feudal ages, when, having swelled into a vast and exclusive system comprehending "all the social relations...the duties of morality, the articles of religion, and the literature of the time, it attained an adventitious importance and "erected itself into a

1 Prelim. Diss. pp. 50-54. Leyden stressed the aftermath of Pinkie as a contributory factor in the last two points.
2 Murray, op. cit., pp. cxv-vi. Lyndsay's later references to the English were all friendly, that to "our awld enemie" in the Thrie Estaitis (quoted Leyden, p. 53) being merely a stock phrase.
3 Then MS. W. 4. 13 in the Advocates Lib.; now Adv. MS. 31. 3. 20, N. L. S. Dated 'xi octob: 1586'. - From another MS. copy (MS. A. 5. 50, now Adv. MS. 31. 5. 2) entitled 'Scrimzeour on Heraldry' it appears to have been written by John Scrimzeour, the King's Master of Works. Leyden later (p. 79) added a separate quotation on the wolf.
4 Septem contra Thebes.
kind of universal science"", "combining blazonry, and the forms of
ceremony, with a whimsical morality, mystical theology, and a
species of chemistry no less mysterious" and so embracing every
der sort of knowledge that could adorn the damsel or knight and "anim-
ate or soften the rugged genius of Chivalry". And the latter,
with an evident reminiscence of Professor John Robison's attempt
to prove its immoral and subversive tendencies, he claimed to be a
plant of the same stock as heraldry, begun from no wicked motives
and forming no "catenation of secret societies, hostile to the
interests of religion and of social order", but constituting origin-
ally "an inferior or secondary order of Chivalry, adapted to the
habits of those...excluded from the first": an order of peace and
fraternity, as opposed to that of arms and war, but sharing with
the other a peculiar traditionary genealogy of its heroes, quite
unlike the records of authentic history.\footnote{Prelim. Diss., pp.66-67 & 70-72.}

The Complaint itself, illustrating the mind and manners of
its age with rough but impressive energy, a painstaking display of
erudition and a "shrewd and forcible, though frequently quaint and
affected" style,\footnote{See p.123 sup. for Robison on freemasonry. Wm Erskine, op.cit.,
states (perhaps by confusion with Leyden's history of Africa) that Leyden had "advanced a considerable way in printing a History
:ory of Free Masonry" before leaving Scotland. - Leyden dealt
again with Chivalry on pp.201-17 of the Diss. & concluded (p.216)
that its virtues, like more modern ones, were more often the
moralist's theme than the knight's practice. 3 Ibid., pp.72-73.}
gave Leyden further scope for comment and quotation. His account of the dedicatory Epistil to the Queinis Grace\footnote{Mary of Lorraine (alias of Guise) (1515-1560), eldest child of
Claude, count and later 1st duke of Guise (1496-1550).}
the prologue and the first five chapters was enlivened by descrip-
tions in verse and prose of the heroines of antiquity, the "formid-
able insurrection of the peasants on the Upper Rhine" quelled in
1525 by Claude de Guise,\footnote{Leyden quoted from Johannis de Irlandia Opera Theologica (MS.W. 4-4, now Adv. MS.18.2.8), since published by the S.T.S.}
the ceremonial eloquence of barbarous tribes, and the allegorical representation of Fortune in the Middle
Ages, which borrowed "some terrible graces from the northern mytho-
ology" but did not differ essentially from that of classical
antiquity. A passing reference to "oure hurt nature" sufficed to
introduce passages on original sin, \textit{inter alia}, from John de
Irlandia, with an account of that author and the quotation in full
of an Orisoune to the Haly Virgin ascribed by him to Chaucer but
by Leyden, with more reason, to Lydgate;\footnote{Leyden dealt
with Chivalry on pp.201-17 of the Diss. & concluded (p.216)
that its virtues, like more modern ones, were more often the
moralist's theme than the knight's practice. 3 Ibid., pp.72-73.}
and an allusion to the silver columns and ivory portals of Troy's citadel was pretext
enough for the citation of Lydgate's description of Troy and Castle
Ilion as "a successful instance of the engrafting of Oriental
fictions upon the classical stories of Greece and Rome". The sixth chapter, the curious Monolog of the Actor, being a labyrinth of obscure allusions which might have been written "for the express purpose of exercising the ingenuity of future antiquaries"; offered still more editorial opportunity; and Leyden brought all his resources of reading and personal knowledge to bear on its stylized description of natural scenery "depicted with the pencil of a poet"; its lists of herbs and their uses, of the cries of birds and animals, and of the titles of dances, songs and stories, the account of a sea-fight, given with an amount of detail "entirely averse to every principle of taste... except in a work professedly scientific"; and its Aristotelian "philosophical dissertation" on cosmography, astronomy and astrology. His own experience enabled him both to attest the accuracy of the "many minute and characteristic traits" in the Complaynt's portrayal of pastoral dress, habits and amusements, and to dismiss as a "fairy dream" unrelated to real life the chief shepherd's claim that this mode of life, practised by kings "in thai dais quhen the goldin varld rang", so freed the mind from the perturbation of malevolent passion and adapted it to profound speculation that shepherds not only dwelt in a noble and blessed state, but had also "fyrst prettikit and doctrinet" "the speculatien of supernatural thingis... phisic, astronomie and natural philosophie". From his boyhood came apposite memories of the Lowland bagpipe music of the last town piper of Jedburgh, who claimed a unique knowledge of ancient airs, of the praise accorded to pipers who could sing, dance and play simultaneously, and of a peasant's playing with no unpleasing effect on the trump or Jew's harp, "while others danced to its sounds, in the absence of more perfect instruments", and there were later recollections of having seen the ring-dance, formerly common at the kirn or harvest feast, performed in the fields by Highland reapers working in the south, and of having in the Highlands more than once mistaken for the sound of the bagpipe that of the "corne pipe" made by herd boys.
It was from his wide miscellaneous reading, however, that Leyden drew most of his illustrative references, ranging from the domestic manners of the Welsh in the middle of the fourteenth century and the sixteenth century relations between Scotland and England, when an organized system of rapacity obtained on the Borders; to Sir Thomas Elyot's observations on the origin of dancing, and the "figures" of such dances as the solemn and majestic pavan, its derivative, the lighter galliard, the coranto and the lively braule. No subject literary, historical or legendary came amiss to him: "the Oriental legend of the pillars of Seth" and the incredulity of a credulous age concerning the Antipodes, which popular mediaeval opinion often confused with the "elves or underground people" who in northern superstition inhabited the interior recesses of mountains; the mediaeval linking of astronomy with the astrology, directed to the unfolding of the "abstruse, inward and invisible powers" of the macrocosm and microcosm, which in its popular form of 'planet-casting' still commanded belief in the Borders, as it had done particularly among the moss-troopers, who had long used amulets "to counteract the malignant influence of their stars"; the traditional retreat of the "pestilence", once the recurrent scourge of Scotland, beneath large flat stones which might on no account be moved; the "mystical prophesies" of Merlin, employed by the English as "a political engine" to intimidate the Scots; the interest shown in the characteristic cries and natures of birds and other creatures by ancient Hindus, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans and Getae, by Micmac Indians, Renaissance glossarists, the author of the Hervarar Saga, and poets from Ovid to Lyndsay himself; the possible Norman, Danish and Flemish origins of the East Coast fishermen of Scotland, especially in Fife and Angus, and of many of their sea cheers and terms; and such nautical matters as inventories of the "furniture" of the Scottish Great Michael and an unnamed English ship of the sixteenth century, the size and splendour of Canute the Dane's vessels, "richly gilded with gold and silver", of Harold Harfagre's Dragon, and of Olaf Tryggvesson's

1 Leyden compared these, as described in Higden's Polychronicon, with still recent conditions on the Scottish Border (pp.128-29).
2 Prelim. Diss., p.190.
3 Ibid., pp.134-38, quoting The Governor. Leyden also dealt with dances in his Glossary, passim.
4 Cf. Scenes of Infancy, pt.1,11,313-50; & Essay on the Fairies...
5 Prelim. Diss., p.172-75, the former quoting from a MS. Astrology Theologized in Leyden's possession.
6 Cf. Sc. of Inf., pt.1,11,155-70 & note on the "yellow pestilence".
7 Prelim. Diss., pp.193-99, Leyden deals with Merlin Ambrosius (the more likely author of the prophecies) & "the Scottish Merlin" (the Wild) to whom they were ascribed. Cf. Sc. of Inf., pt.1,11,51n.
Long Serpent with its remarkably large and high banks of oars. But he dwelt especially on the "most amiable forms" of the ages of chivalry, on "the Tale of other times, and the Song of the ancient Minstrel", on old Scottish airs and instruments, and on the status of the minstrels themselves, who, although more numerous, respectable and influential among the Celtic than among the "Gothic" peoples, had, by the seventeenth century, "sunk under the silent and slow pressure of neglect and contempt" from the position of bards to that of common ballad makers, devoting themselves to the making of mystical rhymes, magic and necromancy. Leyden's analysis of the Monolog's tales and songs, if very imperfectly done from lack of materials, was made con amore on the basis of his theories that romantic fiction was neither Gothic nor Arabic, but Armorican, in origin; and that the wild, romantic ballads and popular songs of the Lowlands, like the "Irish or Gaelic historical poems" still current in the Highlands, and like many popular stories, were most probably episodes, detached in the progress of traditional recitation from the metrical romances of which they had originally formed a part. The Complaynt's enumeration of musical instruments, besides filling "an important chasm in the history of Scottish music" and indicating from their compass "the comparative antiquity of the most popular airs, enabled Leyden both to adduce Irish, Welsh, French, and Italian parallels to the Highland and Lowland bagpipes, and to introduce quotations ranging from Hamilton of Bangour's heroi-comic poem The Maid of Gallowshiels to two mediaeval fragments, The Throstel Cok and Nightingale and Lai in praise of women from the Auchinleck MS. Having learned many of the songs and their simple melodies in childhood, in the bosom of his family, and remembering how he at one time would have thought it "a kind of sacrilege" to alter "the ancient airs of Johnie Armstrong or the Gude Wallace", Leyden knew well that the peasant, who might "change a tune from the inaptitude of his ear" but was "no musical composer to...mangle the airs", found that such music, "addressed to the various emotions of his heart", soothed the uneasiness of

1 Prelim. Diss., pp. 217, 254 & 286. Leyden considered the era of the Revolution that of the decline of Scottish music and song.
2 Ibid., p. 287, quoting George Martine, Reliquiae Divi Andreae, p. 3.
3 Murray, op. cit., p. lxxiii. Murray, pp. lxxiii-xci, takes over F. J. Furnivall's analysis of these tales and songs from Furnivall's edition of Captain Cox's Ballads and Books (Ballad Soc., 1871).
4 Leyden adopted this opinion from "an ingenious writer" in 'The Enquirer', No. XIX (Monthly Mag., Feb., 1800), extending the theory to cover Cornwall & Wales, & rejecting both the "Gothic system" of Mallet & Pinkerton & the Arabic one of Warburton & Thos Warton.
6 Ibid., pp. 147-49; quoted from Hamilton's MS. poems through the "valuable friendship of Dr Robert Anderson".
7 Ibid., pp. 159-67. Murray, op. cit., pp. xci-iii, follows Leyden here.
his soul, alleviated the fatigue of labour and amused the tiresomeness of solitude. Of the tales also, which he classified as British, French or classical according to their subjects and heroes, Leyden had heard and repeated many in his boyhood, "when the song or the tale, recited by turns, amused the tedious evenings of Winter;" and had since found a surprising resemblance to some of them in certain of D'Aussy Le Grand's Fabliaux. Of others he had heard hints, in a fragment of song, like that of "the well of the worldis end...denominated 'the well Absalom' and 'the cald well sae weary," or in such burlesque verses as those "intended to ridicule the 'Gestes' of Robinhood and Tamlane" and, having the resources of the Advocates' Library at hand, he was at no loss for apposite quotations from such romances as Arthur and Merlin, Sir Beves of Hamtown, Orfeo and Heurodis, "equally beautiful for its composition and curious for the mythology" of its description of Fairyland, and Clariodus and Meliades, which Leyden judged well worth publishing, in whole or in part, for its many simple and beautiful passages and "minute delineation of the pomp and circumstance of Chivalry." He was apt, indeed, to forget that, on his own showing, most of these tales had been printed in England before the publication of the Complaynt in 1549, so that it could not be assumed "that the Scotch shepherds of the 16th century were familiar with French romans," but not the least attractive part of this dissertation of "multifarious lore" was its author's tendency both to quote and to theorize with more enthusiasm than discretion.

Like most of Leyden's literary undertakings (although in strong contrast to his African Sketch), his editing of the Complaynt proceeded slowly, both through pressure of other work and through Leyden's absence from Edinburgh in the summer of 1800, when his long silence on the subject led Thomas Park to enquire anxiously: "Pray what is become of Mr Leyden? In the Complaynt is there a total suppression of the press?" In November, Park offered afresh to "aid and abet" Leyden's renewal of his editorial work.

3 Apropos of The Wolf of the Worldis End"a'beauty & the beast'tale.
5 Leyden found two poetical beauties in this mediaeval favourite.
6 Prelim.Diss., pp.243-44, s.v.0pheus [sic] King of Portingal.
7 Ibid., p.240. - Not in the Auchinleck MS., like the others.
8 It was printed at Paris, not, as Leyden believed, at St Andrews.
10 Scott to George Ellis, Dec.7,1807. (Cent. Ed., XII p.207.)
11 Park to Dr Anderson, July 12,1800. (Adv.MS.22.4.10.)
12 Park to Anderson, Sept.9,1800. (Ibid.)
labours which were "retarded by an infinity of Law papers" during the winter, so that the work was still not quite finished by mid-January, 1801; and although the text was at last completed by March the summer found Park still uncertain whether the Complaynt, which acquired "an additional interest from becoming the property of Sir David Lindsay," and which Park longed to possess as a work "certain to receive every illustrative advantage" from Leyden's "luminous erudition," had yet been published. Further delay was occasioned indirectly by the fact that Constable, feeling his "respectability concerned as well as his orthodoxy", had thought it best to cancel some passages, deemed "in this religious age... to exhibit the cloven foot," in the preliminary dissertation to Sir John Graham Dalyell's Scotch Poems of the 16th Century, published at the same time as the Complaynt. By early December, 1801, publication had been still further delayed by Leyden's dissatisfaction with his two-page "epistle dedicatory" to Richard Heber, which, upon reperusal, he found unsatisfactory and altered to a "modest Inscription" in what Scott, for one, considered much better taste. The Complaynt appeared, however, before the start of 1802, and the end of March saw George Ellis in possession of a copy, of which Park hoped to obtain a sight, a desire forestalled by Dr. Anderson's "prevailing application" to Leyden, through which Park received "with cordial thankfulness" the "very estimable" and valuable present of a copy, which promised a luxurious feast "for the understanding." The forthright John Ramsay, having read the preface "once and again" without being convinced that Lyndsay was the Complaynt's author, found in it "a mass of curious and recondite matter, more or less applicable to the very eccentric text; which reminds me of Burton's anatomy of melancholy, the work of a vigorous comprehensive mind, did he not in every page, almost in every line, quote books not worth the quoting; but in the 16th and 17th centuries pedantry was the order of the day... It is a question de Lana Caprina to enquire at this time of day who was the author of that singular performance... Be these things as they may, this book

1 Park to Anderson, Nov. 24, 1800. 2 Leyden to Heber, Mar. 21, 1801, when Leyden, being "liable to constant interruption," declined the lack of time Heber's "friendly offer of revision." 3 Leyden to Erskine, Jan. 14, 1801. 4 Park to Anderson, July 3, 1801. 5 Park to Anderson, Jan. 30, 1801. 6 Leyden to Dr. James Brown, Jan. 13, 1802. Constable was "extremely sore" on this subject. (ib. 7 Scott to Ellis, Dec. 7, 1801. (Cent. Ed., XII, p. 207.) The cancelled dedication was "entirely different" in form from that published. (Wm. Macmath to Jas. Sinton, Jan. 2, 1903. Letter in my possession.) 8 Leyden to Jan. Brown, loc. cit., that it had been "finished for some time, though only published very lately." M. May 25, 1808. 9 Park to Anderson, Mar. 27, 1802. 10 Park to Anderson, Apr. 9, 1802. 11 John Ramsay to Anderson, July 27, 1802. (Adv. MS. 22. 4. 13, N. L. S.)
will be no longer an *Otho* in literature." Bishop Percy, too, thought the *Complaynt* and its prolegomena "curious and interesting in aspect, although by June, 1802, he had not had time to examine in detail the copy sent him by Dr Robert Anderson, and from Ireland also in the following year came the gratifying opinion of the "elegant and ingenious" Joseph Cooper Walker, who, having just scanned Leyden's "extremely ingenious, learned and curious" Dissertation, and been much flattered by its "frequent and honorable" mention of himself, commented regretfully on Leyden's departure for India: "Any country would feel the loss of such a man."

Opinion was not unanimously favourable, however. Malcolm Laing, who sent both the *Complaynt* and Dalyell's *Scottish Poems of the 16th Century* to John Pinkerton, found Leyden's preface "of little more value than Dalyell's Collection". In January, 1802, David Herd addressed a polite note to the *Scots Magazine*, under Leyden's own supervision, pointing out Leyden's error in ascribing Robert Semple's elegy on Habbie Simpson to William Hamilton, supporting Inglis's claim to the *Complaynt*, and mildly suggesting that Leyden's evidence in favour of Lyndsay was not "quite satisfactory". Leyden answered this "candid correspondent" only in July, 1802, allowing the first point, but declining to give up the claims of Lyndsay, whose part in the Scottish Reformation had been "greatly misunderstood and misstated". By then, Leyden had also to answer a mainly destructive critique by John Pinkerton which had appeared anonymously in the *Critical Review* for May, 1802. The "disagreeable" Pinkerton regretted that Leyden, although displaying "considerable talents in the execution" of his task, and producing an edition printed in a "neat and accurate manner", albeit with insufficiently black ink, had presented the *Complaynt* not as a classic, but in facsimile "with all the confusion of the original"; and that he had permitted the text to become almost an appendix to his own "prolix, digressive and retrogressive" dissertation. Nor could Pinkerton feel that Wedderburn's title to the

1 Ramsay to Anderson, July 27, 1802, when he returned a borrowed copy of the *Complaynt*. - He felt that Lyndsay's sentiments & the author's "differed toto caelo".
2 Percy to Anderson, June 3, 1802. (Adv. MS. 22.4.10, N. L. S.)
4 Laing to Pinkerton, Feb. 18, 1802. (Pinkerton's Lit. Corr., II, p. 207)
5 Leyden in Scots Mag., Vol. 64, 1840. by the younger Robert Semple of Beltrees (c. 1555-1665).
6 Letter signed "D. R." in the Scots Mag., Jan., 1802; Vol. 64, p. 151.
7 E.g. by John Binkerton. - Leyden in Scots Mag., Vol. 64, pp. 566-73.
8 Principal W.L. Brown of Aberdeen to Dr Anderson, Sept. 21, 1813, called Pinkerton the most disagreeable man he had ever met.
9 He found the 4to copies rather worse than the 8vo in this, I.e. with the spelling, etc., "cooked". (Murray, op. cit., p. cxvii).
Complaynt was disposed of by the "rather grotesque" reasoning of Leyden, who had acted "like a mere antiquary, in throwing obscurity over a clear subject", when he might have removed his doubts on Inglis by consulting Pinkerton's History of Scotland. Denying the validity of these strictures, Leyden in reply not only justified his own editorial methods but went on to observe bluntly that the reviewer's abusive language bore a remarkable resemblance to the "most insolent, intolerant and pedantic style" of Pinkerton, which was "almost peculiar", being "characterized more by energy than originality", and so according extremely well with his manner of thinking. Having referred pointedly to Pinkerton's Ancient Scottish Poems from Maitland of Lethington's MSS. as by no means a model of its kind, despite its marks of extensive information, indefatigable research, wide erudition and acute observation, Leyden emphasized that the Scots language, so far from being derived from Icelandic or "Scano-Gothic" was closer to Saxon than was English itself, showing no vestige of the "ancient Pictish dialect of which we have heard so much"; and after thus tilting at this favourite hobby-horse of Pinkerton's, Leyden, recollecting that Pinkerton had recently charged the "learned and accurate" Dugald Stewart with ignorance of literary history, concluded loftily: "We have all heard with a smile of ridicule being the test of truth, but I suppose we must soon expect to hear effrontery proposed as its standard". In April, however, the Gentleman's Magazine had expressed its reviewer's obligations for Leyden's ample dissertation on Scottish literary antiquities; and in July, George Ellis obligingly contributed a graceful review to the British Critic, in which, having recognized the literary public's debt to all antiquaries, whose patience and sagacity helped to unravel the intricacies of history, he dwelt upon the "essential obligation" conferred by Leyden's "restoring to light a tract of uncommon rarity" and interest. Leyden's remarks on Lyndsay's authorship he tactfully summed up as indicating its probability as far as that could be established by internal evidence; and although regretting that Leyden's omission of a table of contents would probably have no chance to be remedied in a second edition, he suggested that his mass of materials might easily be thrown

1 Leyden had actually consulted this work at least twice. (He noted, justly, that Robert Wedderburn and his brothers supported the Reformation quite as strongly as Lyndsay. (Cf. Murray, p. cxiii.)
2 Cf. Leyden's reference to "Pinkerton the Pict" in his paper On the Edinburgh Booksellers in the Scots Mag. for Nov., 1803.
4 Gentleman's Mag., April, 1802.
5 Contrast Lives of Scottish Poets by the Soc. of Ancient Scots, pt. II, p. 40 on Leyden's tying a new "Gordian knot" by this "fancy."
into a more popular form, and commended heartily Leyden's taste, erudition and abilities. The tribute was not undeserved, the Complaynt having been indeed "most learnedly and admirably edited," and although Constable, after promising to pay £20 for the work, eventually "only counted £16," Leyden had the satisfaction of finding that his "Complaynt and that of Scotland" was "listened to with sufficient complacency" to ensure him, while he was yet "a Tiro in Scottish antiquities," a high reputation in that field.

One reason for the slow progress of the Complaynt was Leyden's preoccupation with the still more interesting task of helping Walter Scott to compile the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border. Visiting his old school-fellow James Ballantyne at Kelso in the early spring of 1800, and repeating to him some verses both of Matthew Lewis's and of his own, Scott was encouraged by Ballantyne preference for the latter to suggest that as he had a plentiful stock of such things, Ballantyne might print some 250 copies of a small 4to pamphlet giving a dozen or two Border ballads and imitations, to sell at four or five shillings each. This was a revival of Scott's plan to publish a collection of the ballads amassed in his seven years' 'raiding' of the fastnesses of Liddesdale with Robert Shortreed, the jovial Sheriff of Roxburghshire; and it was a plan into which John Leyden entered "with all the vehemence of his character," delighting to place his "many-langaged lore" at Scott's service. The prospect of being "instrumental in preserving a set of productions so early and closely interwoven with his feelings," and to him as stirring as anything in Homer or Tyrtaeus, sent him into transports "very nearly bordering upon the ludicrous," and the stores of his copious memory being thus appealed to and his ballad-hunting instincts reawakened, he was openly scornful of the small scale proposed for the collection, crying aloud in his "finest saw tones": "Dash it, is that all Ballantyne expects our labours to make? such a volume as Goetz with the Iron Hand? I will be bound to answer myself for as many as will make three or four volumes and good ones too!"

1 Ellis in the British Critic, July, 1802. Ellis told Scott, May 29, 1802, that he would review the Complaynt & the Minstrelsy therein. Pinkerton's & Ellis's reviews, with Herd's & Leyden's letters were published at Edinburgh, 1829, as Critiques by Mr David Herd and others, upon the new edition of 'The Complaynt of Scotland'.
2 John Nichols, Illustrations of the literary history of the 18th Century, VII, p. 103n.
3 Leyden to Anderson, Apr. 5, 1803.
4 Leyden to Hober, Apr. 1803. Leyden in the Scots Mag., loc. cit.
5 Cf. Rev. Robt Nares to Bp Percy, Apr., 1803: "Mr. Leyden...who pub-lished 'The Complaynt... has lately sailed for the East Indies."
6 James Ballantyne, Anecdotes, (MS, 921 N, L, S.) 1832.
7 Shortreed's account of these raids (ib.) was ed. by W. E. Wilson, loc. cit.
8 Scott's introd. to Warrion, c. VI, 144. Leyden to Anderson, loc. cit.
9 Cf. Rev. Robert Nares to Bp Percy, Apr., 1803: "Mr. Leyden...who pub-
10 Leyden in the Scots Mag., loc. cit.
volumes were to contain the first edition of the Minstrelsy, published in the spring of 1802, a third being added "by way of compensating the delay" in publication; and in helping to fill these "even to overflowing" Leyden laboured whole-heartedly as "an extensive collaborator," equally interested by friendship for the editor...and patriotic zeal for the honour of the Scottish borders." Renewing all his early enthusiasm for ballad collecting Leyden involved his relatives as well as his literary acquaintance in the quest, his cousin, James Morton, being told in the later stages of the undertaking:

"I send you the Magazine, but observe it contains the names of very few romantic Ballads, therefore I shall be happy to have the most you can get, as they almost always contain curious variations. Your King's daughter of Norway will be particularly acceptable. Send them by the Carrier."

Nor did he spare himself time or trouble in the pursuit, on one occasion walking between forty and fifty miles and back again for the sole purpose of visiting an old person able to complete an "ancient historical ballad" of which only an interesting fragment had so far been obtained; and, returning within two days elated by the success of his mission, he was in such haste to report to Scott that he burst into the room where the latter was sitting with some company after dinner, "chanting the desiderated ballad with most enthusiastic gesture, and all the energy of...the saw-tones of his voice" to the great astonishment of such of the guests as did not know him. He set himself also to write for the occasion original poems designed to introduce the "Legendary histories" of Lord Soulis, the Count of Keeldar and "Merlin or rather Michael Scott who in reality seems to have been the Roger Bacon of Scotland"; and he took a not uncritical interest in other sources, possible and actual, of material: in the great number of ballads and sketches of Border history said to have been prepared for the press by the late Dr Clapperton of Lochmaben in the further "Cargo of old legends" to be expected from "the daughter of Profr Gordon" when her husband, Dr Andrew Brown of Falkland, came to Edinburgh in May for the General Assembly of 1802.

1 Leyden to Heber, Mar. 21, 1801. In Ballantyne's Anecdotes, 'May' is substituted for 'Feb' (1802) as the date the Minstrelsy's publication. Cf. 2 Ballantyne, Anecdotes.
3 Fred. E. Teter, Currents and Eddies in the English Romantic Generation, p. 76. He notes p. 71 that the 3-volume Minstrelsy, with Sir Tristrem, was evidently the realization of Leyden's conception almost as much as of Scott's. 4 Scott Memoir.
5 Leyden to James Morton, July 6, 1802. N.L.S. Ms. 895, Fol. 19, has a copy of The King's Daughter of Norway (a 10 st. version of Sir Patrick Spens) in Leyden's hand. 6 Leyden to Heber, Apr. 24, 1800. The last-named poem is lost. Cf. 7 Ibid. Clapperton's son had none of his father's poetical remains. (C.K. Sharpe to Scott, Oct. 12, 1802; Letters, I, p. 143.)
the Church of Scotland, and in the collection of "popular ballads of the Swedes Danes Icelanders Germans and Slavonic tribes" as well as of Scotland, which the Earl of Buchan reported that Robert Jamieson, then teaching in Macclesfield, was preparing on a scale almost as large as that of Herder's Volkslieder. Jamieson's presence in the field Leyden indeed regretted exceedingly, being convinced, without having met him, that he had only "something like genius" and would correct his Scottish ballads "cum ingenio admodum tenui": 3

"He versified Willies Lady and christened it Sweet Willie of Liddisdale. Now as the Devil would have it, any Willie in Liddesdale would knock him down for bestowing on him such an epithet. Sweet Willie is sometimes given in contempt to an insignificant fop. To say a man is a sweet one is to call him a simpleton. He entitled another old poem "Sweet Willie and May Weggie"; now the last is infinitely more insufferable than even the first. His Scotsish has the Gaelic or some other cursed idiom mixed with it." 3

Accordingly, although he condescended to provide Jamieson with such ballads as the "Trumpeter of Fyvie, from tradition", Leyden could write unfeelingly of Scott's (unfulfilled) project of proceeding with a Minstrelsy of the East Coast immediately on completing that of the Border:

"This will interfere a little with Jamieson, and that doleful wight had better therefore throw off his volumes. I promised him a poem on Grigors Ghost, but I fancy I have enraged him so much by the letter accompanying the ancient copy of Allan a Maut that I shall never hear of him again: 5

an erroneous supposition, since Jamieson, although obliged at least once to ask Scott sadly, "Did ever Mr Leyden finish his Transcript of 'Glenlivet' for me? I wish he had begged Mr Dalzell not to publish it; as it is not much in his way. Has he given it correctly? It would have been quite the thing for me" 6 remained "sincerely concerned for poor Leyden", inquiring frequently after his welfare and exclaiming indignantly after he had gone to India "Why the deuce did they not provide for him in his own country? Such a young man is invaluable..." 7

So quickly did work on the Minstrelsy proceed at first that before the end of April, 1800, the undertaking was already "in

1 Anne, daughter of Thomas Gordon, professor of philosophy in King's College, Aberdeen, had married Brown in 1783.
2 Leyden to Heber, Apr. 24, 1800. Herder's Stimmen der Völker in Liedern, the fruit of many years' work, appeared in 1775-79.
3 Leyden to Heber, [Apr. 1801]; 'something like genius' was originally Heber's phrase, here quoted with approval by Leyden.
4 Robert Jamieson to Scott, Nov. 1804. (MS. 3875, N.L.S.)
5 Leyden to Heber, Mar. 27, 1802. Jamieson's Popular Ballads and Songs appeared in two volumes in 1806.
6 Jamieson to Scott, Oct. 19, 1804. (MS. 3875.)
7 Jamieson to Scott, May 9, 1806. He asked for Leyden also on May 30 & Nov. 10, 1805. (Ibid.)
some forwardness". By then Leyden, finding that his ballad on the
Cout of Keeldar, of which he had long been tired, was still "in-
creasing immeasurably" although already seventy stanzas long, was seeking temporary relief from the creative part at least of his labours by turning, unexpectedly enough, to "the composition of Sermons in the way of my profession" a phrase adapted from the preface of Sydney Smith's lately published volume of Six Sermons preached in Charlotte Chapel, Edinburgh. Leyden, reporting to Richard Heber Smith's expressed intention of sending Heber a copy of the Six Sermons to make him "sleep a nights when disturbed with insomnia", added the facetious comment:

"Hereby shall all men know, says your friend the divine, that we are his disciples, since we wake that others may sleep as we compose sermons in the night watches to lull others asleep even in the broad day";

and in Leyden's own case there may have been some truth in this word spoken in jest, since a permanent post in the church continued to elude him, neither his earlier reputation for unorthodoxy, his evident lack of enthusiasm for his profession, nor his harsh voice and abrupt pulpit manner being in his favour. Whether or not Leyden sought to become the Rev. Thomas Elliot's assistant at Cavers, where he preached at least once, reputedly on the text, "Get thee behind me, Satan"; he was certainly disappointed, if not altogether surprised, at the failure of his prospects of becoming the minister either of Hawick parish church or of Kirkton, both of which fell vacant in May, 1800. In the latter charge particularly he "had really some interest"; as it was virtually his "native parish"; and his failure to obtain it despite Scott's "most strenuous exertions" on his behalf intensified the interest which he had already begun to feel in India as "the finest literary field in the world" and the most promising sphere for the development of his talents, so that he confided to Richard Heber:

"- all... [this] confirms me more and more in my meditated apostacy (sic) to Brahminism; so that if I can procure an appointment in the [East India Company's service in due time, then..."

1 Scott to Ballantyne, Apr. 22, 1800. Leyden was hoping that the "Border Ballads" would not be long delayed; (to Heber, Apr. 24, 1800)
2 Ibid. The final version has only 62 stanzas; but Dr Corson has in his possession a MS. copy of what seems to be an earlier version (in Leyden's own hand), in which 26 stanzas are devoted to what occupies only 16 stanzas in the printed version.
3 Smith's First publication, dedicated to Lord Webb Seymour, Edinburgh, 1800. The actual phrase was "in the exercise of my profession".
5 Cf. pp. 161-62 sup. Keith, ed. cit., p. 77; contends that Leyden's voice would at least keep his hearers awake.
7 1875 (Cent.) ed. p. xxvii. 8 John Elliot, Thos Elliot's nephew, obtained the Kirkton charge, it adjoined Cavers parish.
8 Leyden to Heber, Mar. 23, 1802. 
I will renounce the black for any other colour under heaven... make a present of all my Theological MS and sermons to Sidney Smith and betake myself furiously to the study of the Vedas and Shasters.¹

In the meantime, Leyden remained safely in Britain,"like a good christian"¹, although, doubtless desiring more freedom of time and action, he altered his way of life to the extent of giving up the tutorship which he had held for the past three and a half years with the Campbells of Fairfield. Having been extremely hurried for two weeks, however, by "that kind of bustle which only hastens to destroy time", he had"procrastinated from day to day" till he found himself, at the end of April, obliged to accompany the Campbells to "the country"² for three or four days until the arrival of his successor:¹ an arrangement probably rendered the more irksome by the fact that Leyden himself was then preparing to make a more extensive excursion of his own to the North of England. This he undertook in company with his father, who, having long suffered from a severe bilious disorder, was now at last persuaded by his son to take the medicinal waters of Gilsland,³ the spa at which Walter Scott had met his wife three years before. By Whit-sun, the two had journeyed south through Liddesdale past "Keeldar Castle and Hermitage Lord Souls's Castle"⁴ to Cumberland, where Leyden not only viewed with interest the lakes and magnificent scenery of the district, but also "availed himself of the opportunity of collecting the gleanings of the historical and romantic ballads of the Border; and of surveying the scenes which they describe, with a view to illustrate the local allusions".³ Leaving his father to cross directly over the waste by Bewcastle to Gilsland, where the waters were to restore him to "perfect health in the short space of a fortnight"³; Leyden went on alone to Carlisle, there to achieve a notable ballad-hunting success by procuring from Mr Jollie, bookseller and editor of the Carlisle Journal, the MS. collection of Border ballads by that sedulous antiquary, the late Robert Riddell of Glenriddell.⁵ From this MS. he obtained "the Lads of Wamphray, Lord Maxwell's Goodnight & Archie of Ca'fieid... which had hitherto eluded all research";⁶ so that, although he perhaps succeeded less completely in his search for The Duel of

¹ Leyden to Heber, Apr. 24, 1800.
² Most probably to Calder Hall; at Mid Calder. Cf. p.180 sup.
³ Morton, op.cit.,pp.xxv-vi. ⁴ Robert Leyden's Notes.
⁵stable:"I send Mr Jollie of Carlisle's MS. so long missing..." Leyden to Heber, Nov. 4, 1800. The Minstrelsy, 1st ed., printed these from this MS. Leyden later obtained another version of Archie of Ca'fieid "from recitation" (MS. 877, f.169, in Leyden's own hand), which Scott blended with the other to produce an admirably vivid narrative. (Grenderson, E.S.B.I, pp.146-55 distinguishes the Riddell had died in 1794. As late as 1810, Scott wrote to Con
Graeme and Bewick (reputed to be known, as indeed it was, in Carlisle); it was probably in a satisfied frame of mind that he went on to Gilsland. There, finding his father in private lodging in a cottage, Leyden transferred him to the greater comfort of Gilsland Inn, where he himself "soon became the chief centre of social attraction," creating "somewhat of a 'sensation'" among the inn's numerous and select company by his "unceremonious manner"; and thereafter, indefatigable as ever, he proceeded to make excursions all over the neighbourhood, going east into Northumberland along the line of Hadrian's Wall and south-west to the lakes of Cumberland and Westmorland, covering some six hundred miles on foot, and recording his experiences in a journal, later taken to India and lost, of which the extant fragment, dealing with the start of his trip to the Lakes, gives a characteristic picture of its author's unbounded energy and versatility.

Beginning this part of his tour by returning from Gilsland to Carlisle along a low, confined road with a view chiefly of "dun, heathy hills", broken by glimpses of the Irthing's wooded banks and of the Solway, Leyden, visiting Naworth Castle in the absence of the steward, was admitted only to the hall, with its grotesque antique statues, and to the dining-room, with its tapestry-covered walls; and a little beyond Brampton, interrogating a countryman concerning the Roman inscriptions carved on a cliff-face at the stone quarries on the Gelt, he was answered merely by the sagacious observation, made "with great sang froid": "'I'll warrant ye're after curiosical things; aye, I've seen histories o' men 'at laid themselves out that way'". At Carlisle, however, while visiting the Castle (which dwindled to insignificance beside the "noble Gothic structure" of the Cathedral) in company with Robert Anderson, a "shrewd sensible young man" in whose poems Leyden found tenderness and benevolence, if no "peculiar strength or elegance", Leyden did encounter a sufficiently 'curiosical' character in the person of a local carpenter named Tomlinson, who, though almost illiterate, had been "suddenly inspired with the whim of making poetry; and who now, stretching himself up against part of the fortifications announced mysteriously that he had "come to see the one set". On Anderson's

1 Printed in the Minstrelsy, 1st ed., from a copy procured by Wm Laidlaw; later amplified from the version of a Carlisle ostler.
2 1858 ed., p. 87 & 87n, quoting an unidentified "private letter".
3 Leyden to Heber, Nov. 4, 1800. This fragment (MS. 380, ff. 27-30) published by Sinton in R.A.S.T. for 1906, pp. 20-23, was left behind in Edinburgh (Leyden to Robert Leyden, c. Mar. 26, 1803)
4 See John C. Bruce, Lepidarium Septentrionale, pp. 234-55.
5 Leyden, Cumberland Journal. Anderson (1770-1820) had published a book of poems, 1798. (Sic; perhaps for 'onset'.)
desiring to hear some of his verses, he "suddenly commenced in a bold strain of recitative...working himself to a strong fit of enthusiasm, till his little grey eyes sparkled" as he repeated "some verses on Lord Duncan's victory,\(^1\) and part of a description of Corby Castle"; and although these "set rhyme and reason equally at defiance; Leyden, being in a complaisant mood, chose to make much of this "little squat man of singular aspect dressed in an antic grey coat & a very large cocked hat"\(^2\):

"As my imagination was on the wing to catch the shapes and sounds of objects - and I was in a humour to be pleased - I represented him to myself as one of the ancient Cumbrian bard and his own grotesque figure strengthened the illusion... I told him he had lived 500 years too late, or perhaps the world might have followed him. He replied, To be sure, if he had lived 500 years ago, he might have been the companion of an Emperor: even now half the world did follow him, and asked immediately 'if I did not think him old Homer returned'."

Despite his patriotic belief that only those who had never seen the Tweed at Kelso\(^4\); could be pleased by the "lazy and sluggish" Eden, wallowing indolently between its rich banks and so uncommonly deficient in majesty as to resemble a muddy ditch, Leyden had to admit that the buildings at least of Cumberland were "more solid and constructed with greater attention to convenience... than in the south of Scotland". Nor, as he proceeded from Carlisle to Caldbeck and Hesket, was he dissatisfied with the prospect either of the flat wooded landscape around Dalston Moor or of the more open country beyond:

"The fantastic form of the irregular trees, low and spreading their different shades of green and brown, tinged everywhere with the long hanging bows [sic] and silvery stem of the birch\(^5\) and the naked cold form of the grey ash, pleased me almost as much as a more extensive view... As I ascended Warren Fells, the prospect opened wider, the flat appeared more cultivated and less woody, and the clear grey sands of Solway, with the sea bounded by the blue hills of Annan and Galloway diversified the scene.\(^3\)

Having left Hesket about four o'clock on the afternoon of June 3 intending to climb Carrick, "walk along the top of the Fells, and scale Skiddaw himself, in order to see the sunset from the summit; Leyden persevered in this purpose, despite the villagers' opinion that he was mad, and duly ascended Carrick, which, although lacking any trace either of an alleged fortification or of "anything decidedly volcanic", yet afforded both a near view of Saddleback and Skiddaw and the pleasure of finding various botanical objects.

\(^1\) At Camperdown, 1797.
\(^2\) 'hand' in the MS.
\(^3\) Leyden, Cumberland Journal; (entitled by Sinton 'Journal of a Tour to Gilsland and the Cumberland Lakes'). Leyden has no title.
\(^5\) Cf. Leyden's description in the Cout of Keeldar,ii.119-20, of "the birch of silver bark". See p. inf.
specimens. Then, advancing along the Fells, delighted with the ever-changing aspect of the glens and declivities, and remarking the picturesque and varying shades thrown by Skiddaw on Saddle-back, he reached the top of High Pike.

"The sun illuminated the surface of the sea, and I commanded the view of a vast amphitheatre bounded by the Alston, Tyndale, Liddisdale, and Galloway hills, on the south terminated by the sea... the flat country presented an astonishing diversity of shade and the distant hills were of a dark leaden hue. But the broad streak of the brightest red and yellow which lay upon the smooth blue ocean attracted me irresistible. I never saw anything in nature like it. I could at that moment have believed that Skiddaw fell was enchanted ground."

On Bassenthwaite, too, "light streaks of the same glory gleamed at intervals", so that Leyden, eager to enjoy the full glory of the scene, "plunged into the northern shadow of Skiddaw", and ascended with haste, only to be grievously disappointed.

"I saw with consternation the white flaky mist beginning to crest the distant hills; I hurried on, faint and almost exhausted but before I emerged on the summit I was involved in a vast fleece of blueish white fog, which came driving like thin snow up the Northern side after me. Imagine my situation! entirely ignorant of the passes of the mountain, equally ignorant of the situation of Keswick: bewildered in a thick fog, through which the Sun appeared like a large star of a faint silver hue. To tantalize me the more, the spirit of the mountain by intervals moved the skirts of his hoary garments for a moment, to display not the beauties but the terrors of the scene; the tremendous abrupt rocks and the no less steep declivities of his face covered entirely with loose shining stones, ready to roll to the bottom at the slightest touch. As the Sunbeams gleamed at times through the folds of the hoary mist, I saw it driving in large flakes & fleeces over the precipices beneath me, whose faces glimmered like chry stal. I ascended to the highest summit and attempted to compose verses but being too much out of humour from my disappointment, only wrote an ill-natured epistle to S. Smith."

Thereafter, having examined the hill's rocks and plants, and become "almost congealed with the cold", Leyden began his descent "where it seemed practicable", being rewarded, when the mist at last dispersed a little, with a momentary view of Keswick and of Derwentwater with its wooded islands.

"It was a scene of faery, which the spirit of the mountain immediately concealed in the white folds of his mantle. The delightful vision again fleeted before me, and for some minutes continued to be seen by glimpses, till at last it settled in a calm steady landscape the most sweetly pastoral that ever imagination conceived. I was ready to exclaim "the lake! the lake" and seemed from the bleakest point of the

1 Including a flower with a "beautiful purple starry" bloom, and "various kinds of filices" especially the parsley fern.
2 Leyden, Cumberland Journal. 3 Cf. Sc.of Inf., pt. i 11.487-506.
4 Sydney Smith (at this time looking forward to his marriage on July 2) had himself climbed Skiddaw two years before.
Alps to look down on the delightful plains of Italy.\textsuperscript{1} Being cut off from this pleasant land, however, by the "bare, precipitous crumbling sides of Skiddaw", Leyden, thinking of the happy valley of Rasselas, and noting with satisfaction that the sun had hardly set, "wound obliquely towards Ullock a dark heathy appendage of Skiddaw", from which he gazed down again on Bassenthwaite, bordered on the south by the green hills of Wythop and reflecting in its waters the purple of the evening sky.

"But as the Mantle of the night was swelling apace upon the eye, I hastened to descend a steep heathy declivity, rugged with stones. I found the descent inconceivably difficult and laborious, but there was no alternative except that of remaining all night on the bleak, unsheltered side of a high hill. I descended upon Crosthwaite, about 2 miles from Keswick, and walked into town in the evening by a road winding among enclosures and hedgerows."\textsuperscript{1}

Next day, a second attempt on Skiddaw fared still worse; for, after visiting Peter Crosthwaite's Museum, where he was pleased both with the exhibits\textsuperscript{2} and with the curator, who gave him many useful instructions concerning his route, Leyden set out to climb the hill again, so as to gain "a more accurate idea of the bearings of the country" and "enjoy the sublimity, beauty and variety of the scene. But before he had gone even as far as Latrigg, Skiddaw's "cub", a helm wind enveloped the mountain's summit again in mist.

"After pouring out all the execrations ever David levelled against M. Gilboa,\textsuperscript{3} I ascended Latrigg... remarking on my way the ever-changing aspect of the soft Sicilian scene which lies below, nobly contrasted with a rugged background of bleak abrupt ridges and spires, mixing & separating, opening and closing in a manner the most horribly fantastic."\textsuperscript{1}

In front, with Langdale Pike beyond, lay the "jaws of Borrowdale... choked sic with precipices and a forest of spires", and as Leyden moved, so the landscape beneath altered its aspect, its features changing from soft to rugged, from insignificant to grand, until, descending, he "wound through a confined road under Wallow Crag,\textsuperscript{4} a dreadful impending precipice", obtaining "an enchanting view of Derwentwater and part of Bassenthwaite" from a point where his back was turned to "the most awful part of the scene, the rough overhanging rocks. As he advanced, the rocks began "to tower more rugged, spiry, and full of fissures"; but, when he reached the Fall of Lodore, his "ardent expectation" was again completely disappointed.

"The water itself was hardly visible, as it murmured among the large rough loose stones which almost choked the passage. I can

\textsuperscript{1} Leyden, Cumberland Journal. \textsuperscript{2} Especially the "musical stone of schistus", which can still be heard. \textsuperscript{3} Cf. pp.114 & 135 sup. for Leyden's versification of these. \textsuperscript{4} Walla-crag; rendered by Sinton (p.22) and Keith (p.115) as Wallowbrag."
hardly attach an air of majesty to it in idea, and it is only in severe rains that it can possibly assume the appearance of grandeur."

There was no disillusionment, however, in the ascent of Castle-crag, which Leyden made on returning to Grange after proceeding along the sharp, jutting precipices lining the entrance to Borrowdale, as far as "the enormous loose mass of rock termed the Bowdar stone". The summit, besides showing "some appearances of fortification", offered a most picturesque view of Keswick and a "frightfully sublime" prospect towards Borrowdale and its rugged precipices, with their "strata...bent, shattered and tossed in all possible directions"; and still more interesting was the slate quarrying, of which Leyden obtained a gratifyingly near view, ascending the crag by

"...one of the steep giddy paths paved at least a foot deep with small crumbled slate, down which the slaters dragged the slates which they quarried at an amazing height in the precipice. It is dreadfully sublime to see these descending from the most awful heights dragging a loaded hurdle down a track which seems almost perpendicular, with the greatest rapidity. I found that accidents in descending are not numerous, though they would appear inevitable, such is the skill in balancing their bodies and the self-possession they acquire in such terrible situations."

The only extant record of Leyden's tour thereafter is a set of verses addressed to a lady named Mira in Westmorland, who had evidently made on Leyden an unexpectedly deep, if doubtless transitory, impression.

When first beneath the hazel's shade
These charms my careless eye survey'd,
I poured 'tis true the lover's prayer
But knew that other maids were fair.
Soon, ah! too soon, I fondly hung
On each soft accent of thy tongue
The charms I saw thy mind assume
Transcended far thy beauty's bloom
My tortured heart now all in vain
Essays to shun the pleasing pain
Ah! had I thought these pangs to prove
I ne'er had lent my soul to love.

In any event, Leyden was evidently in no hurry to return to Edinburgh, being still absent by the middle of June, when Scott, "counting the days" till Leyden's return, wrote to Richard Heber with mock anxiety:

"Leyden is in Cumberland & I understand by a late letter has been meditating the crime of pilfering a Ms for me. As I have not heard from him since, I hope in God he has escaped the Sleuth hounds & the Hot Trade. I wish him much to

1 Leyden, Cumberland Journal. 2 Leyden, To Mira. Written in Westmoreland. (MS.3383, f.54.) 3 Presumably the Glenriddell MS. obtained at Carlisle. See p.228 supra.
4 i.e. the 'hot trod', or immediate and rigorous pursuit.
return & yet I do not know how to write to him. I think if he is a prisoner to en I must carry the posse comitatus of the Forest to storm Carlisle Castle & set him at liberty via facti.

Besides being eager to see Leyden again and to learn exactly what acquisitions he had made for the Minstrelsy, which continued to progress; Scott was looking forward to giving him a piece of good news; for Scott, who had not "lost sight of" Leyden or of his interest, had now, to his own great pleasure, been able "to be at length of some use in procuring for his friend "a little employment...likely to be attended both with credit and emolument"; in the form of making and arranging for publication a catalogue of the manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, with the prospect that if this were well done, the Faculty would also treat with Leyden for "commencing a Catalogue Raisonné of their great collection", which would take years to compile and would be at once likely to fix Leyden's reputation and secure him excellent patronage. It was fourteen years since John Pinkerton had recommended that the "most learned, opulent and respectable" Faculty of Advocates should publish a worthily-produced catalogue of their manuscripts; and by March, 1801, William Anderson had accomplished £185 worth of cataloguing. Nevertheless, so many manuscripts remained unexamined that the Library's Curators, reviewing progress on June 24, 1800, resolved, evidently under the influence of Scott, to employ John Leyden to catalogue the rest, the Librarian being appointed to "deliver him from time to time Woodrow's MSS. in parcels of six, taking his Receipt for them". The settlement of terms necessarily awaited Leyden's return to Edinburgh, which took place before the end of June; but the appointment promised well, Leyden being an exact and laborious scholar, conversant with palaeography, and possessing already considerable first-hand knowledge of the Library MSS., acquired both in the course of his own researches for the Complaynt and the Minstrelsy, and of the transcribing from such collections as the Bannatyne, Auchinleck, Black and Russell MSS., which, since Richard Heber's return to London from Edinburgh in March, 1800, Leyden had been carrying out both for Scott and Heber, and for Heber's friend George Ellis, then preparing for the press the second and enlarged edition of his justly popular Specimens of the Early English Poets.

1 Scott to Heber, June 12, 1800; (Cent. Ed., XII, pp. 164-65).
2 Scott to Heber, Apr. 5, 1800. (Ibid., XII, p. 153.)
3 Scott to Heber, June 10, 1800. (Ibid., XII, pp. 162-64.)
4 Pinkerton, Ancient Scottish Poems, I, p. lxvii.
5 Minutes of the Curators of the Advocates' Library.
6 Alexander Manners, Librarian from 1794 to 1820.
7 Lond., 1790; 2nd ed., 1801. Leyden sent Heber: "one sheet of the best from the Black MS." on Apr. 24, 1800, & "found Heber's account of Ellis's publication...highly gratifying."
indeed, Leyden set out on another and longer tour, this time to the Highlands of Scotland, which took him away from Edinburgh and his cataloguing duties until the autumn; by which time Scott, in the belief that Leyden had "got well over a difficult passage", was reporting happily to Heber:

"I have no doubt his appointment in the Library will be useful to him & shall not fail to watch & if need be to pray on his behalf. I can promise nothing for my own Interest - but some of my freinds [sic] as little Morses says may have a freind & I shall set all strings to work for poor Leyden." The appointment might indeed have proved highly useful to Leyden, had he not "plunged at first dip" into the "morass of Scotch Ecclesiastical History" contained in the 190 volumes of the Rev. Robert Wodrow's MSS. As it was, however, he became so lamentably bogged that by the following spring he could "hardly report progress" in the work; and on March 11, 1801, the Curators were obliged to resolve that the Wodrow MSS. should be shelved, and a catalogue made of them according to their titles. John Leyden might pride himself on never flinching from physical or mental exertion; but in Robert Wodrow's church history he had met his match.

Infinitely more congenial was Leyden's summer employment of acting as cicerone to two young Germans, the younger named Zeib, who, having studied in Edinburgh during the previous session, now undertook a tour of "the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland" lasting from mid-July to the beginning of October, in which they were to walk some 600 miles, sail 400 and ride 300. Leyden had little enough time, after his return from Cumberland, to make preparations for the longer journey; and he soon found that, travel in the Highlands being expensive, he would have "occasion for more cash" than he had supposed. So, being encouraged by a recent conversation with Archibald Constable, he bestowed on Constable a "mark of confidence... which most persons would rather dispense with" by asking for the loan of £10 for the tour. This request produced £7.2.0, received on July 12, which had not been paid back by the time that Leyden borrowed a
further £5 in March, 1801, and as Leyden again conferred this mark of confidence (which he would "not grant to any other person in Edinburgh on any account") upon Constable almost a year later in borrowing £10 more, he afterwards protested rather too much in declaring his lack of all obligation to Constable.

Thus provided, Leyden set out with his two companions on July 14. At first, to relieve the monotony of the Lowland scenery between Edinburgh and Stirling they talked of the "wild districts of Germany and Bohemia, and enjoyed a comfortable degree of that wise passiveness which is undisturbed by reflection and suffers the images of things to glide over the mind as over a mirror"; but beyond Falkirk they "heard the sound of hammers and saw the smoke ascending of a fiery red colour" from the "Cyclops' den" of Carron ironworks, and admired, on the Forth and Clyde Canal, the spectacle of "vessels sailing through fine copses of wood, with the masts glimmering through the trees". At Kinnaird, Leyden was in his element, viewing the very curious museum and library formed by James Bruce, including twenty-four volumes of Abyssinian MSS., and rejoicing to find such unequivocal proofs of Bruce's travels and of his acquaintance with Abyssinian manners and literature that although he had "always suspected the Abyssinian history detailed" by Bruce to be a forgery, he was now as much convinced of its truth as he had formerly been, the accuracy of Bruce's external observation. Nor was this his only visit to Kinnaird; for early in 1802, a new edition of Bruce's works, to be edited by Alexander Murray, being planned by Constable and Alexander Manners, Leyden, having had an opportunity of examining the MSS. "with some attention", reported to Manners that considerable additions and corrections, which would give Bruce much credit in an age when "the ancient rage for travelling seems to have revived", could be made to Bruce's own edition of his travels, being added in the form of notes to avoid "the obvious impropriety of interfering with the text". The manners and literature of the Abyssinians could likewise be illustrated by observations and extracts from the MSS. at Kinnaird; and an original and interesting work on the antiquities of Barbary...
might be formed from Bruce's Barbary journal and some fifty of his drawings. Bruce's own very copious memoir addressed to Baines Darrington would be the main source for the necessary biography, which should be illustrated by liberal extracts from Bruce's later correspondence, there being "nothing which tends so much to convey the stamp of authenticity"; and there should be no shrinking from a discussion of the delicate questions arising from the publication of the travels, particularly those raised by "the learned Hartmann"; since only literary investigation could settle a literary problem, and "a contemptuous silence" would inevitably recoil on those maintaining it, as the lapse of a few years would increase the difficulty of upholding Bruce's integrity.

At Bannockburn, as at Flodden, Leyden felt a resurgence of the "rancour of a thousand years"; so that had an Englishman presented himself, he would have been greatly tempted to knock him down. The subsiding of this martial enthusiasm left him in a "high poetical key"; but he does not seem to have expressed his feelings in verse either then or on beholding the Forth winding through the "soft romantic beauty" of the Carse, as the travellers looked down on it from Stirling Castle, to which they immediately ascended on reaching that "inelegant and irregular" town, where, next morning, they breakfasted with Dr James Somerville, minister of the first charge, "a stern Calvinist in opinion, and extremely ready to enter upon the defence of the good old cause"; not, one feels, without provocation from the argumentative Leyden. A brief visit to the redoubtable John Ramsay at Ochtertyre, to whom Leyden bore a letter from Dr Robert Anderson, afforded not only walks in the grounds by the river, but also a good deal of conversation on Scottish songs and literature. Leyden took the opportunity of consulting Ramsay on his edition of the Complaynt of Scotland, leaving the glossary with him for annotation, although Ramsay, being "a sorry Etymologist", feared he could not be of "the smallest use" in that respect. They discussed also the burning question of the authenticity of Macpherson's Ossian, a topic still much debated in 1800, the year of Malcolm Leig's Dissertation, and one on which Ramsay, who knew

1 A selection of these drawings appeared for the first time in Sir R. Lambert Playfair's Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce, 1877.
3 Leyden, Ode on visiting Flodden, l. 7. Cf. p. 114 sup.
4 Leyden, Tour, p. 6.
5 Leyden, review of Hector Macneil's The Links of Forth. (MS. 331.)
6 Leyden, Tour, pp. 6-8.
7 Leyden, review of Hector Macneil's The Links of Forth. (MS. 331.)
8 Including the Salictum, or willow walk.
9 Aug. 29, 1800.
something of "Antiquities connected with manners;" although
nothing of Gaelic, had very definite views, being a firm believer
in Ossian and not caring whether the poems were written in the
3rd, 10th or 15th centuries, by the bard himself or by a later
assumer of his character.

"I regard them as effusions of genius which speak to and from
the heart, and contain a portion of poetic magic... seldom to
be met with. He who attempts to convince me that they are
paultry things or a kind of patch work will lose his labour...
at whatever time the poems were composed, nothing will make
me believe Macpherson either forged or was capable of forging
them."

Leyden, for his part, although much handicapped by his ignorance
of Gaelic, was to make the investigation of this subject one of
the main interests of his tour, his initial scepticism gradually
"vanishing like the morning mist" until he returned as a valiant
defender of Ossian; convinced that the poems, though probably
interpolated, were very far from being a forgery of Macpherson's,
since "a prodigious number of old poems and songs" of transcendant
poetical merit, to judge from "an apparently literal translation",
were still current in the Highlands. Being impatient, however,
to reach the "Alpine Scenery" beyond Callander, he did not linger
at Ochtertyre even for the sake of such literary discourse, but,
ignoring his host's earnest advice to go to Norway instead of
venturing among "the Indians of Scotland" in the West Highlands,
hastened on, leaving Ramsay to report to Dr Anderson with mingled
pleasure and concern:

"I was yesterday favoured with Yours by Mr Leyden and the 2
young Germans, with whom I am very much pleased, tho'... I had
short time of their company. I gave them the best hints I
could, but found their schemes very unconvincing. I advised
them to go to Inverary, where the friends to whom they had
letters could form a plan for their tour to the Hebrides which
should be made while the weather was good. After which the
jaunt to the North may be made in chaises of which there was
as many as of Elephants in the Highlands. Mr Zeib had got a
rusty nail in his foot wh. I bid him take care of in a country
where there was nothing but a highd. olla which he would not
like. I asked him if in those days of famine he could eat
grass? Ay said he & pebbles too."

1 Ramsay to Anderson, July 16, 1800.
2 Ramsay to Anderson, Sept. 29, 1800. Ramsay accordingly found much
of Lea's Dissertation on the supposed authenticity of Ossian's
Poems (1800 & 1802, as an appendix to his History of Scotland)
unintelligible. (Ib.)
3 Ramsay to Anderson, July 27, 1802.
4 Leyden to Anderson, Aug. 20, 1800. (Tour, p. 138.) He then felt
that his next letter would probably contain "an explicit recantation"
of his "former infidelity" concerning Ossian.
6 Leyden to Heber, Nov. 4, 1800.
7 Leyden to Anderson, Sept. 30, 1800. (Tour, p. 252.) Cf. Leyden to
Scott, Aug. 23, 1800. (Tour, pp. 139-40.)
8 Ramsay wrote to Anderson, Aug. 19, 1800: "I hope Leyden and his
young friends have not been reduced to eat grass and pebbles."
Passing Blair Drummond and the large water-wheel used in clearing the unproductive ground of Kincardine Moss by "a very singular species of agriculture", Leyden and his companions met three Continental travellers, "all very intent upon acquiring an accurate acquaintance with the agriculture of the country", who were to be encountered again in Argyll: namely, Sir Francis D'Ivernois, "a frenchified Swiss" from Geneva, with an enthusiasm for old French customs and manners; one Burgsdorff, a linguist and connoisseur of the fine arts; and Baron Vincke of Minden, "a little gruff personage", possessing the "very essence of good humour, and extensive liberal views of men and manners", despite "something extremely coarse in his features, and irresistibly laughable in all his gestures", who, being no mere observer, but an enthusiast for the introduction to his native Prussia of every useful and desirable institution, "asked a great many questions in very bad English", and listened to the answers with great avidity, while smoking an immense pipe generally mistaken for a pistol. The approach to the "neat regular village" of Callander, lying under its "extremely beautiful" range of crags, brought wilder scenery, where the hills' green tints gave way to brown heath; and next morning, driving along the side of Loch Vennacher, with Ben Ledi above them "shaggy with dun heath and gray rocks", the travellers were in the land of the water kelpie.

"Our guide informed us that the people of the vale had been a good deal alarmed by the appearance of that unaccountable being the water-horse... during the spring, which had not been seen there since the catastrophe of Corlevram, the wood of woe, when he carried into the loch fifteen children who had broken Pace Sunday. I made enquiries concerning the habits of the animal, and was only able to learn that its colour was brown, that it could speak, and that its motion agitated the lake with prodigious waves, and that it only emerged in the hottest midday to be on the bank."

Past Loch Achray and the entrance to dark, solemn Glenfinlas lay the Trossachs, "a cluster of wonderful rocks" shutting up "the defile of Loch Kettering" and displaying in majestic grandeur and silent gloom "a most astonishing and savage mixture of gray precipices huddled together in awful confusion, projecting with bare and woody points, intermingling with and surmounting each other, wedging into each other's sides, and patched in the most fantastic manner by brown heath finely contrasted with the verdure of the

1 Leyden, Tour, pp.10-11 & 50-52. Cf.
2 Callander reminded Leyden strongly of "Copshawholm, on the banks of the Liddell". - The vestiges of a Roman camp by the Teith Leyden found doubtful and "by no means striking".
3 Leyden queried the fitness of this name of "the fair valley".
5 For Leyden on "dark Finlas' glen" cf. p.116 sup.
6 Leyden, Review of The Links of Forth.
trees. Of part of this "confusion of beauty and horror" and of most of Loch Katrine, together with "the precipice of the Den of the Ghost", the travellers had an enchanting view from Murray Point, to which they were conducted by the point's "discoverer", Mrs Sarah Murray, who, happening to be visiting the loch with a friend, had observed with interest "three active pedestrians, skipping amongst the rocks, with hammers in their hands, striking here and there for curiosities".

"It was not long before they joined us; and, like sojourners in a distant land, we greeted each other with pleasure and freedom. The eldest was a clergyman, accompanying two sprightly youths through the Highlands. They had a horse for their baggage, and one between the three gentlemen to ride on alternately. The youngest had thus early in his journey gotten his foot sadly cut by scrambling amongst the rocks, but his ardent spirit made him think lightly of his wound. Upon looking at his face I discovered his name, for he bore a strong resemblance to his brother... one of the German gentlemen whom I met in Glen Croe in... 1796. My friend and I were... to return to Callender; the gentlemen were on their way to the foot of Ben Lomond, whose lofty summit they meant to gain the next day."

Pursuing this intention, the three, having been forced by the roughness of the water to send the horses round by Glengyle and themselves to cross Loch Katrine by boat from Coilachra, rode on past bleak Loch Arklet to Loch Lomond, crossing it in turn by a "delightful sail" to the small straggling village of Tarbet, whence, after a comfortable night at the inn, they took to the water again next morning, sailing along the shore for some time while waiting for the mist to lift from Ben Lomond. This it failed to do; but the climbers, landing on a round promontory opposite Tarbet, began undauntedly to ascend, seeing the loch shining below like silver in the beams of the sun before they reached the level of the thick mist, through which they went on to the top, undeterred by a descending party's warning that visibility might extend to about arm's length. Nor was this tenacity unrewarded; for as they were examining the rocks on the summit "in a very disconsolate manner, suddenly a vast chasm opened in the surrounding fog", revealing, as "the mist rolled away in broken columns and irregular fleeces", the nearer land and water, the southern part of Loch Lomond, much of Loch Katrine, the Forth and "some small lakes on the tops of the low heathy hills".

1 Leyden, Tour, pp. 14-16.
3 They had at first intended to cross from 'Auch-mach-munh'.
4 Tour, pp. 16-20.
"The columns of white mist then descended rapidly in all directions through the defiles of the mountains, and closing in an immense ocean, like the waves of the Red Sea round the Israelites, left for a time the tops of the hills swimming like islands in the obscure white, and these were soon enveloped in total obscurity. This scene, which is extremely sublime, was several times repeated during our stay."

Leaving Loch Lomond on July 18, perhaps a little disappointed that the sides of the hills appeared "neither so precipitous nor so steep" there as at the finest lakes of Cumberland, Leyden went on past Loch Long's "fine sweep of water", where the herring fishing had just begun, through Glen Croe, "the most desolate place under heaven", generally wrapped in mist and completely covered with assorted stones to the exclusion of vegetation, and into Glen Kinglas, emerging at Ardkinglas and ferrying across the head of Loch Fyne, to reach Inveraray, as John Ramsay had counselled. Having been conducted by Captain Archibald Campbell through various beautiful walks in the Duke's policy and up the deep, sequestered 'mossy glen', Leyden next day surveyed the environs of the town and its castle, the "Gothic aspect" of which accorded well with the scene at a distance, although its "round turrets and elevated dome bid defiance even to the rules of Gothic architecture", and after climbing the picturesquely wooded Duniquaich and examining the Duke of Argyll's barn in Glen Shira in company with the Duke's physician, Dr Robertson (an uninspiring guide with little taste for scenery and still less for mineralogy), Leyden and his charges dined with the Duke himself, "a very good-natured man", so little interested in his own library that his permission to Leyden to look at the old books there was rendered "of no avail by the fact that the steward with the key of the book closet was absent from the castle throughout Leyden's stay. Also at dinner were Sir John MacGregor Murray, whose mission to the western isles to collect evidence for the authenticity of Ossian's poems was regarded by Leyden with some jealousy, and Sir William Hart, "a piece of family furniture termed A hand at whist", with whom Leyden took it into his head to turn gracious, so that Hart gave

1 Or rather, the Egyptians; see Exodus, ch. xiv. For Leyden's Ode to Jehovah, adapted from Exodus, ch. xv, see Tour, p. 20.
2 Ibid., p. 21. Leyden found Glen Croe similar to Borrowdale & Glen Kinglas "vastly superior to Patterdale".
3 The horrors of "this valley of desolation" were relieved by "a merry sheep-shearing"; & Leyden had the mild adventure of scrambling among some steep rocks to an apparent cave, which proved to be "only a very shallow cavity". (Tour, pp. 22-23.)
4 Leyden had little taste for this. Cf. pp.
5 Leyden to Thomas Brown, [July 25], 1800.
6 Leyden to Archibald Constable, Aug. 14, 1800. (MS. 331, N.L.S.)
7 Cf. p. inf. Murray (1745-1822), a founder member of the Highland Society, had been auditor-general of Bengal.
him "a perusal of his journey thro the Crimea in 1796 4to 150 pages"¹; a narrative which, for all its intrinsic interest, Sir William succeeded in reducing to the level of Bubb Dodington's Diary,² recording "with great accuracy when he rose in the morning, whether he reposed well, whether he got a good dinner, what wine he drank, and when he was forced to take café noire faute de crème"³; without "trifling about the manners of the natives, the nature of the soil, the population, the remains of fallen greatness in that curious country"¹or its aspect or economy,⁴ so that Leyden was never so much amused by "any MS ancient or modern".¹ But his graciousness was not without its reward, in the forms of an evening's loan from Sir William of a comparative vocabulary of French, German, Polish and Latin, published at Warsaw in 1770, and of the promise of a sight, in Edinburgh, of certain medals "with Greek inscriptions", picked up by Hart's own hands among the ruins of a great city.³ From Inveraray the way lay up Glen Aray to the extremely beautiful Loch Awe, "superior to all but Loch Lomond and Loch Ketterin", through a long glen thickly wooded with birch "I never saw that tree look so beautiful"⁻⁵ to the shores of Loch Etive, diversified with little variety of scenery, and so past the Falls of Lora, where the supposed site of ancient Berigonion lay across the loch, and on, in the rapidly gathering dusk, to the small straggling village of Oban.⁶ Having duly visited Dunolly and the rocks of the shore (where among the masses of plum-pudding stone Leyden "distinctly perceived some porous scoriae of lava")⁷, "the remarkable boiling-well" and Dunstaffnage with its singular echo, the travellers set out for Mull, on the raw, misty evening of July 21, in company with their German friends, Vincke and Burgsdorff, arriving in the dark at Auchnacraig, and next day crossing the island to Aros, not without a shudder at the "most deplorable huts of the peasants". "Some of the doors are hardly four feet high, and the houses themselves, composed of earthen sods in many instances, are scarcely twelve. There is often no other outlet of smoke but at the door, the consequence of which is that the women are more squalid and dirty than the men, and their features more disagreeable".⁶ Having procured a guide to Ulva, and spent a day of very close mist at Aros in relative inaction, the party sailed to Ulva on the morning of the 24th "to

1 Leyden to Thomas Brown, July 25, 1800.
2 Published in 1784, Dodington having died in 1762.
3 Tour, pp. 27-28. ⁴ Hart said as little on these topics as on "the question whether angels have beards". (Ibid., pp. 28.)
5 For Leyden's fondness for birches cf. Tour, pp. 28-35.
6 Leyden has such "botheration about mineralogy" in many places.
take up our bagpiper; and then on to Staffa, which moved the geologist in Leyden almost to lyricism. -

"On the east side the columns are not so regular as on the south and west, but they contain numerous zeolites of different colours, chiefly green and white, sometimes crystalline and sometimes soft and striated like schorl, chalcedony, garnets, and martial jasper. We took some zeolites off the rocks, which nearly resembled a petrified cockle." 1

In the "melodious cave" of Fingal, grand beyond conception and superior even to that of the nymphs in the Odyssey, 2 a powerful imagination might easily conceive "an august assembly of sea-gods seated"; but not even its awful effect, greatly increased by the sense of one's own danger in traversing a narrow ledge or irregular gallery above the dreadful organ-like noise of the waves, safeguarded Leyden against the bathos of reporting:

"In Fingal's Cave the sound of the bagpipe, almost drowned by the roaring of the waves and the echo of the cave, exceeded in grandeur and wildness any union of sounds I ever heard. The island of Staffa rents for fourteen pounds, and is now only used for grazing cattle..." 3

Equally impressive was the ancient grandeur of the ruins of Iona, reached in a dead calm of the most sickening heat, which filled Leyden with such melancholy thoughts of the contrast between the island's former and present state that he "never trode with greater veneration over holy ground", although the solemnity of his reflections was not untinged with satire. 4

"...the fishermen are industrious, which is more, perhaps, than can be said for the monks; but they preserved learning in the darkest age of the world,...and introduced a mild religion among a barbarous race of men. The regal tombs of the Scotch, Irish, and Norwegian princes are now incapable of being distinguished except by tradition....Some of the present stock of European sovereigns should visit Iona and pause a little on the confines of the other world..." 5

The calm beauty of the sunset there led Leyden to fancy the "fair light of heaven" as passing to sleep in the green happy isle of Tir-nan-og and bearing "tidings from the land of hills" to the spirits of the departed:

Calm is thy rest amid these fields so green,
Where never breathes the deep heart-rending sigh,
Nor tears of sorrow dim the sufferer's eye. -

Then why revisit this unhappy scene,
Like the lone lamp that lights the sullen tomb,
To add new horrors to sepulchral gloom? 6

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1 Tour, p.39.
2 Cf. Odyssey, bk.V.
3 Tour, pp.41-42. The piper's "martial pibroch" played while the party sat on a rock after viewing the island attracted sheep, cows and deer in the manner, Leyden thought, of Orpheus.
4 Tour, pp.44-45. Leyden had no doubt in mind Dr Johnson's pronouncement on the solemnity of Iona.
5 Cf. Leyden's Lines to Mrs Charles Buhl, 1.4: "A princess from the land of hills."
6 Leyden, To the setting sun. Written in...Iona, 11.9-14.
The idea of "the green island of the blest...the Celtic Hath- 
imis"¹ seems indeed to have appealed strongly to Leyden; and he 
dealt with it again in a more ambitious piece of verse, highly 
reminiscent of Collins's Ode on the popular superstitions of the 
Highlands of Scotland,² and demonstrating Leyden's heaviness of 
touch in handling the supernatural, which told how

On Flannan's rock, where spring perennial smiles, 
Beyond the verge of cold Ebrida's isles,³ 
(Where, as the labourer turns the tilled ground, 
The relics of a pigmy race are found;⁴ 
A race who liv'd before the light of song, 
Had pour'd its beams o'er days forgotten long;)⁵ 
A Druid dwell - at whose unclosing gate⁶ 
The spirits of the winds were wont to wait;⁷

and how, lamenting "the narrow circle of his days", despite his 
miraculous powers of riding on the tempest and walking on the 
sea, the druid was at last transported on a day of storm in "a 
living boat" -

An hundred oars, self moving, brush the seas; 
The milk-white sails bend forward to the breeze; 
No human forms the glistening cordage bound, 
But shapes like moon-light shadows, glancing round ⁸

to the "calm green fields of the departed", a purer and more 
placid day lighted a pastoral scene of

Green sloping hills in spring eternal drest, 
Where fleecy clouds of bright transparence rest, 
Whose lucid folds the humid course reveal 
Of trickling rills, that from their bosoms steal, 
And down through streaks of deeper verdure glide, 
Melodious tinkling o'er the mountain's side... 
As dews of morn distend the lily's bell, 
High in their beds the murmuring riv'lets swell. 
Beneath the whispering shade of orange trees, 
Where sloping valleys spread to meet the seas. 
While round the crystal marge undazzling play 
With soften'd light the amber beams of day... 

There was nothing calm, however, about Leyden's "most 
perilous and fatiguing" return voyage to Oban along the south 
coast of Mull, for what Leyden reckoned as fifty miles. -

"I say perilous, because though we encountered no actual 
danger whatever, except that of catching cold, as we coasted 
along the abrupt shore of Mull lined with shoals shelves and 
shallows, in a clumsy open coble, in which it was impossible 
either to lie, sit or stand, guided by four ignorant

1 Leyden to Thomas Brown Auýx'', 15,1800. 
2 Cf. Leyden's Ode...on Scottish Scenery (pp.115-16 sup.) in 
this respect; ³'Ebuda's isles' in 1819 ed., p.147. 
4 Cf. Collins's Ode, ll.116-20. 
5 Cf. Scott's lines on Leyden in The Lord of the Isles,IV, xi: 
"...That loved the light of song to pour". 
6 Cf. Collins, Ode, 1.99:'His babes shall linger at th'unclosing gate". 
7 The Celtic Paradise, or Green Isle of 
the western waves,11.1-3, 35-38, 71-76 & 83-86. 
8 Perhaps a reminiscence of The Ancient Mariner,pts.v & vi.
fisherman, who had never gone three miles from Iona in their lives, we run the risk of at least 49 possible dangers of the first magnitude. The slightest touch of a rock had sent us to the bottom, the slightest squall had overset us and the slightest surf that had burst over us had filled us instantly with water and made us founder in the twinkling of a pair of pistols. But the most unlucky circumstance of the whole was that we neglected in our rage for mineralizing to victual our boat, and found ourselves half-starved about three leagues from any habitation, in the evening, with nothing but a bottle of whiskey. There were six of our party, the evening was excessively cold and misty, and by force of adverse waves and wind we were retarded 3 hours beyond all calculation. My two young friends, wrapping themselves up in their great coats, contrived to stow themselves in the only dry spots in the boat under the stem and stern & immediately fell asleep. Though my legs and boots were thoroughly soaked, as we were up to the ankles in leaking water, I was endeavouring to follow their example, when the view of two immense toads crawling along the side, effectually deterred me; so there was I forced to sit fifteen hours, between two very awkward rowers, one of whom bruised my arms and breast & the other my back with their oars; forced to row ever and anon myself and utterly incapable of either resisting or enjoying sleep. The rowers however amused themselves with chanting a Gaelic song about Oscar MacGoshin, who was dreadfully gashed at the battle of Bal-Eden, that the cranes might have flown through him, when he was cured by Fingal. Our Scotch phrase of making the sun and wind to pass through a person is nothing to this. They sung another about MacPhail of Colonsay and the Mermaid of Corriewrekin, who fell in love with him, and carried him down to her habitation in Davie's locker. I suspect this last was more amusing to us than to them, as they seemed dreadfully afraid of a water spirit emerging from the gulfs of Mull, and carrying them off in triumph, tho' none of them had the appearance of an Adonis."

All possible dangers having been avoided, the weary travellers reached Oban about seven on the morning of July 25; and it was then, while waiting for breakfast in Macdonald's inn, that Leyden seized almost his first free moment of the tour, albeit one of extreme lassitude, to compose his lively account of the voyage for Thomas Brown, reporting at the same time that, having attended faithfully to the commission of Brown's sister Margaret, he could now state: "her name in Gaelic is either Meig or Pugga. I spell auricularly: probably she will not thank me much for either."2

The boatmen's tale of MacPhail and the Mermaid Leyden versified at some length and with modifications,3 making of it finally a leisurely, polished ballad of 68 stanzas,4 prefaced by a courtly dedication to Lady Charlotte Campbell:

1 Leyden to Thomas Brown, [July] 25, 1800. The account in Leyden's Tour, pp. 47-50, shows that the party spent the night on shore near Carsaig bay. 2 Margaret (b. 1772) was 11th in the family. 3 Leyden's hero remained faithful to his earthly love. 4 The version in Dr. Kenneth Macleay's Description of the Spar Cave, pp. 77-78, has 70 stanzas and many variants.
Go forth, devoid of fear, my simple lay!
First heard, returning from Iona's bay,
When round our bark the shades of evening drew,
And broken slumbers prest our weary crew.
While round the prow the sea-fire, flashing bright,
Shed a strange lustre o'er the waste of night;
While harsh and dismal scream'd the diving gull
Round the dark rocks that wall the coast of Mull;
As through black reefs we held our venturous way,
I caught the wild traditionary lay;-
A wreath, no more in black Iona's isle
To bloom - but grac'd by high-born beauty's smile.

Composed in a style rather "too fine and recherché" for its subject
and not wholly free from an affectation of quaintness; 2 The
Mermaid began with "a new poetic notice, that of the murmuring
sea-shell among thee sounds congenial to the thoughts of parting
lovers" 3 and with "a power of numbers" seldom equalled, in Walter
Scott's opinion, in English poetry: 4

On Jura's heath how sweetly swell
The murmurs of the mountain bee!
How softly mourns the writhed shell
Of Jura's shore its parent sea!

The picturesque effect of this alliteration moved the soulful
Anna Seward to declare:

"The lavish repetition of the letter a finely imitates the
hushy sound... of the sea-shore, and the hissing effect is
softened away by the number of intermixed vowels, and by the
frequency of the sonorous consonant m. These are little
circumstances to which no poet should be inattentive who
wishes to unite the graces of picture and of melody." 3

And being always delighted to leave the sterile land of "rude,
unornamented, traditional verse, for the fair fertile, regions of
genuine poetry", she was equally pleased with what came after:
with the sea-snake of wrinkled form and snowy mane -

Unwarp, unwind his oozy coils,
Sea-green sisters of the main
And in the gulf where ocean boils
The unwieldy wallowing monster chain!

the contrasted description of the mermaid -

That Sea-maid's form, of pearly light,
Was whiter than the downy spray.
And round her bosom, heaving bright,
Her glossy, yellow ringlets play...
An oozy film her limbs overspread;
Unfolds in length her scaly train;
She toss'd in proud disdain her head,
And lash'd with webbed fin the main;

1 Dedication to The Mermaid, 11.15-26.
2 The Monthly Review for October, 1804, which thought that without
the preface the poem would have been unintelligible, although
"composed in pretty stanzas" sometimes graceful and soothing.
3 Anna Seward to Scott, July 29, 1803; quoted in her Letters, VI, 967.
4 Scott's Memoir. This stanza is re-arranged in the Macleay version
the various readings in which are given as footnotes to The Mer-
maid in Henderson's edition of the Minstrelsy.
and her transporting Macphail "like a powerless corpse" through the eddying waves\(^1\) to the pleasures of her coral cave:

> 'Fair is the crystal hall for me,  
> With rubies and with emeralds set,  
> And sweet the music of the sea  
> Shall sing, when we for love are met.

How sweet to dance with gliding feet  
Along the level tide so green;  
Responsive to the cadence sweet,  
That breathes along the moonlight scene!

How sweet, when billows heave their head,  
And shake their snowy crests on high,  
Serene in ocean's sapphire bed,  
Beneath the tumbling surge to lie.'

All these appeared so "fresh from the plastic hand of true genius" that, in returning Scott a thousand thanks for the third volume of the Minstrelsy, Miss Seward designated "the melodious, the fanciful Leyden" "the Ovid of your fraternity", admitting that Ovid himself, in translation at least, had not for her half the charms of The Mermaid, and exclaiming that, although the Minstrelsy's earlier volumes had contained other "delightful effluences from the same clear fountain",\(^3\) this appeared to her the brightest of all its streams.\(^4\) And a lesser literary lady, Mrs Henry Rolls, evidently admired Leyden's poem enough to copy it in her Legend of Mona, composed in the same style and stanza and having for its hero none other than "the Lord of Colonsay".\(^5\)

Having recovered sufficiently from the fatigues of his voyage by the evening of July 25 to climb a neighbouring hill for the sake of its view of Oban bay, Leyden beheld a scene of uncommon beauty which inspired him, when he left it regretfully after every tint had died away, to compose a poetical address to the ancient heroes of Morven.\(^6\)

"Along the shore the sea was clear as a mirror, reflecting in an inverted position the houses of Oban, the ships in the bay, Dunolly Castle, and the adjacent rocks. At a considerable distance it was darkened by the black mountains of Morven, Mull, and the eminences of Kerrera. The intermediate space was beautifully variegated by numerous lines of coloured light, blending with each other in every possible gradation of shade, changing their hues continually as the long shadows of the hills varied their position. At one time the waves were crisped with long lines of red, purple, and yellow light; in a moment afterwards all motion had ceased, and the bay seemed one large still field of broken flaky ice."

\(^{1}\) The Macleay version has, wrongly, "edging waves".

\(^{2}\) Cf. Leyden's Ode to the scenes of infancy, ll. 61–63. (p. 80 sup.)

\(^{3}\) Flodden Ode, Lord Soulis: Scottish Music, & The Couth of Keildar.

\(^{4}\) Anna Seward to Scott, July 29, 1803.

\(^{5}\) The Literary and Statistical Magazine for Scotland, Nov., 1817, (p. 425–26) printed 11 stanzas of this MS. poem.

\(^{6}\) Lost, as Scott (Memoir) mistakenly thought all the 'Tour' poems were, except The Mermaid.
In the following three weeks, too, Leyden was to encounter much else of beauty and interest in Argyll. Having walked along the shore to Easdale on July 26, admiring Loch Feochan's characteristic softness, reminiscent of the Cumberland lakes, he returned next morning to examine the small and highly-cultivated island, formerly quarried for slate, which lay opposite Easdale inn; and having breakfasted, by invitation, with the quarries' superintendent, he was gratified by being shown "everything curious" in the newer workings on the adjacent island. These, however, unlike the Cumbrian quarries, presented nothing of difficulty, danger or romance, being wrought upon a flat surface; and thereafter, being rowed southward along the beautiful, rocky shore towards Loch Crinan, past lofty and romantic Scarba and low flat Lunga, Leyden was again greatly disappointed to find hardly any agitation of the water visible at "the dangerous whirlpool of Corrivrekin." Loch Crinan afforded some compensation both in its highly romantic view and the "upright wall of basalt standing alone like the fragment of a ruin" at its mouth: but an attempt to obtain food at a pitiful inn about a mile up the loch met with failure from Leyden's unwillingness to assume his clerical character:

"...as I carried a few books under my arm and was partly dressed in sable, the landlady mistook me for an itinerant preacher, and the landlord named MacPadzean, an ugly fellow with a hypocritical face, immediately obtruded himself upon us, and maintaining his post obstinately, told me his wife wished to have a lecture. As I declined officiating in this capacity, I soon found that no provisions were to be got." A further nine miles' journey ensued along the still unfinished Crinan Canal to "a pretty good inn upon Loch Gilpin, an arm of Loch Fyne;" but the travellers' intention of remaining next day at Lochgilphead to "see the environs" was frustrated by the unexpected arrival at breakfast-time of the local posse comitatus under Sheriff Campbell of Ashkenish, to whom Leyden and his friends were obliged to code their rooms, with no immediate prospect of alternative accommodation: an embarrassment relieved by the Sheriff's "true Highland hospitality" and politeness in inviting them to stay at his elegant mansion of Loch Gair, some six miles off, which afforded both an excellent view from its adjacent hills, and still more pleasingly, the very agreeable company of the Sheriff's daughter and the other ladies of the family. This

1 Leyden was surprised to find every foot of ground cultivated, chiefly with potatoes. 2 Tour pp. 54-53. 3 Cf. p. 233 sup. for the mermaid in Leyden's poem. (Cf. p. 245 sup.) In Scottish Descriptive Poems p. 190. Leyden quoted Martin's account of the whirlpool of Mad Corbrecho (Albannia, p. 279).
luck in obtaining hospitality held: for, returning to Lochgilphead on July 29 and there meeting Commissary Duncan Campbell of Ross, the travellers accepted with alacrity Campbell's invitation to his seat at Taynish, as affording "an opportunity of seeing South Knapdale and Castle Swein". So, provided with a letter of introduction to Mrs Campbell, they retraced their steps along the canal, passing through a country at first rocky and wild, and then well wooded and cultivated, to reach the "uninteresting antique" house of Taynish on its promontory in Loch Sween; and there they found, in their hostess and her sister, Miss Lamont, two ladies whose fascinating manners, good humour and intelligence made time pass "as imperceptibly as the magician of Skerr found it in...the green isle of the blessed", so that Leyden, dating the next entry in his journal August 6, regarded the intervening period as annihilated.

For indoors at Taynish there were the pleasures of "hearing various species of Highland music performed with grace and execution on the harpsichord," of hearing how their host in his youth had heard poems of Ossian (the titles of which he had unfortunately forgotten) "recited several successive evenings for several hours by some shepherds in Perthshire," and of looking over copies of "bonds of manrent and friendship, and of blood-acquittal," chiefly between the Campbells of Craignish and the MacRaws and MacGraws, and the Clan MacOcharmaig or Shaw", of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, which, although tedious and formal, "conveyed a very clear idea of the barbarity of the times".

And outside there were cruises in Duncan Campbell's wherry to such points of interest as the ruined Dun Vourich on the opposite promontory, the sacred Elen-mor-macOcharmaig with its sculptured tombstone and fragmentary cross brought from Iona, and its near view of Jura, "terminated on the one hand by Isla and on the other by the towering rugged mountain of Scarba", and the romantically beautiful scenery at the head of Loch Sween, "hardly inferior in picturesque effect to the Trosachs".

The idyll of Taynish over, the next night found the party at Prospect Hill, where Leyden spent a most interesting evening.

1 Commissary of the Commissariat of Stirling and of the stores of war in North Britain. 2 Tour, p. 64. On p. 68 Leyden spells this reputed Danish fortress "Sueno".
3 Mrs. Campbell was Amelia, daughter of John Lamont of Lamont.
4 Cf. pp. 243-44 sup. 5 Tour, pp. 66-72.
6 Leyden's wish to hear "the Mach Lornond March" was disappoint-
ed, the most characteristic airs which he heard being "Lochiel's and Duntoon's March". (Tour, p. 67.) 7 Tour, p. 73.
8 The cross was said to have floated from the bell of Kintyre to Eilean Mor "in the manner of St Patrick's millstone". (Lb., p. 70.)
9 Cf. Scott, The Lord of the Isles, IV, xi, 1. 19, on "Scarba's isle".
First, taking the opportunity of "observing the process of cultivating mossy land", he traversed the 500-acre experimental farm, recovered within three years from "an impassable morass, floated with water" and covered with sedge, heath and marshmallow, which "an agriculturist of great merit" named Gow managed for Malcolm of Duntroon with such success that 200 of its acres now bore luxuriant crops of corn, turnips and potatoes, to the astonishment of the natives, who had regarded Gow as a madman and still declined to abate "one jot or tittle of their attachment to their most useless and most injurious usages". Then, procuring horses rather late in the evening, he set out by way of Kilmartin to view the remains of Carnassary Castle, "a strong house of defence", still elegant in decay, founded by John Carswell, the sixteenth century Bishop of Argyll and the Isles whom Poirm na Murrmaidheadh of 1567 (the first book printed in Gaelic, "and not in very good Gaelic either", according to the Rev. Donald Macnicol of Lismore) so interested Leyden that by the end of his tour, having learned enough Gaelic to superintend its editing, and believing that Lady Charlotte Campbell could procure him the use of the Duke of Argyll's copy, he had hopes of prevailing on Constable to "give a curious & scarce edition of it if the sale of 100 copies could be certified". As the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had abandoned their purpose of reprinting Carswell's work a few years before on discovering that its style was bad and its sentiments "little better than popery", so Leyden's plan in its turn came to nothing, although for different reasons; for after declaring in the spring of 1802 that Constable and he had "as good as determined to print the Irish Liturgy", he was obliged to admit two months later that there would probably be no new edition thereof after all.

"Constable was anxious for it awhile, but before I could procure it from Argyles Library, his ardour contrived to cool: indeed I believe by the very bad success of his Scottish Poems edited by Dalzell the advocate. He begins to see that the work will not push in England, as he phrases it because you are all such blockheads as to be ignorant of Gaelic, and therefore I think you may consider the affair as

1 Tour, pp.73-76. Leyden considered the agriculture of lower Lorne in general "susceptible of very great improvement".
2 Leyden to Constable, Aug. 14, 1800.
3 Leyden to Heber, Nov. 4, 1800.
5 Leyden to Heber, [Apr., 1801]. 6 Leyden to Heber, Mar. 27, 1802.
7 Leyden to Heber, [June 2, 1802], when Leyden sent him an account of the work which stimulated Heber to ask for a translation. An edition of The Book of Common Order...translated into Gaelic, ed. Thomas McLachlan, appeared in 1874.
8 Cf. p.221 sup. for Dalyell's Scottish Poems of the 16th Century.
terminated, for though I would willingly have made an
effort to have given a correct edition of the only printed
work in old Scotch Gaelic, without any view of pecuniary
advantage to myself, yet I cannot urge him to what he con-
ceives to be a loss nor have I time to spend in arranging
the sale of an edition as well as correcting it. 1 I intended
to have written a short preface to it in English, explaining
my theory of Ossian, viz. that the fragments we now find all
belonged to long Poems like the Norman Romances, and also
the connection between the Welsh and the Gaell Irish and Scot-
ish but must resign it for these reasons." 2

Nevertheless, being favoured eventually with the use of the Duke
of Argyll's copy of the Fàirm, and desiring strongly to exhibit
"this curious citation" to the public as conclusive evidence
that Gaelic was "a language written taught and cultivated by
composition" by the mid sixteenth century, 3 Leyden contrived to
give a "correct view" of it in his Scotch Descriptive Poems,
accompanying the Gaelic extracts with an English version made by
the Rev. James Macdonald of Anstruther-Wester. 4 He introduced
this "view" as a note to Alexander Hume of Logie's strictures on
the fashionable literature of the period, on the ground that as
Hume condemned with asperity the lovers of romances and amatory
poetry, so Carswell inveighed against "the Gaelic literati...for
being more addicted to their native poetry than to theological
investigations" 3; and although balked of his intended preface on
Ossian and the affinities of Welsh, Irish and Scottish Celts in
the days when Fingal and his heroes were a subject of popular
composition, he did not fail to observe that there then existed
a distinct order of bards, historians and teachers, respectable
and cultivated men possessed of Gaelic manuscripts, and to pro-
phesy that upon a more accurate study of Celtic antiquities,
"the Welch and the Gael" would be found to have many heroes in
common, including King Arthur and Cuchullin. 3

Proceeding thereafter directly to Oban, without seeing
anything of importance "except some very beautiful walls of
horizontal basalt" near Easdale, Leyden spent August 8 in minera-
izing with little success among the neighbouring cliffs, especi-
ally to the south, where, stumbling on the narrow, grass-grown
entrance of a cave at the foot of a steep rock, he crept in with
some difficulty and was astonished to find a number of human
bones scattered over the floor of the cavern. 5

"It occurred to us that this had probably been an ancient
scene of massacre, and we dragged to light some of the bones

1 Cf. Leyden's later proposals in India to compile and edit
works with no pecuniary advantage to himself.
2 Leyden to Heber, [June 2, 1802]. 3 Leyden, Scotch Descript-
4 Tour in North Uist, 1772; at Anstruther, 1799-1804.
5 Tour, pp. 81-82.
which have long remained undisturbed in the grave. Groping in the dark sides of the cavern, it seemed to communicate with another dark pit of still greater extent; but as my ardour for exploring such subterraneous abodes had considerably abated at the sight of the dry bones, I quietly resigned the cave to its ancient possessors. Upon examining the exterior surface of the rock we observed two other communications a little higher in the declivity, from which we judged that it had more probably been a wolf's den."

An adventure of a sort awaited them the same evening, when, having set out about eight o'clock in a chaise for Bonawe, on route for Glenorchy, they were overtaken by a thick mist.

"Our driver, in order to elevate his spirits before setting out on the dreary road, had applied to whiskey, the universal medicine of the Highlanders, and not being extremely accurate in his calculations, had raised them considerably above par, and therefore amused himself by dismounting every gate which he encountered, and hurling them over the braes or into Loch Etive."

Bonawe having been reached in safety, nevertheless, the next morning's breakfast was taken at Dalmally, after a journey through the immense rugged chasm of the pass of Muckairn, excelling even Glen Croe in "savage nakedness and horrid grandeur," and round the foot of Ben Cruachan, with its "chain of waterfalls descending in succession from the brow of the mountain, roaring, foaming, and whitening": a neighbourhood where the large number of cairns, said to mark the graves of "the ancient MacGregors", moved Leyden to one of his less successful poetic utterances, reporting the imaginary address of a spirit from "the heath of the dead":

'See, round thee the cairns of the dead are disclosing
The shades that have long been in silence reposing!
Through their form dully twinkles the moon-beam descending
As their red eyes of wrath on a stranger are bending.'

Leaving the inn at Dalmally in the afternoon to go in quest of MacNab, the blacksmith reputed to possess "some Fragments of the Poetry of Ossian", Leyden found two of his brothers at the village of Barra Castle, dwelling on the hill inhabited by their ancestors for the last four hundred years; but they, although ready to receive Leyden's party "with great civility" and to display triumphantly their forbears' rusty armour and, less convincingly, the supposed vestiges of Fingalian forts among their own huts, had to refer Leyden, for information on Ossian's poems, to the third brother, living some two miles off, on a farm for which

1 Leyden, Tour, p. 82.
2 Ibid., p. 83.
3 Leyden, Macgregor. Written in Glenorchy..., ll. 13-16.
4 Faujas de Saint-Fond, Travels in England, Scotland, and the Hebrides, I, pp. 290-302, described his visit to the MacNab family, & so described the smith in his caption to a picture of his cottage interior, facing p. 300.
5 Hereditary smiths to the Breadalbane family, though originally natives of Glendochart.
6 Leyden attached little credit to "these representations".
Leyden, his curiosity now thoroughly excited, set out at once, despite the lateness of the hour and the onset of violent rain: only to learn, on arriving drenched to the skin after wading through long grass and tangled heath, that MacNab was away superintending his servants at a limekiln. Thither Leyden followed, going on up the hill to the lime quarry, and then waiting, again in vain, at the farm, until he had to make his way back to Dalrymally with much difficulty in the dark. Returning undeterred the next morning, however, he was gratified to find MacNab "an intelligent respectable man, capable of detailing the information he possessed with considerable clearness and precision," little as that information actually was, and willing both to send to Edinburgh copies of all the Ossianic poems procurable in Glenorchy, and, at the moment, to act as guide to Kilchurn Castle, Inishall, Fraoch Eilean and Glenorchy, with their legends and antiquities.

The following day, August 11, saw Leyden undertake a still more arduous expedition; for in the forenoon, provided with a hammer and a bottle of cider, he "sallied out alone to ascend the steep lofty mountain of Cruchan Ben," unappalled by the extremely discouraging tales of its difficulty, with which "people seemed to take a pleasure" in trying to deter him. In order to "reach the greatest number of emerging strata," he went up by the west side of a torrent which had formed an enormous chasm with steep and overhanging sides and "numerous cascades in the most picturesque situations"; and, having noted equally the geological and scenic beauties of the ascent, he was rewarded on the summit by a view of "prodigious grandeur" superior to that afforded by Skiddaw or Ben Lomond, despite a thin and distant haze.

"Hills of vast size appear piled on each other - torn, rent, and divided in every possible direction; sharp ridges appear crossing and mingling with each other, while their bare shelving sides, tinged of bright red and gray, are furrowed with torrents that seem to have burst from the sides of the hills and ploughed up their declivities to the bottom. In every vale is its own lake, winding along shelving shores and glimmering in the sun. Conic tops and channelled rough ridges were soaring above the white fleecy clouds that slowly sailed along their sides, upon which the shadows of the mountains lay like enormous branching trees."

1 Tour, pp. 85-87. Cf. Scott's account (Memoir) of Leyden's following the Kirkton Blacksmith in boyhood to obtain a volume of the Arabian Nights. See p. 16 sup.
2 Tour, pp. 87-94. E.g. the party saw sculptured tombstones, and heard the stories of the building of Kilchurn and of "the MacGregor proscription".
3 Tour, p. 95. Leyden thought this the second highest Scottish hill.
4 An article in The Scotsman, Feb. 25, 1903, describes Leyden's Highland journey as "a tour made by Dominie Sampson," and cites his frequent use of "prodigious" but the identification can hardly be taken seriously (W.S. Crockett, The Scott Originals, p. 67.)
Then, having descended over the enormous blocks of granite with more difficulty than in his ascent, and walked the fifteen miles back to Oban, Leyden ended the day at the inn there,

"...in great spirits, listening to the sound of a bagpipe and the dunning of some very alert Highlanders dancing the Highland Fling with great glee. Though I have acquired a few Gaelic words and phrases, I am really in considerable danger of mistaking the house where I write for the tower of Babel, for such a jargon of sounds as that produced by a riotous company bawling Gaelic songs and chattering something very like Billingsgate, blending with English oaths and the humstrum of a Highland bagpipe, seldom assails any ears but those of the damned."  

Two days later, after visiting Berigonium, the reputed site of the capital of Dalriada, already glimpsed from the south side of Loch Etive, and exploring it as well as was possible with a guide whose English was as faulty as their Gaelic, the travellers passed on to the low, green island of Lismore, reaching it with difficulty late in the evening, and being received with such frankness and hospitality by the Rev. Donald McNicol, the author of adverse Remarks on Dr. Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides, that it was with regret that they set out to return to Oban next day. Not far off shore, however, they were assailed so fiercely by a violent squall of wind and rain as to come "within an inch of entering the boat of ages and making a voyage to the green island of the blest," as Leyden vividly reported to Thomas Brown.

"Figure to yourself our situation, in a shallow open boat, navigated by ignorant sailors, who hardly understood a word of English; the waves heaving and foaming and dashing over us repeatedly, while we could not make ourselves understood, and could only understand the words "Cott tamm," bawled out at first, and gradually muttered in a lower and lower tone, till the mariners became entirely silent. After exhausting all my Gaelic, and assuring the sailors in English that they would soon drink salt water, I sat down very composedly on the stern and began to roar away "Lochaber no more," to the utter astonishment of the poor mariners, who verily believed they had got the devil on board."

Nevertheless, the boat did bear them safely back to Lismore and Mr McNicol, whom they left finally on August 15, to sail to Oban with a fair wind; and Leyden employed the interval in discovering all he could about the island and its traditions and, inevitably, about the poems attributed to Ossian. McNicol's calm and dispassionate conversation on the subject, although adding little to his published Remarks, gained great weight from his local and

1 Leyden commented that in this country fifteen or twenty miles seemed not "so long a space as between Dalkeith and Edinburgh".
2 Leyden to Dr Anderson, Aug. 11, 1800; Tour, p. 80. Leyden told Thomas Brown, Aug. 15, 1800, that the music kept them awake all night.
3 Cf. p. 242 sup. Berigonium is however, a misnomer.
4 Lond., 1775. McNicol was at Lismore 1766-1802, when he died.
5 Tour, pp. 102-4.
6 For the green isle, cf. pp. 243-44 sup.
personal knowledge, which seemed to Leyden "worth a good deal of argumentation". And, listening thus "within the precincts of Fingal's territories" and almost under the black mountains of Morven, to one of Ossian's "most redoubted champions", descended from those bards of Glenorchy who had "long preserved the Ossianic Poems in their country", Leyden found his former incredulity on the subject vanishing so rapidly that, recollecting Archibald Constable's reiterated desire to publish something on the Ossianic controversy, he procured forthwith McNicol's promise to revise his celebrated Remarks for reprinting, if Constable thought fit. Desiring to "excite some of the Gaelic Literati" to answer Malcolm Laing's Dissertation against the authenticity of Ossian's poems, which Ramsay of Ochtertyre had considered vulnerable at several points, and believing McNicol to be by far the best person to do so, Leyden indeed brought matters to such a length that Constable had only to write at once to McNicol, enclosing a copy of the hostile Dissertation for reference, in order to anticipate Sir John Macgregor Murray and the Society of Antiquaries, who seemed to Leyden to be "blundering in the dark". Despite Leyden's urgency, however, and his hopes of establishing a chain of correspondence in the Highlands which would "far exceed the efforts of both the Antiquarian and Highland Societies", Constable, perhaps sharing Leyden's own later fear that the fervour of "these sons of the hills" might rather injure the Ossianic cause, did not after all reprint McNicol's "hearty, intelligent growl" at Dr. Johnson. Nevertheless, Leyden continued to prosecute his inquiries throughout his tour, although handicapped on occasion by his "incapacity of understanding Gaelic", and obliged sometimes to omit his usual interrogatory altogether, through lack of time, as at Sleat, or through the absence of such an intended informant as Bishop John Chisholm, the Roman Catholic vicar-apostolic of the Highlands.

1 Leyden to Constable, Aug. 14, 1800.
4 Leyden to Constable, loc. cit., when he assured Constable that McNicol would not be unreasonable in his financial demands, and offered to pay for the copy himself if nothing came of the plan.
5 Ibid. Sir John had so far failed to meet McNicol; but Leyden warned: "perhaps he may repeat the attempt therefore, no time is to be lost". Cf. p. 241 for Leyden's meeting Murray at Inveraray.
6 Ibid. So far the only links in the chain were McNicol & MacNab.
7 Nigel Macneill, The Literature of the Highlanders, p. 248. (2nd ed)
8 This deterred him from visiting one MacFhrie, a slate-worker at Easdale, who could recite many Ossianic poems but could talk no English.
9 Leyden thus lost information from the Rev. Martin Macpherson, the well-informed minister of Sleat.
10 Chisholm (1752-1814) was vicar-apostolic from 1791.
and amidst sundry accounts of how one informant had heard Temora recited and another "the description of Cuchullin's chariot," Leyden sometimes acquired more detailed information. Thus the Rev. Alexander Downie of Lochalsh, "a man of coarse good sense but extremely indolent habits", reported how a centenarian named Macraw, bedridden, deaf and blind, amused himself by repeating Ossian's poems "for whole days". Provost William Inglis of Inverness, himself "by no means deficient" in knowledge of Highland antiquities, could tell of an uncle of his, "a herbalist, and curious in ancient songs", who had supplied James Macpherson with material. And James MacLagan, the notably zealous and well-informed minister of Blair Atholl, exhibited, in the course of much conversation on Ossian and kindred subjects, "a great number of Gaelic poems in MS., both ancient and modern", along with three letters of 1760 and 1761 in which Macpherson asked for and acknowledged MacLagan's assistance. Meanwhile, Leyden was inspired to labour at Gaelic "like a dragon". And, having heard from the McNicols many of the very numerous Fingalian legends, which seemed to "vie in ingenuity with the tales of the Arabs and Persians", Leyden returned from Lismore to Oban with his head full of stories of Fingal himself, "the man of smooth speech and fair countenance" and of consummate prudence and address, who fought only in extremity; of Carril his son, drowned by Gaul in a quarrel begun over the picking of marrow-bones; of the swift and mischievous Caolt, the brave but passionate Oscar, and the churlish Connal, the Thersites of the band; and of Ossian, the bard, the last of his race, who lived on till a lesser day, when a whole deer was equal to but a quarter of one of the elks of old. His preoccupation with such remote matters, however, did not interfere with Leyden's exploration of the immediate neighbourhood; for on August 16, setting out at an early hour, he surveyed the island of Kerrera with "considerable accuracy", walking right round it without seeing anything singular, and having his 1 William MacDonald of St Martin's had heard an aged man at Airds in Appin, 30 years before, repeat an ancient version of Temora "till he was weary with listening."(Tour, p.270.) And Fraser of Rellich had heard it from Capt. MacDonald of Breakish.(p.216. 2 Tour, p.173;) heard by "MacLeod of Islandrioch" from a Macaskill. 3 Ibid., pp.213-14. Leyden dined with Inglis on September 6,1800. 4 Ibid., pp.258-61. MacLagan (1728-1805) was at Blair Atholl from 1781 to 1805. He gave Macpherson some 13 poems, "more correct than common recitals". Leyden's spelling is 'MacLar'. 5 Leyden to Constable, Aug.14,1800. The phrase is a favourite with Scott; cf. his Journal, Sept.27,1827, etc. 6 Leyden to Thos. Brown, Aug.15,1800. (Tour, pp.106-16.)
examination of the ruined Castle Gylen cut short by the descent of mist, so that he decided that arm-chair travelling was both the most pleasant and profitable way to see a country and the most rewarding for a journal-writer. 1 And on his return to Oban in the evening, drenched with rain and dew, he found himself obliged, "contrary to the apostolical 2 prescription; to take immediate thought for the morrow, having agreed reluctantly, at the instance of one of the town's "principal inhabitants", to preach on the following day. 1

Leaving Oban at last on August 19, a damp, dark day, when mist lay like a solid mass of snow along the low coast of Mull, Leyden and his companions journeyed northwards from Connel Ferry by Shian Ferry to the fertile, romantic strath of Appin, bordered by high, rugged hills seen dimly through the mist. A six-mile drive along "the beautiful curving shore of Linnhe Lisach" brought them to "the house of the Rev. Mr MacColl, 3 where so much time was spent in Ossianic inquiries and in a visit to an un-sculptured standing-stone in a corn-field that it was dark long before Ballachulish was reached. 4

"...we scrambled along the sands of the lake to the inn, as the mountain torrents had torn up so much of the road that at last every vestige disappeared in the darkness. You faint-hearted men of Edinburgh may perhaps look blue at this description, but in us it excited no alarm. Admire our courage when we inform you that we even plunged into these torrents ourselves, and found — be not terrified — they reached no higher than our knee." 5

Next day, after walking up a short glen affording a varied prospect of hills clothed in every shade of green, and waiting upon Captain Dugald Stuart, "a man of great intelligence and ardour of mind, with all the fire of an ancient chieftain", from whom, while spending the evening pleasantly with his family, Leyden was to receive encouraging answers to his "usual queries on Ossian, 5 Leyden escorted his charges to Glencoe, their progress being "several times arrested by the mineralogy of the vicinity; and particularly by a notable rock near Ballachulish which Leyden identified to his own satisfaction as schistus hardened by a second fusion with quartz and talc. 6 The slate quarries near the glen's entrance, worked chiefly by men from Cumberland, perhaps

1 Leyden to James R[eddie], Aug. 16, 1800. (Tour, pp. 116-20.)
2 Or rather, dominical prescription, in St. Matthew, VI, 34.
3 Perhaps the Rev. Archibald McColl (1746-1814) minister of Tiree, 1780-1814, and a native of Oban, who is the only likely minister mentioned in Scott's Fasti.
4 Leyden to Dr Anderson, Aug. 20, 1800. (Tour, pp. 121-26.)
5 Stuart (of the 71st Foot) assured Leyden that many people in Appin and Lochaber could still repeat Ossian's poems.
6 The elder German thought it basalt; D'Arabien had had great difficulty in classifying it.
disappointed Leyden a little by being near the bottom of the hill, so that, as at Easdale, the working was attended with little danger: but the entrance to the glen itself was truly sublime:—

"The savage grandeur of the prodigious hills which encircle the valley impresses a degree of devotional feeling on the mind; but the scene is not dead and uniform, but pleases with its variety, though a person feels as if he were placed among the ruins of the world." 2

And a little way on, there opened a prospect of awful magnificence:

"...the glen appears to be shut up by an immense precipice which is the entire side of a mountain of prodigious height...

'O tu severi relligio loci..." 3

The face of this perpendicular wall is honeycombed and scooped like the most beautiful fretwork of Gothic architecture, and presented itself to my mind, when I recollected the atheism of modern times, as the immense ruin of the inaccessible temple of the god of nature. This impression was strengthened by the view of a prodigious pillar of white flaky mist which seemed to descend from heaven and rested lightly on the summit." 4

Skirting a finely cascading stream of water and a great chasm, given a "singular airy aspect" by its surmounting cloud of mist, the party approached the towering precipice, a very "masterpiece of nature", which, with icicles encrusting its wet, mossy side, would have resembled "one of the diamond palaces of the genii"; and so, passing the dark tarn whence issued the rapid River Coe, and admiring several fine waterfalls, they reached the highest and most magnificent of these, which inspired Leyden to heroic exertions and reflections:—

"This is superior to Scale Force, the finest cascade in Cumberland; but few persons will have courage to ascend to it. I ascended a considerable way beyond it to examine whether the mountain concealed any more cascades in its more elevated recesses, and beheld a scene of wildness and grandeur which excited emotions in my soul which I can never forget. I was alone, elevated at a vast height in a sublime mountain recess; immense piles of rock as regular as ruins surrounded me on every side except where I ascended; the winds of the mountain descended in hollow gusts, and a dull-sounding stream murmured sullenly by. Over my head the white cloud of mist formed a vast magnificent ceiling; some red deer appeared on the rocks above; and all around me lay strewn the blasted and withering birches of former times, that had fallen and were falling of extreme old age to the ground. I seemed to tread upon the heels of the old heroic times. ...The sons of the feeble hereafter will lift the voice on Cona, and looking up to the rocks say 'Here Ossian dwelt. They shall admire the chiefs of old and the race that are no more, while we ride on our clouds, on the wings of the roaring winds.' Absorbed in these grand but melancholy recollections, I did

1 For the Cumberland and Easdale quarries, see pp.233 & 248 sup.
2 Tour, p.130.
3 Leyden's version of Thomas Gray's 'O tu severa Religio loci...'
4 Tour, pp.132-33.
not perceive the descent of the weeping mist till I felt myself thoroughly drenched, when I descended to my companions, who had suffered little, but had almost resigned me to the company of the ancient heroes."

Leyden was sufficiently interested in the present as well as the ancient inhabitants of the west coast to feel a desire (perhaps surprising in "a true son of the Church" who had imbibed "with his mother's milk the highest relish for the severities of Presbyterianism and all the prejudices incident to that class of men") to visit "the Catholics of Moideart, those votaries of the courtesan of Babylon". So, sending on their luggage rather hesitantly to Fort William, the travellers retraced their steps along the loch-side and through the bare wildness of Glen Tarbet, until they emerged to a view of Loch Sunart winding in the sun between the brown hills of Morven and Ardnamurchan. Strontian, despite its surprising possession of some very elegant houses, could afford only inferior accommodation in its inn, London House:

"The floor of my bedroom was rotten and full of large holes, and I could hardly help fancying myself in one of those old enchanted castles where the miserable stranger was suddenly conveyed to some dreary dungeon by a trap-door. The panes of the window were shattered; and I discovered in the morning that an unlucky breeze had blown my night-cap from my head, and scattered my clothes on the floor." But the night's discomfort failed to impair the energy with which Leyden next day first inspected the disused lead-mines and smelting house—in company with an old acquaintance, "Mr Patience, settled a missionary in these districts," and a former overseer of the mines named Wilson, and then, after being hospitably entertained at Pollock, climbed Ben Resipol, to examine its geology and enjoy the wild and extensive view from its summit. —

"I lingered on the top so long that the darkness began to close imperceptibly round me, and instead of returning on my steps I chose what appeared to me to be a nearer way, and began to descend with celerity. My progress, however, was soon arrested by a tremendous range of precipices; to return was as bad as to proceed. I therefore determined on the latter and the increasing gloom prevented me from perceiving my danger. Sliding cautiously down the wet and slippery crannies of the rocks, I at last reached the bottom of a precipice, the view of which, even through the darkness, made me shudder. But the danger did not terminate here, for a succession of others presented themselves; and it was with the utmost difficulty and fatigue that I at last reached a considerable cascade formed by a stream descending from the mountain. My situation

1 Tour, pp. 135-37.  
2 Leyden to Scott, Aug. 23, 1800. (Tour, pp. 135-52.)  
3 So called from having been originally made of wood in London and conveyed to Strontian by sea.  
4 Tour, p. 143.  
5 Leyden obtained "a variety of specimens" from the mines, which he describes in Tour, pp. 143-45.  
6 John Patience (c. 1771-1827), M.A. of King's College, Aberdeen, was ordained to Strontian, a quadri-sacra parish, in 1797, and left
here was wild and horrible. The winds, descending in gusts from the hill, agitated the tremulous leaves of the birch and mingled with the murmur of the waterfall, till I could have easily believed that I heard the still voices of the dead and saw the awful faces of other times looking upon me through the deep darkness. I scrambled for two hours among the rocks, the long heath, and moss intersected by gullies formed by the mountain torrents, and at last, almost contrary to my own expectation, arrived safe at Pollock, where I had been given up for lost.  

It was certainly not without reason that Leyden later observed:  

"Adventures and hardships, however disagreeable for the present, are extremely pleasant to recollect, as they elevate a person in his own imagination and increase the idea of his own power."  

On the following day, having crossed the soft and pastoral Loch Shiel under the care of a ferryman of remarkably "uncouth physiognomy", Leyden and his friends found themselves indeed among the Roman Catholics of Moidart: a community who certainly did not suffer by a comparison with their Protestant neighbours, whom they misrepresented and who in turn misrepresented them. And although Bishop John Chisholm was absent from his island seat of Samalaman, Leyden found pleasant company in Captain Alexander MacDonald of Dalilea, "a man of equal acuteness and information" with interesting views on Highland character and antiquities, and in his namesake, MacDonald of Eilean Shona, a most amiable host.  

Climbing the hill of Fenibhely early in the morning before leaving Eilean Shona, Leyden noted among the range of islands, flat and hilly, spread out before him, "the romantic isle of Egg surrounded with a wall of rock, regular and lofty": and it was to Egg that he next guided his charges, beginning his survey of the island immediately on landing with an examination of the caves, only inferior to those of Staffa". The chief single object of their scrutiny was the cave of the massacre, into which they crawled, armed with candles, over the human bones strewn all about it; but they left no corner of the island unexplored, clambering even to the top of the basaltic Sgurr, with its ruined fortification and "prodigiously fine" prospect of sea and island spread out under the rays of the sun setting far to the west behind Uist and Barra. A night's rest at the hospitably manse of the Rev. Donald MacLean (a clergyman noted even more for nautical skill than for his great abilities in his proper
vocation, who could hand out both prayers and orders with considerable force, gave them energy to resume their investigation of the island's geology and scenery; and this they pursued with a thoroughness that left no time "to explore the low island of Muck, the wild romantic Rum, nor [sic] Canna with its magnetic mountain," nor even to call on "Mr Ronald MacDonald, editor of a volume of Gaelic poems", before embarking in a herring smack, to sail along the bleak, bare and rocky shore of Arisaig until "weary with beating up and down under contrary winds" they landed on the green promontory of Sleat. There, being like "the wandering knights in romance - who generally found a hospitable mansion situated in the most opportune position in the evening, though they were forced to wander all day long through the most dreary solitudes and frightful deserts -." they were entertained most hospitably by MacDonald of Torrmore, who next day accompanied them past Lord MacDonald's seat at Armadale through a stony and irregular "track of country," affording a view of the blue, steep and rugged Cuillin of Skye, to the bay of Isle Ornsay and across the water to Glenelg, which they reached in the dusk, falling "plumb, like a covey of grouse, into the middle of a party of sportsmen," comprising clergymen, seamen and the landlord of the inn, from which Leyden, never a glad sufferer of fools, soon escaped, seizing "some trifling pretext for leave of absence in order to escape from the surprising anecdotes, related with so much glee, of the sagacity of pointers - their passing along majestic lions, their dead points, and many other circumstances too important to be thrown away on a person who is so little of a connoisseur as your humble servant."

Both as a "philosophical antiquary" and as a poet, Leyden found Glenelg interesting; for he examined with great care its comparatively well-preserved brochs, which he believed to have been appropriated to some religious rather than military purpose and wandering slowly by its heath-covered cairns in the "raven gloom" of evening, he fashioned his thoughts on the men of old into a sonnet:

Around my parted locks the grey owl sails
The startled roe deserts the warrior's grave
Where yellow flowers on crumbling ruins wave
While from the sedgy marsh the bittern calls.

1. MacLean (1752-1811) was at Eigg from 1787 till his death.
2. Compass Hill, supposed to affect the compasses of ships.
3. Cf. Leyden to Anderson, Sept. 3, 1800: "I could detail a tissue of adventures as wonderful as those of the most renowned knights..."
4. Leyden often has 'track' for 'tract', as here.
5. Leyden to Scott, Aug. 27, 1800. (Tour, p.167.)
6. Leyden owned that every conjecture concerning these 'Pictish towers (of which Glenelg had two) must be uncertain.
7. Sonnet written at Glenelg, 11. 5-8. (AS. 5326, 1. 55v.)
For all the "awful charms"\(^1\) of the glen by twilight, however, not even the prospect of a red-deer hunt there deflected the traveller from their purpose of proceeding by boat along the wild and barren shore of Knoydart on the next stage of their journey across a lonely country wherein they suffered "nearly as much as the most disastrous knights-errant, not from the attacks of giants, dwarfs, or necromancers, but from the assault of a much more formidable adversary, ycleped famine", whom they were not to demolish entirely, leaving but "the bare bones",\(^2\) until they joined their baggage at Fort William, alias Gordonsburgh, on August 30.\(^3\)

Their way to this "beautiful village" lay first up the romantic and hill-girt Loch Nevis, on whose rugged and picturesque shores they obtained at Scothouse both hospitality and the mental sustenance of detailed information on the appearance of Knoydart in the first half of the century,\(^4\) and then over a wind-ing path into a mountain pass as wild as Glencoe, if less steep, and "a small dark vale of black heath...where the horrid solitude could only be increased by converting it into a valley of dry bones" and where Leyden, already so fatigued by his load of geological specimens that he had often contemplated tossing them into the first convenient lake, brought himself with much reluctance and hesitation to pick up a beautiful specimen of white spar studded with garnets.\(^5\) Escaped from this vale of desolation into the verdant Glen Dessary, the party, seating themselves in "true pilgrim style by the side of a cool mountain rivulet", disposed of the provisions brought from Scothouse by making a very hearty meal (interrupted by the incursion of a Highlander who could speak only Gaelic) before pushing on to reach the savage beauty of Loch Arkaig before evening. From there, injudiciously crossing the hills instead of sailing down the loch, they tramped across country too uniformly bleak to divert their attention from "the most frightful ground for walking" yet encountered, until, gladly taking ship down Loch Eil, they saw with "uncommon-pleasure" from the wide curve of the loch the low-lying but elegant village of Fort William, "much superior to Oban in regularity and beauty", and appearing almost like a town to eyes which had so long "feasted to satiety upon the most rugged and uncultivated scenes in nature".\(^7\)

1 Sónnet... at Glenelg, l. 1; 2 Tour, p. 168.
2 "...formerly denominated Maryborough till...reclaimed by the Duke of Gordon, not long ago."(Tour, p. 182.)
3 This was supplied by Macdonell of Scothouse.
4 Tour, p. 178.
5 Tour, p. 178. 6 Cf. Leyden's description of Glen Croe as "this valley of desolation".(See p. 241 sup.)
7 Tour, p. 182.
Stimulated by the acquisition of a book of Gaelic songs and by the prospect of enjoying the comforts of a tolerable inn, Leyden now made a farther and somewhat belated attempt to learn a little Gaelic, a language "equally necessary and difficult" to acquire.1 And on the following day, with the German youths and a guide, he ascended "the gigantic Ben Nevis," by an apparently circuitous route, only to encounter on the summit dull, leaden weather and a view"not only very circumscribed, but almost entirely divested of magnificence and grandeur."2 The mineralogy of the mountain, however, and the diversion of "a match of snowballs"3 amused them for some two hours; and on the way down, meeting an ascending party, comprising three Camerons and a Grant, just as the weather seemed about to improve, the indefatigable Leyden returned to the top with them, obtaining for his pains only some "favourable glimpses" through the white columns of the thickening mist, and some amusement from the hapless Mr. Grant who "plied the whiskey bottle with considerable alacrity" but without greatly recruiting his energies.5

Leaving Fort William next day, the travellers journeyed by Inverlochy Castle and Spean Bridge through a bleak, heathy, uninteresting district to Keppoch,6 and so over "green rising grounds" to Glen Roy, with its Parallel Roads: a phenomenon which Leyden, rejecting both the false theory that the roads were proofs of an early Highland civilization7 and the true one that they were "formed by successive depressions of a lake",8 unfortunately elected to explain as a contrivance fashioned "for the convenience of hunting when the Scotish court resided at Inverlochy, and the whole glen was a royal forest."9 So leisurely was Leyden's examination of these 'Roads' that it was dark before the party reached a miserable inn offering virtually "no species of accommodation"; and although the view of the valley by moonlight was even more pleasing than by day, its harshest aspects being softened by the pale yellow lustre floating lightly

1 Two weeks before, Leyden had been labouring at Gaelic "like a dragon". (See p. 256 sup.) 2 Tour, pp. 185-87. Cf. p. 253 sup. 3 Formed from the snow lying perpetually on the summit. 4 Cameron of Glen Nevis, his brother, his cousin Captain Cameron, and "a Mr Grant from Glen Urquhart" who lagged behind the rest. 5 Capt. Cameron and Leyden offered to "whisk Grant down the hill but he preferred being "upon his own parole". 6 Leyden evidently admired the address of the MacDonells of Keppoch in having worsted not only the Camerons (to oppose whom the Mackintoshes had brought them to the district) but also the Mackintoshes themselves. 7 Six roads in one small valley seemed an excessive number. 8 The openings of the glen at both ends seemed too irregular for this, and "other circumstances render it impossible". 9 Tour, pp. 190-94.
down the slope and gleaming on the stream beneath, the three young men, being greatly fatigued, were more affected by the disconcerting discovery that the inn could not give them a particle of either bread or potatoes. After an early start next day and a ten-mile walk through wild strath covered with heath and rushes, past "some wretched huts...confessedly inferior to any...hitherto seen," Leyden, having fasted for twenty-nine hours, resolved in a transport of rage at the head of the glen "to adopt the resolutions of Conan the Fingalian, regardless of all consequences", and so rushed into the first open door he saw; but as this led into a hut "completely filled with stout Highlanders," it was perhaps fortunate that, nobody being at meat, there was no chance of acting upon "the most dangerous part of the system." Horses were procurable, however; and being still fourteen miles from Fort Augustus, they hired three to take them up the steep, bleak, rocky pass of Corryarrick, which afforded a view "neither great, beautiful, nor picturesque;" and down the long gradual slope past Loch Garry to the Fort, "rather an elegant village than a town", at the south-west end of Loch Ness, and so on towards Strath Errick, through country wild and heath-covered, but softened by views of yellow cornfields and tree-fringed lochs. The Falls of Foyers, with their "stunning noise" and surrounding woods and rocks, Leyden found impressive, although "prodigiously magnified in the relations of travellers"; and in the "uncommonly sweet" aspect of the beautiful romantic valley of Urquhart, viewed from across the loch, he saw a resemblance to the pastoral softness of Grasmere, so that it was "a terrible disappointment" to find no boat available for crossing the water: a disappointment in some degree alleviated by the beauty of the road to Inverness, cut out of a very steep rocky declivity along the loch's eastern side.

Once at Inverness, reached after dark on September 2, Leyden had the comfortable prospect of performing the rest of

1 Tour, pp.194-95. 2 One such hovel, of green sods, with an open entrance three feet high, housed a woman and children. 3 Or rather, Connal, whose resolutions were to walk in at any open door, partake of any feast, and box the ears of any landlord who frowned. (Tour, p.114.) 4 Tour, pp.195-96. 5 "...the scene was neither diversified by variety nor striking from its native grandeur", and the ground was "wet and plashy. 6 Leyden, who assessed the height of the falls correctly at about 150 feet instead of "470 feet perpendicular", describes them and their "enchanted" setting in Tour pp.199-201. 7 Leyden hardly knew if it was any consolation to be assured that "the dead swell of the waves" made any crossing impossible.
his tour with greater convenience, although probably with less
amusement, than in the 'rough bounds'. Planning an excursion-
northwards on horseback via "Fortrose and Cromarty to Tain, and
perhaps to Dunrobin", he purposed to return by Dingwall, "the
mineral waters of Strathpeffer", Beauly, "the Aird country", Glen
Urquhart and Glen Moriston; but the most disastrous chapter in
the book of fate being that of accidents, a succession of misty
days made this project impracticable, so that the next week
found Leyden in Nairn, "in such bad humour as to exult with a
kind of malicious joy" that the weather was still little better,
and commenting in his chagrin:

"The great Johnson was accustomed to deny that a man's genius
was dependent on wind and weather; but as a traveller he
must undoubtedly have experienced that his temper, if not his
genius, was dependent on every wind that blows."

These days of mist were employed instead, first in traversing
the town and its environs, and then in visiting nearby
places of interest, not without an occasional longing glance
towards the north, as from the high ground above Moniack:

Cold is the silvery mist along the hills,
While we Moniack with delight survey
Thy sloping woods and nodding forests gray
And hear the music of thy tinkling rills,
The purple glens of Ross, the valleys green
In vain we turn our lingering eyes to view
While the dim wild long watery cobwebs strew
And flagging silence hovers o'er the scene
But lo! emerging from the pathless waste
A weeping sun-beam lights the clouded skies
Like shattered rocks thy misty spires arise.—
We reach the haunts of elegance and taste.
So joys the Arab mid the desert still
When fires of welcome blaze along the hill.

Inverness itself, with "no regular streets or squares of neat
houses", contained little of note beyond some elegant and some
ancient buildings, and Leyden remained equally unimpressed by the
speech of its inhabitants, observing coolly:

"I am not so much delighted with the Inverness pronunciation
as a certain female traveller of redoubted intrepidity, and
classical English idiom, but perhaps Mrs. Murray intended
to compensate her injustice to the Hawick pronunciation by
praising that of Inverness. The Borderers, you know,
ever admitted the Highland superiority in any respect...."

The neighbourhood, however, provided better things, notably in
the wooded hill of Craig Phadrick, with its fine view of
Inverness, and its vitrified fort, demonstrating "an art unknown

1 Leyden to Dr Anderson, Sept. 3, 1800. (Tour, pp. 205-6.)
2 Leyden to Dr Anderson, Sept. 11, 1800. (Tour, p. 207.)
3 Sonnet at Moniack, near Inverness. (MS. 3333, f. 53.) 4 Cf. p. 237
sup. 5 Tour, p. 206. For Mrs. Murray, cf. p. 240 sup.
to the moderns", which Leyden investigated twice, at first inconclusively with a hammer, but then to such effect, "having procured a man with a mattock and shovel to dig", that he found his former scepticism concerning the artificial nature of the vitrification quite dispelled. 1 For the rest, there was the "ancient pile" of Red Castle across the Beauly Firth, which Leyden visited on September 5, in quest of his "Sanscrit friend" Alexander Hamilton; 2 Dochfour, reached by mistake in the pervading mist, where "we beheld a scene of green sloping woods and trees of various shades of colour on both sides of the Ness which might have vied with the sweetest scenes of fairyland, but what resemblance it had to reality was more than we could determine:" 3 Reelig, where the travellers spent two misty days among romantic scenery as the guests of Edward Fraser; 4 and the "elegant modern structure" of Culloden House, with Druidical circles in its vicinity. 5

Thereafter, realizing that it was "impossible now to see Ross in its beauty" for want of time, Leyden and his companions, submitting to this privation with a very bad grace, took the road to Fort George, enjoying the company of two army officers 6 to that point, and thence proceeding, with a disappointing lack of incident, to Nairn, over the moor "where Macbeth is said to have encountered the witches. Though we kept a sharp look-out for them we were not equally fortunate, and arrived safely at Nairn without being overwhelmed with chagrin. Indeed, so moderate were my expectations, that I should have been completely satisfied had they announced me a professorship in Aberdeen or St. Andrews instead of the thaneship of Ross or Cawdor; but unfortunately I am still forced to subscribe myself your plain old friend": Proceeding through Forres, with its remarkably picturesque approach; and Elgin, lying pleasantly "at the foot of a green eminence", the three travellers went on past the rapid Spey (in its "ordinary state... not superior to the Tweed"), to the neat town of Fochabers, and so across more heathy, though not less cultivated, country to Keith and Huntly. Despite the interest of the carved Sweno Stone outside Forres, which resisted all Leyden's efforts to decipher its inscription, 9 and the magnificent

1 Tour, pp. 203-12. Leyden's conclusion on this still unsolved problem was based on "the most attentive observation". 2 Then in Britain, after returning from India. Cf. p. inf. 3 Tour, p. 214. 4 Leyden noted: "...the mist seldom permitted us to see more than thirty yards". 5 They examined two of the three circles seen. 6 Captains Clunes and Brown. 7 Leyden to Anderson, Sept. 11, 1800. (Tour, pp. 217-18.) 8 Of lower Speyside Leyden observed: "The insipid bleak country by which it is surrounded causes it to be considered as beautiful." 9 It reminded him of the Runic inscription at Bewcastle.
of the "grand and impressive" ruins of Elgin Cathedral, "much more august" in their general effect and minuteness of ornament than any he had seen,\(^1\) Leyden found that, compared with the more bold and romantic scenery of the west, the aspect of the east coast was "insufferably flat and tame";\(^2\) and his experience of Huntly and its environs was hardly likely to propitiate him.

"Unfortunately the Marquis of Huntly and a shooting-party had occupied the inn completely, and being unable to procure any tolerable apartments, we resolved to proceed to Leith Hall,\(^3\) the seat of Major-General Hay. The night was extremely dark, our horses were very tired, and we soon discovered that the driver was but little acquainted with the road. We were too much fatigued to relish an adventure, and rather inclined to sleep than to meditate on our situation, which we perceived was dangerous enough, though we could not make it better. We entered Strathbogie, and after having repeatedly stuck fast in the mud, we at last got out of the chaise and resolved to walk till the roads became better. After we had proceeded about two miles we found ourselves puzzled how to go forward. We listened, but no chaise could be heard approaching; we hallooed, but could hear no answer. We returned upon our steps, and when we had walked about a mile and a half we met the driver advancing with our portmanteaus tied upon one horse, having left the other, who objected to proceeding farther, with the chaise. When we had gone a mile we discovered that something had been forgotten in the chaise, and I was obliged to return for it. By these manoeuvres we continued to occupy about five hours, and reach Leith Hall at two o'clock in the morning, when we learned with horror that the whole family were absent; and the servant, who took us, as we were informed, for vagabonds refused all admission. After various explanations we got admission, and waited till the family arrived.\(^4\)

The four days spent at Leith Hall, however, yielded much of interest, including visits to Tap o' Noth and Dunideer, with their extensive vitrified forts,\(^5\) to the ruined castles of Kildrummy and Drumindor,\(^6\) and to the Den of Craig, transformed from a barren uninteresting hollow into a romantic glen by the former proprietor's good taste in "humouring nature."\(^7\) Everywhere there were wide views of landscapes, beautiful, desolate, or hard to analyse;\(^8\) and occasionally there was something of literary interest, as in visiting the scene of Christis-Kirk on the Green, or discovering an unprinted stanza in the ballad, _Edom o'._

\(^1\) The ruins of Kinloss and Pluscarden Abbeys were left unexamined.\(^\text{Leyden regretted the loss of Elgin's great east window.}\)

\(^2\) Tour, p. 218. \(^3\) "...an old square tower modernised by the addition of two wings united by a gateway."\(^\text{Tour, pp. 224-26.}\)

\(^4\) Leyden to Dr Anderson, Sept. 19, 1800. \(^\text{(Tour, pp. 224-26.)}\)

\(^5\) Respectively larger than, and the same size as, the vitrified fort at Craig Phadrick. That at Knockfarail was left unvisited on the failure of the plan to explore Moss.

\(^6\) Demolished by the proprietor, as much of Kildrummy had been, with the proprietor's consent, for building farmhouses.

\(^7\) Tour, pp. 229-30. "The owner's sister showed Leyden over Craig."

\(^8\) From Rhynie, Noth and Kildrummy, respectively.
Gordon. On September 18, undeterred by a narrow escape from drowning in the Bogie when crossing it "over large stones" on his return from Craig in the dark two nights before, Leyden traced the windings of that river to Huntly through the fertile though unpicturesque strath. And next day, leaving Leith Hall early and proceeding by the "small straggling town" of Inverurie, he reached Aberdeen, being much impressed by the approach to the city, the old town with its steeples and towers, the extensive quay, and rather surprisingly, by the local speech:

"The town dialect of Aberdeen seems not, to my ear, inferior to that of Inverness. You will probably, however, question the taste of a Borderer in pronunciation."

Leyden’s main business in Aberdeen, however, was to "visit the colleges and professors"; and this he did on September 20, seeing everything curious in both colleges (which he found architecturally unremarkable) and in their libraries, which lacked printed catalogues and could provide none of a number of philosophical papers for which Leyden asked. Even his "bibliographic enquiries concerning Scottish antiquities and literature" ended unsatisfactorily, particularly in the discovery that Dr James Beattie did not know who wrote Albania and had lost his copy of the poem; but if Leyden then felt any sense of anti-climax in his experience of Aberdeen, it was soon to be counteracted by the unexpected beauties of the next stage of his journey.

Leaving Aberdeen on September 21 to go up the Dee, Leyden found that both the weather, at first highly unpropitious, and the scenery improved steadily, the latter becoming, from Kincardine O’Neil onwards, so picturesquely romantic and astonishingly varied as to vie with that of the west, and growing more bold and grand at Braemar, where great trees, lofty ridges and spires of dun hills, steep declivities, narrow passes, and overhanging rocks appeared more frequently, and the river, still large and rapid, traced its course so ingeniously that it was impossible to guess its direction from the contours of the ground. Then, turning south through the dismal and unfertile Glen Beg, and over a rocky pass with damp green slopes between bare hills, the travellers descended into Glenshee, where steep grassy hills...
bordered more cultivated ground, and passed through a high and fertile country, less interesting than the mountain scenery of Mar Forest, but with a grandeur of its own. Then descending a bleak heath they found spread before them the "wide level district of Strathmore with its towns and villages stretching far to the east and west"; a scene Leyden viewed with "vivid pleasure" its complete difference from the passes of the Grampians, with their "scanty horizon" and bare rocks and hills, feeling as he did that one breathed a little more freely "in the champaign country" after being so long pent up in the narrow glens of Braemar. Passing at sunset the chain of lochs bordering the road to Dunkeld Leyden was sometimes reminded of the softness of the Cumberland lakes; and at Dunkeld itself, he found the White Crag, rising with a formidable air over the "shaggy declivities" north of the town, "hardly inferior to the Cumbrian Wallow". 'Ossian's Hall' "a very elegant modern summer-house... with a foppish picture of the ancient bard" on its door having been duly visited, and the banks of the swollen Braan explored as far as the Humbling Linn, the tourists returned in the dusk to Dunkeld to prepare for the excursion through Atholl and Breadalbane which was to occupy the next four days. Having ridden in showery weather up the Tay, Tummel and Garry through the narrow rugged defile of Killiecrankie to Blair Atholl, viewed the impetuous Tilt with its cascades and the greater falls of Bruar, rushing violently down its jagged limestone bed, and conversed on Ossian's poems and Highland antiquities with Blair Atholl's venerable minister, James Maclagan, they crossed over the barren moors adjoining Loch Tummel, and descending into Strath Tay, past the ruined Castle Garth, went on along the north side of the "sweetly picturesque" Loch Tay to Killin. Returning by the south side, with its view of Ben Lawers, already covered with snow, and its romantic falls of Dovecraig and Acharn, the travellers passed Kenmore, "the Druidical circle of Taymouth" and Aberfeldy; and then, after spending a night at Weem, and seeing the falls of Moness next morning, they "descended Strath Tay on the north side of the river", crossing the Tummel at Logierait, to return to Dunkeld, which they left finally on September 29, going on to Perth by Stanley and Scone

1 Tour, p.247. 2 Leyden noted that the Admiraible Crichton was said to have been born on a small island in Loch Clunie. 3 i.e. Walla-crag. Cf. p.232 sup. 4 Cf. p.255 sup. for Maclagan. 5 Leyden recorded, with no expression of disapproval, that the outmost of the three concentric circles, standing in a cornfield, had been blown up with gunpowder by the farmer and so "a good deal destroyed".
through a fair and fertile country, adorned by such elegant mansions as "the venerable Gothic pile of Murthly", and Scone Palace, until Perth itself, with its fine buildings and regular streets, spread an extremely beautiful picture before them.\(^1\)

Pleasing as Perth was, Leyden left it on the afternoon of September 30 in "that pleasant and amusing state of mind which is something between regret and chagrin", having suffered the disappointment of realising that too much time had been spent in Aberdeenshire to allow of his traversing Fife and seeing his friend James Brown at St. Andrews.\(^2\) By the time he was at the top of Moncreiffe Hill, however, he found that whether through the influence of the succession of new scenes, of his own thoughts, or of "the motion of the post-chaise, which gives a cheerful circulation to the fluids", he had regained his usual serenity and so could enjoy the delightful view, with the gratifying reflection that here "the Romans, advancing against our invincible ancestors, paused in astonishment, and, beholding the majestic Tay, imagined that they had discovered another Tiber."\(^3\) Regretfully leaving the Highlands behind at Bridge of Earn, the travellers passed through comparatively uninteresting country to Loch Leven, "glimmering like silver in the retiring beams of the sun" among disappointingly insipid surroundings;\(^4\) and it was at Kinross, which presented no particular object of attention, one country-town being much like another "when the manners of the people are not strikingly different", that Leyden completed his account of the ten weeks' tour with the contrasted reflections that the qualities most necessary to a traveller are courage and patience, and that, even when describing objects already familiar to his readers, he was at least giving them a chance to compare their own impressions with his, and so to indulge "in a trifling degree that singular propensity of our nature to attend to the feelings of another in a situation which we have experienced".\(^5\) Thereafter, the Forth once crossed, there lay before him Edinburgh and the multifarious activities of another winter.

Leyden had feared that after this "very amusing and instructive excursion,"\(^6\) during which he had walked about six hundred miles, sailed four hundred, and ridden three hundred,

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\(^1\) They came into Perth from "the Aberdeen road", having made a detour by St Martins to see William Macdonald. Cf. p.256 sup.

\(^2\) Sinton's edition of the Tour, p.272, addresses this letter of Oct.1 to Thomas Brown; but James Brown of St Andrews seems more likely, especially as Leyden makes 'T' & 'J' similarly.

\(^3\) Tour, pp.273-74.

\(^4\) The loch disappointed Leyden's expectation.

\(^5\) Tour, pp.276-77.

\(^6\) Leyden to Erskine, Jan.14, 1801 (M.S.971.)
thus bringing his pedestrian mileage for the summer up to twelve hundred,\(^1\) the Lothians might appear insipid and uninteresting, even although the banks of Tweed and Teviot still cut "a very respectable figure" in his recollection "after all the scenes of the Highlands".\(^2\) On his return from the north, however, he settled down happily again in the Lowlands, not resuming city life immediately, but joining Scott and his family at the Lasswade Cottage, which he was to remember, with its blazing ingle and steadily-replenished teapot, as the scene of the happiest days of his youth;\(^4\) and there he remained until the opening of the winter law session recalled Scott to Edinburgh early in November.\(^5\)

While Leyden was in pursuit of Ossianic evidences in the Highlands, Scott had been succeeding beyond all expectation in procuring original material for the Border ballads,\(^3\) which were making such rapid progress that by the start of November the greater part of the first volume had been despatched to Kelso for printing.\(^1\) By then, both Scott and Leyden were labouring on them con amore, as Leyden reported with satisfaction to Richard Heber, whose absence this year made a certain blank in the fireside circle.

"Since my return we have had a tough job of them and I am exceedingly happy that most of Mr. Scott’s critical emendations on the ancient poetry, such as the ‘rose leaf stript and raw’, have been retracted while nothing has been allowed to stand that is not justified either by MS. or traditional recital... You will be much pleased with the Dissertations, though I am afraid the rough Border stile of some of them may be reckoned harsh. Mr Scott is just now employed on two imitations The Reiver’s Wedding & Helens Cave. They are very well but not equal to the Eve of St. John and the Green sisters of Glenfinlass.\(^6\) I have begun a ghost story which has at present no better name than Hoddles-woodie Haugh, but am apprehensive it will never be finished... Mrs Scott begs you would either procure a little better ink or allow her to send you a bottle of her own making that everybody may not be obliged to sit gaping round Scott who pauses stamps and swears every three words that your handwriting is little better to read than a runic inscription on a weather beaten whinstone."

And a little earlier Scott had given Heber a similar account:

1 Leyden to Heber, Nov. 4, 1800. (MS. 939.)
2 Tour, p. 251. 3 Scott to Heber, Oct. 19, 1800. (Cent. Ed., XII, 171-72)
4 Leyden to Scott, Jan. 10, 1810 and Nov. 20, 1805.
5 Leyden told Heber, Nov. 4, 1800: "...As we are all to leave the Cottage in three days, you may expect a packet with some MS. transcripts which ought to have been sent long ere now."
6 Cf. Scott to Heber, Oct. 19, 1800: "I... have tried my hand upon one or two new Imitations - none however equal to the Eve of St. John or Glenfinlas." Leyden had already (Apr. 24, 1800) mentioned to Heber The Reiver’s Wedding. (Cf. Lockhart, op. cit., II, pp. 93-98.)
7 It probably never was finished, as there is no trace of it. Mr Dobie suggests it may have been the story of the minister of Hobkirk and a blue-bonneted ghost which Tancred tells in Hule-water, pp. 9-10, and which mentions Hoddleswoodoe.
"The Border tales go merrily on... Leyden has been with me ever since his return from the Highlands (about a fortnight) ... we work hard at old Ballads during the forenoon and skirmish in the Evening upon the old disputes betwixt the Cameronians and their opponents. - You know I am a bit of a Cavalier not to say a Jacobite, so I give his Presbyterian feelings a little occasional exercise. He has made two very good Ballads indeed - One on the subject of Keeldar which I think was begun before you left Caledonia, the other upon the boiling of Lord Soulis the Liddesdale tyrant, whom he has dish'd up in great stile - no Irish stew was ever equal to his.

Altogether, the original verse which Leyden contributed to "decorate" the Minstrelsy comprised The Cout of Keeldar (only 62 stanzas long in its final form) and Lord Soulis, which, with Glenfinlas and The Eve of St John, formed the 'Imitations of the ancient ballad' making up part 3 of Volume II; The Mermaid, supplied with a "very amusing" prose introduction by Scott and Leyden, and placed first among the ten additional imitations in Volume III; the Ode on visiting Flodden, to round off Volume I with its 'Historical Ballads'; and Scottish Music. An ode introducing the 'Romantic Ballads' at the start of Volume II. The Cout of Keeldar delighted Anna Seward, who found the opening stanza sublime, the "landscape-touches" sweet (the picture of the sleek fern waving its fingery leaves being novel and "to the eye"), and the figure of the 'Wee Demon' admirably imagined; and it is probably the most attractive of Leyden's ballads. Disregarding his wife Margaret's advice, Keeldar rides off to hunt in the country of his enemy, Lord Soulis, trusting to his amulets for defence against Soulis's axe of earth-fast flint and adderstone-hilted sword:

'But his enterprise was ill-fated from the first; for, galloping north as fast as the winter wind drives the pattering hail...'

1 Scott to Heber, Oct. 19, 1800. 2 Scott, Minstrelsy, I, p. cix, acknowledging his "extensive obligations" to his friend Leyden.
3 Cf. p. 227. Dr James Corson possesses a MS. in Leyden's hand entitled 'Keeldar' of the first 26 stanzas of an earlier version which have become 16 by omission & compression, in the later one.
4 Anna Seward to Scott, July 29, 1803, when she gave Scott 1,000 thanks for the Minstrelsy's third volume. (Letters, VI, p. 97.)
5 A revised version of his Ode to the Ancient Scottish Music. See p. 114. This stanza, beginning 'the airy blood-hound howl'd by night', replaces 2 stanzas in the earlier version.
6 This stanza, beginning 'The eery blib o Hound'Towl d b nigh ,r places 2 stanzt t yulttr ver 'on.
7 Anna Seward to Scott, April 29, 1802. (Letters, VI, p. 19.)
through the bare trees, and winding his horn in the early sunlight
on the "muir of dun Redswire", where the hoarse curlew screamed
and formless shadows seemed to fly along the heath, Keeldar was
confronted by the Brown Man of the Muirs, "a Fairy of the most
malignant order, the genuine duergar"; who, hating the chase's
"surly cheer", cursed the disturber of his solitude and vanished:

His russet weeds were brown as heath
That clothes the upland fell;
And the hair of his head was frizly red
As the purple heather-bell.

Again, riding about the sacrificial rocking-stone of Keeldar and
scornfully summoning its spirit to "pass the barrier ground"
with him, the rash young man had his answer:

The rude crag rock'd: 'I come for death,
I come to work thy woe'.
And 'twas the Brown Man of the Heath,
That murmur'd from below."

But speeding on undeterred, he passed the green slope with its
birch tree, where his own grave was soon to be made -

The lonely shepherd loves to mark
The daisy springing fair,
Where weeps the birch of silver-bark,
With long dishevelled hair -

and came at last to Soulis's "massy castle" of Hermitage:

The restless stream its rocky base
Assails with ceaseless din;
And many a troubled spirit strays
The dungeons dark within.

There, suspicious of treachery, he warned his men to act at once
if confronted at the festal board by "the bull's ill-omen'd head";
but in vain; for when the minstrels' music turned from songs of
"game and glee" to the wilder measure of "The Black Bull of Noro-
way", Keeldar alone of his party was left unencharsted and able
to rush from the hall, escaping the sword-mill beneath the door-
way by the sacrifice of his favourite hound, and reaching the
river unscathed until the fatal Brown Man arose to warn Soulis:

'In vain by land your arrows glide,
In vain your faulchions gleam:
No spell can stay the living tide,
Or charm the rushing stream.'

1 Introductory note to The Cout of Keeldar. Scott asked Robert
Surtees about the Brown Man, Sept. 17, 1803, when he was reprint-
ing the Minstrelsy and wanted to add a note to The Cout. Cf. The
Black Dwarf, ch. 5 & note 2; & The Monastery, ch. 2.
2 Leyden added notes on rocking-stones and on the vervain with
which this one was surrounded, as a herb "revered by the Druids".
3 A description admired by Henry Mackenzie. (Thompson, op. cit., p. 161)
4 Leyden added a note from Lindsay of Fitzcattie on the placing
of a bull's head before the Earl of Douglas in token of death.
5 A note refers to Leyden's identification of this with the 'Three
Futit Dog of Noroway' mentioned in the Complaynt of Scotland.
6 Cf. p. _int._ for a later reference to this Machine.
And now young Keeldar reach'd the stream, Above the foamy lin:  
The Border lances round him gleam, And force the warrior in....

Swift was the Cout o' Keeldar's course 
Along the lily lee;  
But home came never hound nor horse, And never home came he.1

That sinister being, Lord Soulis,2 who combined "prodigious bodily strength with cruelty, avarice, dissimulation and treachery",3 could not be allowed to pursue his tyrannical career unchecked. So Leyden, drawing on the Border attribution of "the mystical horrors of sorcery" to the unlovely character of William de Soulis,4 and on the legend of his being boiled at the Nine Stane Rig (parallelled by the more authentic fate of Melville of Glenbervie, Sheriff of the Mearns in James I's time)5 concocted his ballad of wizardry from such ingredients as Soulis's intercourse with his familiar, the sly Redcap,6 summoned by his master's knocking thrice on the iron-bound chest in the 'warlock chamber' of Hermitage; the fate of the messenger sent from the king -

'O'er Branxholm tower, ere the morning hour,  
When the lift is like lead so blue,  
The smoke shall roll white on the weary night,  
And the flame shine dimly through -  
frustrated by the loss of all the raiders except their leader, 
the "sturdy kemp" Red Ringan, who came riding back alone:

1 The Cout of Keeldar, passim. I take 'Cout' (which troubled Re- 

: nault de St Germain in his French version of the 'Minstrelsy') to 

indicate "strength, stature and activity" rather than perfection.  
3 Introd. to Lord Soulis.4 Ibid., on the mingling of history and tradition.  
5 Cf. Scott's note to Lord Soulis, & The Kaim o' Mathers in Auld Scots Ballants, ed. Robert Ford, pp.192-204.  
6 Henderson describes this Malignant spirit in Notes on the 
Folk Lore of...the Borders, pp.215-17. He quotes from Leyden's poems without mentioning their author. Maye Black, Stories of 
Borderland, pp.65. Leyden evidently copied 'O May she came, and May she goe!' (sts 12 & 13) from the start of the ballad The Bonny Bynd.7 He quotes from Leyden's ballad.
To the gate of the tower Lord Soulis he speeds,
As he lighted at the wall,
Says - 'Where did ye stable my stalwart steeds, 
And where do they tarry all?'

'We stabled them sure on the Tarraus muir
We stabled them sure,' quoth he:
'Before we could cross that quaking moss, 
They all were lost but me.'

With the alienation of Redcap, caused by Soulis's failure to
avert his eyes as the lid of the enchanted chest rose, and his
enforced yielding of the keys of the subterranean chamber, the
warlock's fortunes declined. The projected execution of young
Branxholm went not at all according to plan, the victim, on
being given the choice of a hanging place, declining one tree
after another until he saw help at hand:1

'The fir-tops fall by Branxholm wall,
When the night blast stirs the tree;
And it shall not be mine to die on the pine,
I loved in infancy'...

'More dear to me is the aspin gray,
More dear than any other tree;
For beneath the shade that its branches made
Have past the vows of my love and me.'

Young Branxholm peeped, and pitifully spake,
'Until he did his ain men see,
With witches' hazel in each steel cap,
In scorn of Soulis' gramarye;
Then shoulder-hight for glee he lap.
'Methinks I spye a coming tree.' 2

And with the rescuers came true Thomas "the lord of Ersyltoun,"
armed with a book of magic too potent for the powers of darkness
to withstand,3 so that the invulnerable Soulis, unsubdued by hemp
or steel or "threefold ropes of sifted sand,"4 was disposed of
at last by being "boil'd in lead":

On a circle of stones they plac'd the pot,
On a circle of stones but barely nine;
They heated it red and fiery hot,
Till the burnish'd brass did glimmer and shine.

They roll'd him up in a sheet of lead,
A sheet of lead for a funeral pall;
They plung'd him in the cauldron red,
And melted him, lead and bones, and all.5

1 Leyden copied these stanzas on Soulis' making young Branxholm
"wale the tree" from the ballad of John Thomson, from which, as
Henderson notes, he quoted in his Glossary to the Complaynt.
2 Surely a reminiscence of Macbeth and Birnam wood.
3 The "black spee-book" of Michael Scott, buried with him and
taken from the grave by Thomas when he "returned from Faerie".
4 Redcap kept these ropes from twisting, so that they lie besid
the Nine-stane burn, ribbed like sea-sand. Cf. Michael Scott's
setting the fiends to twine ropes of sand at Tweedmouth.
5 Stanzas 59 & 60, often quoted, as by Scott in his letter to
Scott's extensive obligations to Leyden in the compilation of the Minstrelsy lay even more, however, in his "uniform assistance in collecting and arranging materials," and in his strict regard for textual accuracy than in his original verses. The exact extent of his contribution can hardly be assessed; but, apart from his procuring the Glenriddell MS. and a supplementary version of Archie o' Ca' field which gave greater prominence to the elder brother, 'coarse Ca' field', the existence in his hand of variant versions of The King's Daughter of Norway, The Hindies Son, Annan Water, and The Queen's Marie, as well as of fragments of Hughie Graham and Thomas the Rhymer, and his constant vigilance in the cause of balladry, indicate that it cannot have been slight. His insistence that only readings justified by tradition should stand, and his watchful suspicion of forgery, are an earnest of the value of what he contributed and of the salutary nature of his influence; and although his preference for the plainer title of 'Border Ballads' was overruled, his predilection for the unadorned was not always expressed in vain.

Of the prose dissertations in which he feared that his rough "Border style might offend, the only one to be identified with certainty is that to Tamlane, On the Fairies of Popular Superstition, which indeed abounds in instances of Leyden's peculiar reading, and even of his phraseology, despite its redaction by Scott. The metrical legend of St Margaret, Sir David Lyndsay on Heraldry, the elfin-tempered sword Tyrfing, the fell Gyre-carline, and the Peri, "one of the fairest creatures of romantic fancy", all appear again in Leyden's poetry or prose, from his early verse to his translations from the Persian; and he was to express at least once again his scorn of those etymologists who "not only know whence words come, but also whither they are going."

Less congenial than such literary labours was the exercise of Leyden's nominal profession of the ministry. Preferment was still far to seek; but there were such "works of necessity and mercy" to perform as preaching on occasion for a friend: and if the friend happened to live in the Borders, like Thomas Logan at Chirnside, so much, the better, although even the opportunity to

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1 Scott, Essay on imitations of the ancient ballad, loc. cit.
3 A version of Sir Patrick Spens, in MS. 893.
4 The first two are also in MS. 893, the last, with the fragments, in MS. 877, N. L. S. 5 Cf. Edom o' Gordon in his Highland Tour.
7 Cf. his success in having the 'rose-leaf strip or' omitted.
8 The phrase occurs both in the essay On the Fairies and in a letter from Leyden to Wm Erskine, Dec. 26, 1797.
combine a ride to Berwickshire with seeing William Erskine at Duns, while officiating for Logan, seemed to Leyden, in the hard frost of mid-January, 1801, not to be worth the risk of knocking his brains out by a fall from his horse. 1 to obviate which danger he prudently sent instead one Crawford, who "had no brains which could possibly be displaced by any sinister accident". 1 At the same time, he had to report to Erskine "a deadly quarrell" between himself and Robert Lundie, who had once flatteringly considered Leyden "a promising fellow" likely one day to "tower above most of the trees in the Forest" 2; but although he had now reason to be very indignant at Lundie's conduct, Leyden's anger, as usual, did not last indefinitely, so that before leaving Britain he was reconciled to Lundie, 3 who retained his admiration for "that simplicity and purity of heart, that warmth of affection, and that unbending independence of spirit" which entitled John Leyden to "higher honours than those of literary fame". 4

The following month found Leyden writing, in the somewhat arch style which he considered suitable for young ladies, to Thomas Brown's sister Janet, then on holiday with her sister Dora at Balmaclellan Manse near Kirkcudbright, and benefiting too little, Leyden feared, from the change of air. -

"Nothing could give me more pleasure, my Dearest love than to be convinced that you are angry at me, and yet nothing could give me more pain than to vex you in any degree. There is a kind of accidents which are always said to be particularly fond of ladies, and you perceive now anxious I am to indulge your most lady like propensities. Nothing could please me so much as to be informed that you were displeased at my delaying to write you. Will not female pride induce you to tell me of it?...can you not conceive the chastening situation of one who writes to the person who is nearest to him without any hope of an answer - I have at least a score of times taken my pen to write you and thrown it down again in mortal chagrin. Why 'tis worse than wooing a statue of marble, for if I could see you every day your silence - night be tolerable: but neither to see you nor hear of you, heavens I might as well address this Epistle to my Great Grandfather. - Ah my sweet girl, I conjure you to write me if it were only a single line - you certainly can contrive it. I know your objections, and think them totally devoid of force and how the deuce is it possible that they should have any force on my mind when so full of chagrin. I protest I have a strong aversion to visit your Mother, where every one is so pleased & happy, and where I used to be so happy when you were present - I become perfectly surly and silent in a moment and my mind is only embittered by the contrast. I clearly perceive that your common-place ideas of the effects

1 Leyden to Erskine, Jan. 14, 1801.
2 Robert Lundie to his sister, Feb. 15, 1796. (MS. 1816.)
3 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 15, 1804.
4 Lundie, writing on the Death of Dr John Leyden in the Kelso Mail for Dec. 26, 1811.
5 Janet's eldest surviving sister (b. 1756), wife of the Rev. James Thomson.
of absence are prodigiously erroneous, and cannot believe that any lover would feel much pleasure in retracing the scenes alone which he had visited with his beloved - at least I know that I carefully avoid all our solitary walks and shall do till you return." 1

Within a month Leyden himself was unexpectedly spending a fort-night in the south country; 2 and it is tempting to conjecture, from the linking of 'Aurelia' with the Teviot in Scenes of Infancy, and from the fact that Leyden's verses To the Ladies of Tinwald Downs indicate that he was near the Kirkcudbrightshire border at least once in his life, 3 that he met Janet Brown somewhere in the south during these two weeks when he was joyfully renewing acquaintance with the scenes of his boyhood. 4

On his return from the south to Edinburgh, whence he purposed to follow Scott to Lasswade in a few days, Leyden set about dealing with the remainder of the "immense quantity" of literary business "cut out" for him by Richard Heber, and in particular to send a list of the contents of the Auchinleck MS., which Scott and he had made together before Leyden left town. 5 This list, showing as desired "the number of folios contained in each Romance, and the first verse as a specimen"; 6 was dispatched in due course, embellished with Leyden's comments on such poems as the "charming fragment" of Florice and Blancheflour, the Legend of St. Gregory, with its story outdoing "the Mysterious mother, and every thing of that kidney", Sir Owain with many fine passages and pictures only inferior to those of Dante, the very curious "wild Arabic fiction" 7 of Arthur and Merlin, 8 and Orfeo and Heuridies, converting the tale of Orpheus and Eurydice into "a beautiful Gothic Tale of Faëry." 6 And with it went reports on other literary matters. The Border Ballads, having gone "about one half slower" than expected, had now, with the first volume almost finished, stopped altogether for some eight or ten weeks, so that a third volume was to be added "by way of compensating the delay"; and the title of the collection had been decided on, although not to Leyden's satisfaction, since he considered Minstrelsy an affected designation little better than

1 Leyden to Janet Brown, Feb. 6, 1801. 2 He had not expected to go to the Borders until the summer, but had just returned by March 21. (L. to Erskine, Jan. 14, & to Heber, Mar. 21, 1801.) 3 MS. 3383 has a copy in Leyden's hand of this rambling poem, part of which was amplified into the opening of Scenes of Inf. 4 Cf. the later version of Ode to the Scenes of Infancy, p. 80 supra. 5 Leyden to Heber, March 21, 1801. 6 Leyden to Heber, [9 Apr. 1801]. 7 Leyden to Ellis, c. March 30, 1801. 8 Leyden told Heber, [9 Apr., 1801], that Merlin's speech for his mother would have done credit to Scott or any...
Nor was Leyden well pleased with Sir Tristrem, which being too long for inclusion in the Minstrelsy, was to be published by Constable, being printed separately at Kelso and edited by Scott; for Leyden, after undertaking to edit it and transcribing almost a third of the text, had found the romance (which was "decidedly not the Rhymer's") becoming so exceedingly free and easy that he declined after all to put his name "either in the title or at the preface", limiting himself to the provision of "a Glossary &c."; and not caring greatly even about this should there prove to be substance in the rumour that Ritson also possessed a MS. of Sir Tristrem. Offering his own and Scott's help in collection to enable their fellow-antiquaries in England to produce the best editions possible of these romances, Leyden proposed also to make a series uniform with Sir Tristram of those romances which appeared only in the Auchinleck MS. and could therefore best be printed in Scotland; and in it he hoped to include the 11,000 lines of Clariiodus and Meliades, of which he had seen Lord Hailes' invaluable MS., through the intervention of Thomas Thomson. This plan he eventually recognized as too ambitious, since, having examined the poem again and found it rather tedious for printing in full, he had decided, by July, 1802, to make it into a one-volume "Corps d'Extraits". Even this was never to appear; but at present, with his usual robust and unjustified optimism, Leyden was hoping that the summer of 1801 would see the preparation for the press of three volumes of romances, the last of which would comprise Clariiodus. And with equal futility he hoped that it would see also the return of Richard Heber to Scotland, preferably in the month of May, to attend a book sale and hear "the Scottish Clerical orators" at the General Assembly: an "august Conclave" in which there was little chance that Leyden himself would ever be heard. 

Already, indeed, having so far quite failed to obtain any "Indian appointment, medical, civil or military", Leyden was hesitating "whether to take a walk through Africa to Tombuctoo, or to settle a godly parson in Scotland and publish 'romances and other Tales of bawdrie'": Scott, considering the African idea a most ridiculous plan, which could "promise nothing either pleasant or profitable", and grieving "to see a valuable young man of uncommon genius and acquirements fairly throw himself away", 

1 Leyden to Heber, [April, 1801]. 2 Lockhart, op. cit., II, p. 64, thus errs in saying that neither Scott nor Leyden "ever permitted himself to falter" in his belief of Thomas's authorship. 3 Leyden to Heber, March 21, 1801. 4 With special reference to Ritson's Metrical Romances and Ellis's new edition of his Specimens of the early English poets. 5 Leyden to Heber, 3 July 15, 1802, & Mar. 27, 1802. 6 Scott to Ellis, Apr. 20, 1801.
set himself seriously to procure something for Leyden in India, which he considered "the best possible line for a young man", and was accordingly delighted when the summer brought some prospect of Leyden's obtaining a post under James Mackintosh on the staff of the College lately established by Lord Wellesley at Calcutta for the further education of the East India Company's junior officials. George Ellis's aid was enlisted through Hebe's interest; and Alexander Fraser Tytler, whose wife was a cousin of Mackintosh, was moved to bring Leyden to his notice as "a young man of most uncommonly splendid & most various endowments, who by the mere force of natural talents & genius" had attained to a distinguished place among Edinburgh's men of letters, and who needed only "a fixed establishment directing his talents to a particular object, to shine with very superior lustre". Having the highest opinion both of Leyden's abilities and of his moral character, and being supported therein by the agreement of many of his acquaintance "of the first ability", Tytler yet feared that his description of Leyden might seem to Mackintosh to have "some tincture of hyperbole", although it went not "an Iota beyond the truth"; and he accordingly set Leyden the awkward task of committing to paper a detail of the course of his studies and his own idea of his proficiency in each subject. This Leyden duly compiled, not without embarrassment at its "disgusting" prolixity and egotism, which only "such a home query as 'What are you good for'" could palliate, and at the apparent vanity and presumption of its claims; for, not knowing which departments at the College had been filled, he had to couch his application in general terms, from which it appeared, indeed, that he would be "a most material acquisition" to almost any department. Most of the groups of subjects specified included one which was something of a stumbling-block, mathematics, to which Leyden had never been "particularly devoted", being joined with one of his favourites, geography, and chemistry and botany, both of which he had studied, being linked with astronomy, with which he was little acquainted. Greek, Latin and English classics, ancient and modern history and natural history having all been favourite subjects, however, he believed he could be useful in any of them; and although his knowledge of modern European languages was more extensive than accurate, being mainly the result of reading, it
took in, for the same reason, a wide field of general literature
of the oriental languages desired; Leyden was acquainted only
with Arabic and Persian, of which, having studied the pronunciation
of neither, he had simply such a knowledge as would "facilitate their compleat acquisition" in some four or five months;
but the history and antiquities of Hindustan and the Deccan had
for some time so irresistibly attracted his attention, as involving many curious topics of research, that one of Leyden’s main reasons for desiring a post in India was the "superior facility" which it would give for these studies. By mid-July Scott, thanking Ellis for his "interference in behalf of our Leyden," was remarking with relief: "What a difference from broiling himself, or getting himself literally broiled, in Africa. 'Que diable vouloit-il faire dans cette galère?'"; but his jubilation was premature, for by December he was "truly anxious" that Leyden’s Indian journey seemed to hang fire, no news having come of William Dundas’s promised effort to have him appointed Secretary to Fort William College. Nor did these efforts succeed the establishment of the College being speedily and severely limited by the E.I.C. Court of Directors, so that Leyden had to "turn his mind to some other mode of making his way to the East." Eventually, indeed, he was to become a member of the College’s staff; but the time was not yet, nor for six years to come. If Leyden had indeed applied for the Chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres in his own University of Edinburgh (vacant since Hugh Blair’s death at the end of 1800), he was disappointed therein also, the gentle and ineffective Andrew Brown being appointed on June 5, just a week before Leyden wrote to A.F. Tytler. But he did not permit his own reverses to make him slack in seeking to help others, taking the opportunity afforded by his temporary tutorship with Douglas of Cavers to further the cause of his St Andrews acquaintance, Thomas Chalmers, now studying in Edinburgh and hoping to succeed his friend, William Berry Shaw, as assistant to the Rev. Thomas Elliot at Cavers. For, on Douglas’s mentioning Chalmers to him, Leyden promptly bore Chalmers to dinner at Douglas’s house at 1 Charlotte Square; and although this meeting with the patron of Cavers had no immediate effect, Chalmers’s cause prospered eventually, when he succeeded Shaw as Elliot’s assistant at the start of 1802.

1 Leyden to A.F. Tytler, June 12, [1801].
2 Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Hindustani, Bengali, Marathi, Telugu, Tamil and Kannarese. Leyden later learned them all.
3 Scott to Ellis, July 13, 1801. 4 Scott to Ellis, Dec. 7, 1801.
5 Scott to Ellis, Jan. 8, 1802. 6 There is no record of the defeated candidates. 7 Chalmers to Shaw, June 1, 1801.
Tutoring young Douglas of Cavers involved, by his father's desire, little regular instruction, Leyden's task being to take the boy out a good deal and "impart useful information to him by word of mouth": an eminently suitable employment for one who was so great a talker as John Leyden, and one which enabled him to combine his own pursuits with this "peripatetic tuition", so that during the short time the arrangement lasted, his charge accompanied him on such short walks as that to Bonnington, where Leyden at least once kept the boy waiting for "a few minutes" which grew into a long time while Leyden conferred with a friend, who proved to be Walter Scott. More often, however, Leyden's walks took him further afield to Lasswade, to which he would walk out with such friends of Scott as the Whig lawyer, John Richardson, spending the day in the Esk valley and returning to Edinburgh in the evening; and on at least one of these excursions, Leyden's pride in his athletic powers was mortified when, having challenged Richardson to a race, with Scott as judge, on a level green beside the Esk, he was defeated, so that, although his serenity was temporarily disturbed, he regarded Richardson "with more respect ever after".

To the Lasswade cottage came in the autumn of this year, on a "pleasant and interesting" visit of two days, that "snarling but very industrious and intelligent Critic" and antiquary, Joseph Ritson, whose constitutional irritability and consuming passion for accuracy, although they rendered him dogmatic and violent in controversy, did not preclude his being, among those in whom he had confidence, "a lively, cheerful companion, frank and unreserved" and tolerant of others' opinions, if tenacious of his own. Having already found on an earlier visit (and evidently to his surprise) "amiable and excellent qualities in Edinburgh", he was quite prepared for the pleasant hospitality of Dr Robert Anderson and Scott, who was already his correspondent on literary and antiquarian topics; but his pleasure in the society of two such "prodigious geniuses" as Scott and Leyden quite exceeded his expectations and so mollified his natural asperity of temper that Leyden was able to report to Naber:

2 Richardson, quoted in an article on the late John Richardson in The North British Review for Nov., 1802, vol. xii. p. 473.
3 As Bronson, Joseph Ritson, p. 250, notes, Lockhart (op. cit., p. 102) errs in assigning this visit to the autumn of 1802.
4 Ritson to Scott, Feb. 28, 1803. 5 Nichols, Literary Anecdotes VIII, p. 350, quoting a notice of Ritson.
"I shall only give you one hint concerning Ritson, and it is this I am by no means afraid of him after having seen him. You sent down to Scotland your old Lion — Walter Scott and I pared his claws and drew his teeth and returned him upon your hands a perfectly tame and domestic animal."

Scott had indeed given such a sop to this 'Cerberus' and arch-enemy of the Scots that he even forgave his host his nationality: a mark of affection which ensured that his criticism of the Border Ballads would be mild, as indeed it was; and the good effect on his temper persisted after his return to England:

"Ritson dropped in a few evenings since, and expressed more pleasure, more equable pleasure, than I remember at any time to have heard him express before, with the hospitality and kindness he experienced at Edinburgh. He was delighted with Dr Anderson, while the wonderful acquirements of Mr Leyden and Mr. Scott enforced high commendation. In short, the Scotch as a nation were men of genius, and whoever would wish to be hospitably received in a land of strangers must visit Scotland. You see what fruits the seed of urbanity produces, though sown in a cold and sterile soil."

If John Leyden ever did scarify Ritson's vegetarian susceptibilities by consuming a piece of raw meat — a feat he is stated variously to have performed at a literary supper at Archibald Constable's; at Lasswade during Ritson's visit, and in London before going east; — the incident had certainly no fatal effect on the "friendship between these two authors", which remained unbroken up to Leyden's departure from Britain.

The autumn of 1801, then, found John Leyden still without definite hope of an appointment abroad, still working in Edinburgh on the Complaynt of Scotland and his History of Africa — the one to appear at the end of the year, the other at the Greek Kalends — and on such semi-literary employments as the arranging of papers for the Highland Society. It found him, too, established as one of the "social shows" of the city: still a wild-looking, thin, sandy-haired Borderer, with a screech voice and staring eyes, who was privileged to say whatever he chose, and whose delight lay especially in a lively argument "about the Scotch Church, or Oriental literature, or Scotch poetry, or odd customs, or scenery", conducted on his part with the greatest

1 Leyden to Heber, Feb. 14, 1802.
3 Thos. Park to Dr Anderson, Nov. 9, 1801.
4 The Edinburgh Literary Gazette, Vol. II, pp. 75-76. (Jan. 30, 1830.)
5 Lockhart, op. cit., II, p. 102. Robert Gillies's variant (quoted from his Recollections by Lockhart, II, pp. 106-7) is discredited by his admission (Memoirs, pp. 321-22) that he (Gillies) was not at Lasswade in Scott's time, but later. 6 Scott, Memoir.
7 Cf. p. 303 inf. for Leyden's and Ritson's relations in London.
8 Leyden to Heber, c. Feb. 26-March 19, 1803, that he was to get "an additional remunerative" (probably not exceeding £20) from the Highland Society for arranging their papers.
shrillness and intensity. "Ever in a state of excitement, ever ardent, ever panting for things unattainable by ordinary mortals, and a complete stranger to insincerity, he reviewed his own pretensions, powers and visions as frankly as if he spoke of another man's; and his daily extravagances, mixed always with displays of his own ambition and confidence - for to Leyden at twenty-six, nothing seemed beyond his reach - were matter of mirth even to his friends. But with all this, Leyden was at heart generous, simple and humble: a fact which doubtless helped to recommend him to such ladies of rank as the literary beauty, Lady Charlotte Campbell, and the re-doubtable Duchess of Gordon, herself an exponent of the broad Scots tongue, and so faithful a well-wisher of Leyden that her influence followed him both to London, where he was to find that she had "not vilipended" him, and, in intention, at least, to India, since she purposed to recommend him to the short-lived Lord Comwallis. Thus encouraged, Leyden, despite his fundamental contempt for the superficialities of polite society, spend much time in it, talking to his heart's content, composing ingenious verses to serve as compliments or apologies and on one occasion, in his self-conscious egotism, even singing a song, in his anxiety to avoid the imputation of being afraid to do so. Considering the flirtatious cast of such of his verses as *The Fan. Addressed to a lady in 1602,* it is not surprising that Leyden's name should have been linked, however inaccurately, with that of such a literary young lady as the high-spirited Susan Ferrier. With another such young lady, the dark and soulful Anne Bannerman, he waged a poetical contest in sonnets, each writing a dozen; and the fact that the judges, of whose partiality Leyden complained, decided against him, may have contributed to Leyden's later inability to "keep any terms" with Miss Bannerman, who, possessing a character and temper "in some instances strangely unaccountable seemed to Leyden determined to condense her extreme irritability "as in a focus" for his special edification. This friction,

2 Jane Maxwell (1749-1817), wife of Alexander, the 4th Duke.
3 Leyden to Scott, Jan. 25, 1803.
4 Duchess of Gordon to Scott, Jan. 13, 1805. 5 Scott, *Memoir.*
6 Cf. its conclusion: 'But I would be nor fan nor dove, if, dearest, I might be thy love'. (11.23-24.)
7 *Memoir and Correspondence of Susan Ferrier,* ed. John Doyle, p. 47.
8 Note by William Erskine on ms. of a Leyden sonnet, which Erskine took to be one of the dozen.
9 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 15, 1804.
indeed, may well have been symptomatic of the jealousy, literary and perhaps social and political, pertaining between Leyden's old and new circles of friends, since Dr Anderson was later to write to Bishop Percy:

"As to the conversation I had with Mr. Rees, in which your name was mentioned improperly, I yet retain, at this distance of time, a general impression of it, though I do not distinctly recollect the particular expressions. It was occasioned by mentioning to Mr. Rees a conversation I had with Mr. Longman sometime before, relative to his undertaking a new edition of the Northern Antiquities. Dr Leyden was present, and, as I recollect, eagerly recommended the undertaking, and proposed Mr. Walter Scott to be the editor. Mr. Longman said 'I would prefer Bishop Percy: his name is of more weight and importance in the literary world, and of higher estimation with the public at large.' In this opinion I concurred, and I even went the length of saying that the 'Border Ballads' were not entitled to be placed on the same shelf with the Reliques'. This opinion, I understand, has been reported to Mr. Scott, and has produced a jealousy of your pretensions, and a coldness towards me. The existence of a literary cabal is evident, and Scott is the idol."

Leyden never pursued his social career at the expense of his studies, his almost preternatural powers of application enabling him to exact rigorously from the night the time "devoted to company or public amusements"; and from the careful division of his time he could always deal with an astonishing variety of concerns. So at the start of 1802, although intending to devote himself for some time to his lingering "African publication", of which hardly half of the first volume was yet printed, he felt free to undertake another sufficiently onerous commitment.

"You know I never do anything except I have a dozen things to do so besides the Herculean labour of correcting the papers of the Highland Society for another volume I have clogged another millstone to my neck, and that is the Scots Magazine. I have often in the zeal of my patriotism regretted that Scotland is unable to produce anything in the Periodical style except a meagre refaccimento of the English garbled publications, and our Physical Academy once endeavoured to remove this obliquity but never were able completely to organize a plan. In the course of our researches it often occurred to Mr. Scott and I that such a publication would have facilitated our enquiries as well as preserved many tangles of Antiquities &c.. Some hints which I threw out to Constable on the subject at last induced him to engage in the business if I would bear a hand. Uncertain whether my destiny might not call me to India in the beginning of summer I promised however to superintend some of the first numbers, if a few friends would assist. Mr Tytler urged me

1 Anderson to Percy, June 13, 1805; quoted Nichols, op. cit., VII, p.155.
3 Leyden to Dr James Brown, Jan. 13, 1802 (MS. 3432.) The printing of the African History had begun in March, 1801.
as well as Prof. Dalziel, and so I have dragged up and revised some forgotten papers and have arranged others for the purpose. But unluckily I am little of a mathematician, and few of my friends are better versed than myself except Rogerson, whose indolence or rather torpor defy all description. I had resolved to write you early in the month with a prospectus but not having by some accident been able to procure it hitherto, I have without ceremony proceeded to do what I ought to have done before, and that is to solicit your correspondence on every species of topic and particularly in Mathematics. I know you have always an immense mass of papers, or at least of original ideas on its most abstruse subjects and I am anxious to have a paper of some kind relating to the Science in our first number to be published on Feb. I... Pray do not fail me, for I have no doubt of your inclination to oblige me, though I doubt your indolence or illness as I may say with more justice knowing you to be a valetudinary. Depend upon the name being concealed effectually... Pray have you considered the subject of the Surya Siddanta in the 6 Vol. Asiatic Research. Strictures on that & Playfair's Essay on that work would make a curious paper which none but you can write - I do not pretend to dictate to you - but I only mention this subject as one on which I am privately interested, because some of my historical speculations appear to be affected by it.

Constable had in fact decided to begin a new (third) series of the Scots Magazine, amalgamating the Edinburgh Magazine with that venerable periodical, now reaching its dotage after over half a century of respectable life; and in undertaking the editorship of a magazine which would "always contain mar Scotch things", Leyden hoped, "by using it as a lever to drag to light many precious Scotish traditions, and perhaps MSS." besides reprinting correctly such literary curiosities as Cockilby's Sow, to which he had referred in his edition of The Complaynt of Scotland. Although interrupted almost at the commencement of his editorial labours by the glad news that he had at last obtained an Indian appointment, he continued to superintend the magazine in some degree while he remained in Scotland; and he enjoyed the services of his like-minded friend, Alexander Murray, as colleague and successor until September, 1802, when Murray left Edinburgh for Kinnaird to work on that new edition of James Bruce's writings on which Leyden had already given Alexander Manners his opinion. From the outset Leyden had definite ideas for his magazine, including a determination, forcefully expressed to Constable, that it should appear in a pleasing type and format:

1 Leyden to Dr James Brown, Jan. 13, 1802. His appeal seems to have fallen on deaf ears.
2 Leyden to Heber, March 23, 1802.
Pray read over the enclosed and send it without delay to Watson. The opinion which I have stated is that of Dalzel Reddie and Brown to whom I have sent specimens and received exactly the same answer - C — the puny wretch we shall be lost at the outset by his parsimony. I fear it will be a form that no gentleman will like to see his production in if that blasted type is retained."

This point was evidently remedied sufficiently to Leyden's satisfaction to permit him to urge Richard Heber not only to take the magazine himself, but to attempt to circulate it among his friends. And he had his way apparently in other respects also, the Scots Magazine for the next eight months bearing sufficient impress of his personality and interests, notably in the poetry section, where ten of his poems appeared between February & September, 1802, including the dignified Ode to Jehovah. From the Hebrew of Moses, a blood-thirsty Hungarian War-Song (perhaps written in emulation of Thomas Campbell), The Monody of Tograi, a long translation from the Arabic retaining a good deal of oriental colour, and The Dream, a version of John Leech's Latin verses addressed to Drummond of Hawthornden. In prose, too, his hand can be repeatedly traced, not only in the Observations on the Complaint of Scotland, signed 'J.L.', in the July number, which provided a somewhat unsatisfactory answer to David Herd's strictures on that subject, but in repeated letters to the editor from 'Constant Reader' or 'Philo-Dramaticus' asking for information on the authorship of an Ode on the approach of Summer or on Sir David Lyndsay's dramatic works, or from 'J.' or 'L.' on a literary coincidence between Flemish and Persian, or the use of carrier pigeons among the Arabs, and in such facetious papers as the series by a Pedagogue or that on the Adventures of a Wig. Editorship of a literary miscellany gave ample scope for Leyden's fondness for the facetious and mystifying, as well as for his love of probing in out of the way literary corners and of endeavouring to stir up discussion, if not controversy, on any subject which interested him; and had he been less preoccupied with other and more personally urgent matters, the Scots Magazine might have flourished indefinitely under his stimulating leadership.

As it was, his thoughts were soon conclusively turned in the

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1 Leyden to Constable, 1 Jan., 1802. (MS. 331.)
2 Leyden to Heber, March 23, 1802.
3 Sinton also ascribes to Leyden the commonplace verses The Three Pots, or Aesop Realized, signed 'L.', in the Scots Mag. for February, 1801.
4 Promptly answered by 'Crito' with a statement that the Ode was by Thomas Warton. 5 Illustrated by a translation from the Arabic of verses on the Courier Dove.
6 Cf. Leyden's contributions on wigs to the Calcutta Mirror.
direction to which they had long been tending. On the failure
of the endeavour to secure him a position on the staff of Fort
William College, Leyden needed little persuasion to consider the
alternative plan of going out to India as a surgeon with the
East India Company: a step which, without prejudicing his posi-
tion with regard to the College, would afford him a provision
independent of that apparently precarious establishment.¹ For
this the interest of William Dundas (who counted himself happy to
be able to help a young man of Leyden's talents)² sufficed; and
word accordingly reached Edinburgh in mid-February of Leyden's
appointment as an assistant-surgeon on the Fort St George or
Madras establishment.³ The only drawback to the obtaining of
this long-desired post was the proviso that Leyden should be
ready to sail, duly furnished with qualifications, on March 24,
1802, much sooner than he had expected. This prospect threw
him into "a state of mind, far from pleasant", since it was
almost, if not utterly, impossible to clear himself of his
Edinburgh commitments within the specified time.⁴ So he at
once informed the East India Company's Assistant Secretary
Meheux that a petition would be lodged to defer his departure
"till the first ship of next season" on the grounds of this
difficulty, of the impossibility of arranging everything, in-
cluding books, for the successful pursuit of his oriental
studies, and of the necessity of leaving his African history
imperfect with its first volume "nearly printed off", Leyden's
draft of the rest being useless to anyone else.⁴ Such requests
for six months' postponement of sailing were sometimes granted
if supported by any person of influence at the India Board; and
although delicacy prevented a further approach to William Dundas,
various applications had been made by Leyden's friends, including
one to Sir Stephen Lushington,⁵ which Leyden had reason to think
might succeed.⁴ There remained certain formalities to be gone
through, of which Leyden was entirely ignorant, so that he relied
for their accurate observation on Richard Lieber, to whom he wrote
in a "cursed hurry", asking him to use his influence with the
India Board in general and especially to present Leyden's
petition in form by "next Friday at farthest";⁶ the matter being
¹ Scott to Ellis, Jan. 8, 1802. ² Dundas to Scott, 21805.
³ Leyden knew by Feb. 14, 1802, that it was Madras, although Scott
then thought the station was still to be determined.
⁴ Leyden to Heber, Feb. 14, 1802 (MS. 939).
⁵ Father-in-law of M. G. Lewis' older sister, Maria, who was the
wife of Henry Lushington, the 2nd Bart.
⁶ Leyden believed the Board to meet on Tuesdays and Fridays.
of infinitely greater importance than even any literary question, so that Leyden would remain "in a most horrible state of suspense until he learned its "aspect": "and if by any horrid chance you be absent from town, when you receive this, I may as well be dead, damned, and straughted (you understand Scotish) as the living man I am". Leyden's luck held, however; for, his petition being supported as he hoped it might be in the absence of any recent regulation expressly preventing it, he received notice of his reprieve on March 4, as he duly informed Heber, with grateful apologies:

"I often wonder how it happens that the persons for whom we entertain the sincerest friendship and esteem, and to whom it is the greatest pleasure to write, are precisely those with whom we use the greatest negligence in correspondence. Can it be that indolence always reckons upon real friendship being least apt to take offence at these irregularities? and being most easily pacified when real offence is given? Are you ever subject to this whimsical humour, which has often made me wonder at my own conduct. For instance in the present case, since the fourth of March on which I received my Furlough from Mr Meheux till this 15 day of it, I have postponed writing to you, though I have dispatched a great many letters of ceremony, to persons to whom I had by no means the same obligations as to you, and of these obligations, which I owe to you I have been perfectly well informed by Mrs. Mackenzie and others. But my regard for you is not the less real though divested, only too much, of formality. I wish for my own sake I were a more punctual correspondent, since nothing gives me greater pleasure than to hear from you, and I am not the only person in Edinr. of this sentiment. When have you written to Scott?"

Meheux's letter bearing the news of his deferment reached Leyden just as he returned from the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, with a diploma which, knowing that the University conferred medical degrees only in June and September, and thinking it safer to guard against any unlucky accident of sailing immediately, he had gained at an examination two days before, when "in presence of the Examinators appeared Messrs. William Jardine and John Leydon and being severally examined in their skill in anatomy, surgery and pharmacy, was found fully qualified to practise these arts, received a diploma and paid each £5. 11s. 1d. Sterling to the Treasurer." Having now procured leave of absence, however, he purposed to "fortify" this diploma with an M.D. degree, and accordingly, being unwilling to trouble Meheux again, he applied once more to Heber.

1 Leyden to Heber, Feb.14,1802.
2 Mrs Henry Mackenzie. Cf. Leyden to Heber, July 13,1802: The Miss Mackenzies...will never forgive you should you prefer France to Scotland." 3 Leyden to Heber, March 23,1802.
4 Minute Book of the Royal College of Surgeons, March 2,1802. Reith, op.cit., p.163 is wrong in stating that Leyden gained no such diploma.
to find whether he might remain in Europe until August or December. In the latter case, having already completed the prescribed course of study for a medical degree at Edinburgh, he intended to graduate in September, and accordingly began again to attend medical classes in the spring and summer of 1802, to refresh himself in what seemed almost in some respects a new study. The Edinburgh examination requirements, however, could not be hastily complied with, the candidate having to make application to the Dean of Faculty three months before the date of graduation, and thereafter successively to undergo a private examination on his general literary and medical attainments at a professor's house, to submit a thesis (in Latin, like all the verbal and written exercises), to be examined moresearchingly by two professors before the Faculty, to annotate two aphorisms of Hippocrates and defend the annotations orally, and finally to have his thesis printed, give copies to the members of the Faculty, and sustain it before them on the graduation day. The uncertainty of Leyden's sailing date, as well as the weight and number of his other commitments, rendered difficult the fulfilment of so extensive a plan, and turned his thoughts towards the University of St Andrews, where the degree of M. D. might be obtained on the production of two testimonials and the payment of a sum of money. By mid-July, having heard that the most convenient mode of going out to India was "with an extra ship on its return", he began "to imagine that a berth of this kind must be prodigiously agreeable", and so besought the patient Heber to exert his influence to this end, even although the consequence might be a more rapid departure than would otherwise have been necessary. Accordingly he availed himself of his former connection with St Andrews to graduate M. A. and M. D. there on August 7: a precaution after all needless, since, his expectation of sailing "in an extra-vessel" being disappointed, he was to remain in Scotland until the end of the year.

1 Leyden to Heber, March 23,1802. 2 Leyden to Tytler, June 12, 1802. 3 Cf. his writing to Heber, c. June 11, 1802, during "the interval of two medical classes". Leyden's name appears in the Lists of Students, Dec. 23, 1802, under 'Medicine'.

4 Robert Leyden's Notes, but James Wardrop & Scott exaggerate.

5 This corresponded to the preliminary examination in Arts.

6 Grant, op.cit., I, pp. 330-32. The Statuta Solennia of 1767 were slightly modified in 1777, 1783 & 1811, and then remained essentially the same under 1833. 77 Cf. Robert Buist on Medicine at St Andrews in Votiva Tabella, p. 213.

8 Leyden to Heber, c. July 13, 1802.

9 St Andrews University, Graduation Roll; and Minutes of the Senatus Academicus, under Aug. 7, 1802.

10 Leyden to Heber, c. Oct. 11, 1802.
Leyden's necessary preoccupation with medical studies by no means alienated his attention from literary matters, however. By the end of March, the printing of Sir Tristrem having begun again after some weeks' interruption, work on the glossary and dissertation was proceeding with great energy;¹ and at the same time, as Constable (still hesitating about the publication of Clariodus) was going to London, Leyden took the chance to introduce him by letter to Heber, in hopes that they could concoct some plan of transmitting safely the copies of Tristrem and Clariodus promised by Heber on loan, which arrived before the start of June, to the great delight of Scott.² Clariodus had actually to wait another thirty years for publication by the Early English Text Society; and Leyden's determination to see his History of Africa "off" before leaving Scotland remained unfulfilled.³ But three other enterprises were to fare better. The Vale of Teviot, alias Scenes of Infancy, the long loco-descriptive poem of which Leyden sent Heber a short specimen in June, only to meet with a disappointing absence of criticism in Heber's reply,⁴ was in the hands of Ballantyne at Kelso by the autumn, Leyden having been encouraged to publish it by "all the literati" of Edinburgh. The third volume of the Minstrelsy was "quite ready" and the other two volumes revised by the same period,⁵ although the new edition of volumes one and two was not to appear, along with the third, until the following spring. And the small collection of Scotish Descriptive Poems, which Leyden had contemplated for some time, was at last making good progress.

By far the most pleasurable of the measures which Scott and Leyden were concerting for the advancement of the Minstrelsy's third volume in the first half of the year proved to be an excursion of two or three weeks through Scott's jurisdiction of "the Forest or Selkirkshire", on which the two "saw and heard much rare fun and discovered some old Ballads very good" which duly provided grist to the mill,⁶ chief among them being that of Auld Maitland, "copied down from the recitation of an old shepherd, by a country farmer",⁷ and given them by William Laidlaw, to their surprise and delight.

"I...produced 'Auld Maitland', as Hogg had sent it written with his own hand from his uncle's and his mother's recitation. Leyden seemed inclined to lay hands on the MS., but

1 Leyden to Heber, March 27, 1802.
2 Leyden to Heber, c. June 4, 1802.
3 Leyden to Heber, c. Oct. 11, 1802.
4 Leyden to Heber, c. June 11, 1802.
5 Scott to Ellis, 1802. - i.e. from the recitation of James Hogg's uncle, copied down by Hogg.
Mr Scott said quietly that he would read it. Instantly both he and Leyden, from their knowledge of the subject, saw and felt that the ballad was undoubtedly ancient, and their eyes sparkled as they exchanged looks...Leyden was like a roused lion. He paced the room from side to side, clapped his hands, and repeated after Mr Scott such old expressions as echoed the spirit of hatred to the Southerns as struck his fancy.¹

Laidlaw, having never before heard of Leyden, who appeared to him "a singularly good-looking young man of fully the common size with a most active and athletic aspect, had taken him "from his pronunciation and strange and somewhat loud tone of voice" for an Englishman; and this exhibition of enthusiasm confirmed him in his belief that Leyden was "not at all in his senses and some young English gentleman who had fixed himself upon Mr Scott and was crazed on the subject of old ballads".¹ The last part of this surmise was the most accurate; and when, after hearing from Laidlaw about James Hogg, Scott and Leyden set out, accompanied by Laidlaw, to dine with his uncle, Ballantyne of Whitehope, the mild Laidlaw had further samples of Leyden's zeal for ballads and his general "unconquerable energy and restlessness of mind".¹

After a ride with "not a minute of silence" down the narrow glen and over by Dryhope to see St Mary's Loch - which so affected Leyden that he leaped from his horse with a cry of 'That's grand and stood silent for a few minutes "admiring the fine Alpine prospect"- the riders came to the Craig-bents, where Leyden repeated with energy "a half-stanza of an irrecoverable ballad", later adopted by Scott as William of Deloraine's reply to the Lady of Branxholm.² And thereafter, seeing Scott and Leyden draw together in "a close and seemingly private conversation", Laidlaw "of course, fell back"¹ -

"After a minute or two, Leyden reined in his horse (a black horse that Mr S.'s servant used to ride) and let me come up. 'This Hogg' said he 'writes verses, I understand...I trust...that there is no fear of his passing any of his own upon Scott for old ballads...Let him beware of Torgery...":

a warning uttered with such force and emphasis in Leyden's 'saw-tones' that the astounded Laidlaw, amazed alike at Leyden's voice, gesture and suspicions, could remember nothing of the remaining half-hour of the journey, save that he seemed to get much into the fiery Leyden's favour.¹ After dinner at Whitehope, Leyden, asking Laidlaw to show him the church and churchyard (which he regretted was not surrounded by trees), delighted his

¹ Wm Laidlaw, Recollections of Sir Walter Scott, passim.
² 'Oh swiftly gae speed the berry-brown steed
That drinks o' Teviot clear!'
conductor by reciting with "suitable energy and excellence" The Eve of St John and Glenfinlas; and later, after a vain attempt to decipher the inscription of the 'Yarrow Stone' at Annan's Treat, Leyden gave further proof of his versatility by taking up a round stone used for putting and throwing it to a respectable distance with much ease and "the proper scientific heave". So, all in all, Laidlaw conceived an admiration for the sharp-voiced Leyden, and "always deeply regretted" that he never afterwards fell in with him.

For the rest, Scott and Leyden "penetrated the very recesses of Ettrick Forest" in defiance of "mountains, rivers, and bogs damp and dry", taking the risks of swamps and broken necks, and encountering "the formidable hardships of sleeping upon peat-stacks, and eating mutton slain by no common butcher, but deprived of life by the judgment of God." By the start of June, however, they were back in Edinburgh, not only safe, but satisfactorily "loaded with the treasures of oral tradition"; and Leyden was writing to assure Richard Heber that if he came to Scotland before the middle of July instead of visiting France, he would have the chance to see that Forest from which they had just come "in great perfection" at the Earl of Dalkeith's "encampment on the Loch of the Lows." To this Leyden feared that his medical pursuits would "completely prevent" his going; and when the time came he found it indeed quite impossible to return to Selkirkshire with Scott, being not only excessively busy and troubled by the ophthalmia which, despite relief from country air and sea-bathing, had troubled him since mid-May, but finding himself involved in the unexpected and unpleasant business of a family law-suit.

This suit, brought by the ungrateful rapacity of one of Leyden's maternal great-uncles against Leyden's father, was "proceeding according to the slow forms of law" by the end of July, when Leyden expected it would soon become more rapid; and more rapid it indeed became, so that at last it took all Scott's abilities, and all Leyden's dexterity in sifting the case, in addition to the professional services of Leyden's old friend

1 Laidlaw, op. cit.
2 Scott to Ellis, 1802; quoted Lockhart, op. cit., II, pp.99-100.
3 Leyden to Heber, c.June 4,1802. Lockhart, loc. cit., errs in referring this excursion to the autumn of 1802.
4 Leyden to Heber, c.June 11,1802.
5 Leyden to Longman and Rees, Aug.23,1802.
6 Leyden to his father, July 30, 1802, on business concerning his uncle Andrew Blyth's effects.
7 Leyden to Heber, ?Apr.6,1803.
James Reddie and his fellow-advocates Lorrain and Espinasse\(^1\) to baffle the opposition in a cause confessedly malicious and designed to bear Leyden's father down "merely by dint of money"\(^2\). For the suit had been brought by that very brother of old Andrew Blyth's whom Leyden's father had reconciled to Andrew to the detriment of his own prospects: a fact which had not prevented this "precious brother of his" from taking advantage of an informality in Andrew's will to prosecute the elder John Leyden "in a most scandalous manner on a most scandalous charge\(^3\) to avoid paying a legacy of no great importance"\(^2\).

By the autumn Leyden, eager though he was to be off to the wider opportunities of India, was feeling at least some regret for the country he was leaving; and, staying overnight at Woodhouselee, he lay awake, listening pensively to the stream's "lone voice talking to the night" and rising and falling with the fitful wind:

> A stilly sadness overspreads my mind,
> To think how oft the whirling gale shall strew
> 0'er thy bright stream the leaves of sallow hue,
> Ere next this classic haunt my wanderings find.\(^4\)

He was addressing himself with confidence, however, to the learning of as many eastern languages as possible.—

> "My Oriental acquisitions are that I can read most of the Oriental languages to which we have access here, with the help of a dictionary, though I have never attempted to speak any of them. I have begun to attend to the Bengalee and Sanscrit, and I have no fear of mastering any of the Oriental languages as fast as I shall have occasion for them." His eyes, indeed, which had given him little tranquillity all summer, made him go slowly with everything, in order not to irritate them, which might have prevented his ever "having the pleasure of perusing a Sanscrit or a Bali MS. not to speak of Tartar or Chinese"; but he recollected with felicity that the Orientals, apart from "the blundering Malabars with their palm leaves", wrote "a good bold hand little inferior in perspicuity to the letters on an alehouse sign".\(^5\)

He had not yet, however, quite bade goodbye to the study of Scottish literary antiquities which had engaged him so long. The anthology of Scottish poems which had been "in embryo in

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1 Robert Leyden to James Morton, Apr.17,1819.
2 Leyden to Heber, c.Apr.6, 1803.
3 Perhaps forgery, or undue influence in the making of the will; but Leyden is not specific, and no record appears.
4 Sonnet Written at Woodhouselee in 1802,11.5-8.
5 Leyden to Heber, c.Oct.11,1802.
his mind for over two years past, had taken increasingly definite
shape in the last year, and appeared at last in December as Sc
Scotish Descriptive Poems; with some illustrations of Scottish
literary antiquities, comprising John Wilson's Clyde, "the first
Scottish loco-descriptive poem of any merit and... still the only
national one of the species" 1; Albania, the anonymous blank-verse
production of a young Scottish clergyman, published posthumously
in 1737; Alexander Hume's charming description of The Day
Estival; and a short selection of pieces from William Fowler's
translation of Petrarch's Triumphs, with five sonnets from his
sequence, The Tarantula of Love. 2 Having the two-fold purpose
of rescuing from oblivion a few inedited or scarce poems,
which merited a better fate, and of illustrating some obscure
or generally unnoticed points in Scottish literary history,
Leyden added a variety of notes "chiefly intended to illustrate
localities and obscure allusions," 3 and, in producing a popular
rather than a scholarly work, he did not scruple to modernize
the spelling, not always consistently, in Hume and in Fowler,
that Jacobean "writer of amatory verses", whose style, besides
being quaint, affected and antithetical, had very little of the
Scottish idiom, save in actual words and phrases. 4 Leyden's
editorial principles were eclectic, and his selection of the
readings apparently "most practical and congruous with the
context" was not unfailingly judicious 5; but he achieved his
purpose of producing a pleasing and eminently readable collection
of almost forgotten poems from the Scottish literature to
which, as a field of study, he now bade a regretful farewell. 6

By the time he dismissed this valedictory offering from
his hands on December 20, 1802, Leyden was on the brink of being
summoned away in great haste to London to join one of the Chris
tmas fleet of East Indiamen. 7 There was time for a hurried
visit to Coldmill, to bid goodbye to his parents and to learn of
the death of an unnamed near relation: a visit during which Leyden's mother sang at his request such favourite ballads as

1 Scot. Descriptive Poems, p. 27.
2 This arrangement was made according to the poems' length.
5 E.g. in his substitution of 'passing' for 'peeping' as an
epithet for wind in The Day Estival.
6 Ibid., Preface.
7 Scott, Memoir.
Tamlane, Young Benjie and Binnorie, and from which Leyden returned to Edinburgh, considerably fatigued, on the very eve of his departure for London. This, his last evening in Scotland, Leyden had already promised to spend at a supper party in Edinburgh, at which his brother Robert and one of the Ballantynes were also guests;¹ and to this party he made a sufficiently effective entrance, arriving from Roxburghshire rather sooner than was expected, and so taking the company by surprise by entering suddenly, wearing a travelling cap purchased for the journey south, and exclaiming cheerfully, "Here I am again, my boys; safe and sound."¹ The next morning found him with his brother Robert at William Drysdale's Turf Coffeehouse in South Saint Andrew Street, from which the High Flyer Light Post Coach set out for London daily at 6 a.m., travelling by Newcastle and York. And on the 'Fly', that winter morning, went John Leyden, on the first stage of the journey that was to put half the world between himself and Scotland. He was leaving behind much that he valued: good friends, a well-loved country and congenial studies, which he could now never hope to resume. "But India always had the greatest weight with him when it came to a push"; for India was the land of promise, wherein, if John Leyden but stretched out his hand, he might grasp at anything he desired.

¹ Robert Leyden's Notes.
Watercolour miniature of John Leyden.
(In the possession of Mrs Ella Norman, Kent)

Pencil Sketch of Leyden on the back end-paper of the Edin. Univ. Lib. copy of Welsh's Life of Thomas Brown.
Leyden's journey south and arrival in London were hardly auspicious, and throughout his stay there he was to be dogged by uncertainty regarding both time and money. Having "deferred to the last and till it was too late, all that could be easily done and that stupid people find time to do," he left Edinburgh in an amazing hurry already "enfeebled with immense fatigue, both of mind and body, and exhausted by three nights' total want of sleep to an inconceivable degree of anxiety." At York, he was seized with severe cramps in the stomach, the consequence of his violent exertion before leaving Scotland, and before the journey's end he was so seriously threatened with his "old disease" of inflammation of the intestines that "a very little might have dispatched him on a much longer journey." The "cursed Fly," moreover, broke down twice on the way, delaying its passengers "exactly 2½ days beyond the Mail of Monday" and depositing Leyden in London just when the bars on which he had drafts were shut for the Christmas holidays. So he arrived at last, after "seven nights with scarce a wink of sleep," with "few of the natural corporeal functions...in good order," with "all his ideas perfectly bewildered, and tired to death and sick, and without any settled plans for futurity or any accurate recollection of the past." Unable to draw money on his bills, he found that the Fly's delay had caused him much more inconvenience than he had been able to remedy by mid-January, when he instructed his brother Robert to obtain from Walter Scott and deliver to Leyden's uncle the sum of £32: "for which purpose I will write him to-morrow as he is; to transmit me £75 by bank checks." Nor was this the only such request, since by the third week in March, finding it necessary to buy a copy of Francis Meninski's Thesaurus, Leyden applied to Scott for a further £30, which he expected to be adequate to every purpose; and when Scott generously sent him £50 instead, "by Bell on Longman and Rees", this loan brought Leyden's total debt to Scott up to £150, with interest as from February 1, 1803. To add to his embarrassments, Leyden's heavy baggage, despatched by

1 Ellis to Scott, Jan. 16, 1803.
2 Leyden to his father, Apr. 4, 1803.
3 Leyden to Dr Anderson, Apr. 5, 1803.
4 Leyden to Scott, Jan. 13, 1803.
5 Leyden to Robert Leyden, Jan. 12, 1803.
6 Leyden to Wm Erskine, Sept. 15, 1804.
7 Leyden to Robert Leyden, loc. cit. Reith, op. cit., p. 199, takes 'him to be Scott', but it seems more likely to refer to Leyden's uncle.
8 A copy had recently been sold for £50, but Leyden hoped to get one for £20. Cf. p. 312, inf.
9 Leyden to Scott, [?] March 19, 1803.
10 Scott's endorsement of Leyden's letter to him of March 19, 1803. Leyden also owed £50 to an uncle of Scott's: most probably Robert Scott of Kelso.
sea, also met with misfortune, involving him in "a very consider-
able loss" of some £27 worth of "Boots, shoes, silk stockings, &c" an accident which led him, against his original intention, to act on his father's permission to use, at need, a £40 bill belonging to his father, which, in Leyden's haste, had been carried to London in his luggage. This step further bedevilled Leyden's finances, his plan of directing Longman and Rees to allot for its repayment £50 of £150 due to be paid to him within six or seven months being frustrated by his father's unexpectedly needing the money to enable him to lease Little Cavers: a plan which he had long cherished, and which Leyden regarded as advantageous both in itself and for its preventing his father from proposing again to go to America, which would have been "a very unpleasant circumstance" at his time of life. Learning this only when "in the Isle of Wight waiting for a wind", and accordingly unable to make any dependable arrangement "without incurring very unpleasant obligations", Leyden was forced to ask Richard Heber to settle the matter for him in London, since he declined either to write Douglas of Cavers "a line" which would have arranged matters -("the wretch trampled on me when I was friendless and I will never forgive him, not to say refuse every obligation from him") - or again to trouble Scott, who was "engaged in the purchase of an estate" with much of his father's property still "at the issue of law". Although pecuniary obligations were as yet a thing so new to Leyden that he could hardly prevail on himself to ask Heber to raise the sum in any manner appropriate, rather than go without it, he had already conferred with Heber on the unpalatable subject of "pagodas or rupees"; for the money calculations which had seemed "very sufficient" in Scotland had soon been revealed as inadequate by Leyden's discovery of the "extreme difference" between the real and the nominal expense of the voyage, which was to cost at least £60 more than the supposedly fixed and proper sum, of the "necessity of carrying out a variety of surgical apparatus not supplied by the company", and of the probability of having to replace cotton goods damaged in his trunks by sea water, so that by the time he had finally settled the details of his voyage at India House, paid his ship's captain

1 Leyden to his father, Apr. 5, 1803.
2 Leyden to Robert Leyden, Apr. 6, 1803. Leyden's father had given him permission to use this bill when he "was out at Coldmill" in December, when Leyden had "had no idea" of availing himself of it.
3 To draw the money at once would have involved Leyden in an obligation to Longman & Rees, which he sought to avoid.
4 Leyden did not know if this meant "the house alone or also the Garden" (Leyden to his father, loc.cit.)
5 Leyden to Heber, Apr. 6, 1803, 11, pp. 66 & sup.
6 Ibid. Leyden added: "(that is entire nous however)".
7 Leyden to Heber, [? Feb. 26-Mar. 19, 1803].
"the different kinds of taxation," and learned from him what was expected of one on arrival at the Cape and at Madras, Leyden had been obliged already to ask Heber to negotiate for him a loan of £50, for which he knew Scott would become security if necessary, and which Leyden proposed to repay as quickly and easily as possible by appropriating to that purpose the profits of *Scenes of Infancy* and also, if requisite, those of the *History of Africa*, for which Longman was to pay him £100 in the first instance, in some ten months' time.3

At the very start of his stay in London, however, Leyden found himself confronted by a problem still more urgent than these monetary troubles. The clerks of the East India House in Leadenhall Street (among whom Leyden might have found Dyer's friend Charles Lamb in the Accountant's Office), being governed by laws apparently as immutable as those of the Medes and Persians, paid no attention whatever to the difficulties occasioned by Leyden's ill health and lack of money, but insisted, "with the most remorseless sangfroid" that he should either vacate his appointment or proceed to the Downs to join his ship, at a cost of "at least £50 or 60 Sterling"4; which Leyden feared would not return even after many days, unlike "the bread cast upon the waters".5 Neither course being much to Leyden's taste, he struggled on, passing "the principal forms" and being examined by Dr John Hunter on the diseases of warm climates "with tolerable success but most intolerable anguish", until he contrived to aggravate his "distemper so much from pure fatigue and chagrin and dodging attendance" at the India House and India Board from ten to four o'clock daily, that Hunter at last confined him to his room for two days;5 and as he was recovering from this sojourn in bed, "violent inflammation of the eyes" seized him, so that he concluded, with ample reason, that the London climate by no means suited his constitution.6 On January 5, however, Leyden's petition, "praying to be appointed" an Assistant Surgeon, was entered in the East India Company's Court Book along with those of two other Scotsmen,7 Leyden's nominator being John Roberts, Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors;8

1 Up to the third week in March, Leyden expected his ship to call at the Cape; but it did not do so eventually. Cf. p.
2 These were to be divided with his bookseller.
3 This payment was never made, the work remaining unfinished (cf. p. *inf.*).—Leyden to Heber, Feb. 26-Mar. 19, 1803.
4 Partington, *Sir Walter's Post Bag*, p. 16, misreads '60' as 'so'.
5 Leyden to Scott, Jan. 13, 1803. 6 Hunter (M.D. Edin., 1775) published *Diseases of the Army in Jamaica*, 1788. He died in 1809.
7 Leyden to Robert Leyden, Jan. 12, 1803.
8 John McWhirter and Duncan Brodie, also assistant surgeons.
9 Military Records I: Assistant Surgeons, 1791 to 1814. (C.R.O. Lib)
and on the same day it was resolved that Leyden should be permitted to "practise in the line of his profession", his rank remaining to be settled "at a future time".¹ Accordingly, the implacable clerks, who had doubtless not the slightest particle of taste for either Arabic or Persian, not to speak of Sanskrit or Tamil, and would have remained unmoved even if addressed in an original ode in Sanskrit superior to the sublime Jayadeva's,² simply made out his appointment and order to sail in the Hindoostan, a large, swift-sailing East Indiaman of 1,248 tons, tightly and handsomely built, and altogether one of the finest ships in the service, which was then lying in the Downs, being about to leave for the east under the command of Captain Edward Balston. Leyden accordingly found himself obliged to exert every nerve to avoid "being shipped immediately on board", in his present state of poor health and lack of money, and without even his trunk, which did not arrive until January 12.⁴ Richard Heber, who consistently exerted all his influence to forward Leyden's views,⁵ was still in Paris, whither he had gone at the end of November, 1802, intending to stay for three weeks;⁶ and everyone with whom Leyden had the slightest influence was out of town, save for George Ellis, who, despite the "distressed state" of his family affairs (his wife's mother, Lady Parker, being on her death-bed), was Leyden's only resource. This resource was completely successful, however, for so effectively did Ellis intercede with Lord Castlereagh, the President of the East India Company's Board of Control,⁷ that he gained permission for Leyden to proceed to Madras by the Hugh Inglis, a vessel of 820 tons, owned by Matthew White,⁸ instead of by "the first Ships bound to that Presidency this season"; for it was resolved by ballot on January 19 that "the standing order of Court of the 13th May 1800 be dispensed with" in this and another case.⁹ So Leyden, obtaining this respite was saved from the "most confounded pickle" of being "pickled and salted by all that's gracious"; for, as he reported to Scott from the lobby of the East India House on the morning of January 13, desiring to express his gratitude to Ellis:

2 Leyden to Scott, Jan.13,1803.
3 Kelso Mail, Thursday January 20 1803.
4 Leyden to Robert Leyden, Jan.12,1803, writing from the Jerusalem Coffee House, Clerkenwell, before the trunk was opened.
5 Leyden to Scott, Jan.25,1803.
6 Thos Park to Dr Anderson, Nov.29,1802.(Adv. MS.22.4.10.)
7 President from July 12,1802, to Feb.12,1806, when he succeeded by Lord Minto. Reith's dates (p.205) are suspect.
8 East India Register for 1803, pt.II.
"Ellis has saved my life, for without his interference I should certainly this precious day have been snug in Davy's locker!... the Hindostan, which I ought to have joined yesterday morning, was wrecked last night going down the river: and one of the Clerks whispered me, a great many passengers have been drowned. About 50 persons have perished."  

This report was indeed somewhat exaggerated, most of the passengers being still at Deal or Portsmouth awaiting the ship's arrival; but although 120 people were saved from the wreck, there were yet twenty-four casualties, three midshipmen, twenty of the crew and one cadet being "drowned, killed, or frozen to death" in the tremendous gales that had blown the Hindostan from her anchors and driven her, with the pumps choked, on to a sandbank some twelve miles from shore in the Queen's Channel, Margate Roads, where she filled with water at the flood, so that within five days "not a single plank" remained, her valuable cargo of goods and bullion being a total loss. So it was not without reason that Leyden felt a kind of grave exultation, exclaiming to Scott:

"So you see, there is some virtue in the old proverb. 'He that is born to lie hanged &c: I feel a strange mixture of solemnity and satisfaction, and begin to trust my fortune more than ever".  

Leyden and his rescuer, the urbane and scholarly Ellis, with his notably "happy combination of wit, taste, talents and knowledge", were so well pleased with each other that by January 16 they were already old friends; for Leyden's whole air and countenance proclaimed his purpose of friendship, and Ellis and his charming wife, Anne, immediately took him at his word, even forgiving him the loss in transit of a copy of Scott's Cadzow Castle, which Leyden "remembered to have left somewhere or other, and consequently felt very confident of recovering". They would have been more disappointed indeed had the redoubtable Leyden, recommended by Scott as a true original with very uncommon qualities of heart and head, arrived "like a careful citizen, with all his packages carefully docketed in his portmanteau"; and in three weeks' time, when Leyden was expecting (prematurely) his sailing orders almost daily, the Ellises realized that his departure would mean as much to them as to Scott himself.

1 Park told Anderson, March 19, 1803, that Leyden's narrow escape was "effected entirely by the kind mediation of Mr Ellis with Ld Castlereagh".
2 Leyden to Scott, Jan. 13, 1803.
3 Caledonian Mercury, Jan. 17, 1803; & Edinburgh Evening Courant, do.
5 Ellis to Scott, Jan. 16, 1803. Scott (to Ellis, Jan. 30, 1803) did not regret the loss of the poem, of which he had "lost conceit".
6 Daughter of Admiral Sir Peter Parker.
7 Scott to Ellis, Dec. 1802.
8 Ellis to Scott, Feb. 11, 1803.
One of Leyden's methods of repaying Mrs. Ellis's kindness was by entering light-heartedly into her feud with Joseph Ritson, to whom she entertained "the most rooted antipathy on account of his very churlish conduct to Ellis whom he ... lugged into his Notes on the Romances" and especially into the Glossary (with 'not as Mister Ellis saies') after receiving willing help from him. At present Mrs. Ellis was awaiting impatiently the arrival in London of Mrs Walter Scott, a lady "not quite so little" as herself, and equally hostile to Ritson, so that they might assail their foe in company. And this prospect moved Leyden to compose a "very ingenious, playful and accurate burlesque "Romance of the two little ladies and thepaynim dwarfe", using, with a slight relaxation of the rhyme-scheme, the metre of Chaucer's Sir Thomas, and depicting the vegetarian Ritson in that character of nettle-eater in which he was to appear in the caricature by James Sayer, published on March 22, 1803, and gleefully circulated among the literati. Having referred gratefully to the fact that but for Ellis, he himself would have "ben at the se gronde", Leyden sketched in a highly characteristic manner portraits of Ellis, with his thin face and keen grey eyes, his brilliance of wit and conversation, his fondness for snuff and his readiness

To hunte or hawke, bi frith or folde,  
Or play at boules in alles colde;  

of the dainty Mrs Ellis:

1 Ancient English Metrical Romances, in which, e.g. Ritson charged Ellis with "the utmost violation of sense and reason".
2 Leyden to Scott, Jan. 25, 1803.
3 Sir Egerton Brydges, Restituta, IV, p. 212. He quotes, pp. 212-15, the 'B' version (probably the later) of the Ley of the Etterscap, which Sir John Squire (ineptly calling the Ley an 'imitation of a Border Ballad') prints in Aves and Parrots, pp. 45-47, and of which Reith, op. cit., pp. 146-49, gives six stanzas.
4 Dr G.H. Kitchin, A Survey of Burlesque and Parody in English, p. 12 calls the Ley perhaps the most amusing of modern parodies in the Thomas vein, & on p. 82 traces this "famous line" down to Leyden.
5 It forms the frontispiece of Bertrand Bronson's Joseph Ritson.
7 II. 10-11 of version 'B', the MS. source of which I have not found, but not occurring in version 'A': that which Leyden sent to Scott on Jan. 25, 1803, and of which Lockhart, op. cit., II, pp. 114-116, quotes 9 stanzas. Each version in its complete form has 10 stanzas.
Her wit is ful kene and quent,  
And her stature smale and gent,  
Semuleche to be seen;  
Armes, hondes, and fingres smale,  
Of pearl beth eche fingr nail  
She mizt ben fairy Quene;  

and of the malignant and egotistical dwarf, who lived on nettle-cap;  
That dwarf he ben beardles and bare  
And weasel-blowen ben all his hair,  
Like an ympe or elfe;  
And in this world beth all and hale  
Ben nothing that he loyeth an dele  
Save his owen selfe.  

And of Mrs Ellis's alleged plan to end the dwarf's career and  
"bake him in a pye", he expressed the heartiest approval,  
enjoining Scott:  

"Pray give my love to Mrs Scott and ask how she likes Mrs Ellis's plan of parboiling her old antagonist Ritson, and  
likewise whether Camp had not best be brought forfard as an auxiliary if he do not lead the forlorn hope".  

Leyden nevertheless remained on excellent personal terms  
with the irascible Ritson, conferring with him on such literary  
matters as the third volume of the Minstrelsy, of which Ritson,  
being perhaps "not well pleased" that Scott had "anticipated  
him in the Solport Fray" was not uncritical, although he had  
found the Minstrelsy's first two volumes excellent throughout,  
both in verse and prose. Ritson had no criticism to make, however, of his "amiable and accomplish'd friend", the "obligeing"  
Dr Leyden, whose brief stay in London compensated Ritson to some  
extent for the unlikelihood of his own return to Scotland; a  
prospect indeed unlikely, since the unfortunate Ritson was showing increasing signs of the insanity to which he was to succumb  
seven months later.--  

"Ritson has just been with me in a great fury at the whole  
world particularly at God Almighty and the absurd custom of.  

1 The Lay of the Ettercap, 11.37-42 & 49-54 (version 'A'). In 1.  
55, 'thi dame' -i.e., thy (Scott's) lady - is consistently mis- 
printed as 'the Dame'. 2 Leyden to Scott, Feb. 7, 1803.  
3 Ibid. Ritson magnanimously refrained, however, from taking a  
copy of Auld Maitland, because it was to appear in the 3rd vol.  
although Leyden assured him Scott would have no objection.  
4 Ritson to Scott, 6 June 10, 1802.  
5 Ritson to Scott, Feb. 28, 1803.
printing his name in capitals just as if the old gentleman above were to look down in a great passion and say Damn you why don't you print my name with proper respect in capitals. He is however very nearly convinced of the existence of ghosts, and admits that some damned malicious being pester his chamber by knocking at his inner door in such a frightful stile all the night over for the mere purpose of preventing him from sleeping, and then staring at him with such ghastly faces."

If Leyden thus maintained good relations with the anti-Scottish Kitson, he was on rather different terms with his fellow-countryman Thomas Campbell, who contemplated with sardonic amusement what tales Leyden would tell, on returning from diminishing the population of India, of having eaten cannibals and torn tigers to pieces. For, on coming to know people in London "a little better", Leyden found to his surprise that he had more than his own "faults of manner &c" to contend with, recent since Campbell (resident in London since his marriage) had not scrupled to spread misrepresentations of him, the tenor of which may be gathered from Campbell's epistolary linking of Leyden's name with the visitation of "infectious influenza" and a freezing north wind:

"London has been visited in one month by John Leyden and the influenza! Saul hath slain his thousands and David his tens of thousands. They are both raging with great violence. John has been dubbed Dr Leyden, and the influenza La grippe. The latter complaint has confined Telford and myself for a week or so: the former has attacked us several times."

These sarcasms Leyden ignored, observing cuttingly, "I despise to recriminate, and while he is the same man it would be almost needless"; and indeed they seem to have had no adverse effect on the busy social life which Leyden, armed with various introductions, and with Ellis and Heber to support him, led both in literary and political circles, being received everywhere with the most polite attention, so that his most cordial reception,

1 Leyden to Heber, ?Feb.10,1803.
3 Leyden to Scott, Jan.25,1803.
4 Campbell, March 7 & 27; quoted by Reith,op.cit.,p.ix, who wrongly renders 'violence' as 'virulence'.
5 Leyden to Miss Boswell , April 5,1803.
much exceeding his expectations, made this one of the most flattering, as well as one of the happiest periods of his life.

It was also a period of extreme activity, in which Leyden continued to keep himself constantly in a bustle, undergoing immense labour and fatigue, buying, reading, and in part writing, books, making plans and paying visits of business or pleasure, having always "a thousand things to do every body to see and everything to look at" so that even with "many nights sitting up" he still had not a moment's leisure. His literary pursuits, indeed, interfered a little with his purely social life; but, being long accustomed to burning the candle at both ends, he found it possible to accept a variety of invitations, breakfasting with Samuel Rogers, dining along with George Ellis "at a relation of his", and attending frequently, to his hosts' "great edification", those literary parties given by Longman and Rees, which Joseph Ritson was to attend once, and once only, finding that the assembly justified William Godwin's description of it as "a parcel of fools." At weekends, one desirable invitation sometimes clashed with another, as when Leyden was reluctantly obliged to forego the pleasure of joining a Sunday expedition planned by Richard Heber, because it was morally impossible to desert Dr. Hunter, to whom he owed "many obligations since coming to town" and who had "in some measure formed a party" on Leyden's account for the same day. A visit to the opera with James Boswell induced in Leyden merely a feeling of disgust at dancing which reminded him of diseases.

1 Leyden to his father, Apr. 5, 1803. 2 Erskine, op. cit.
3 Leyden to Miss Boswell, Apr. 5, 1803.
4 Leyden to Scott, Jan. 25, 1803.
5 Thomas Longman to Scott, Feb. 4, 1803.
6 Ritson to Scott, July 2, 1803.
7 Presumably Dr John Hunter, Leyden's examiner in tropical diseases.
8 Leyden to Heber, [? March, 1803]. Dated merely 'Saturday Evening'.
"the Alphabets given to children, of a man twisting himself into all the letters of the alphabet"; and he probably took much more pleasure in entertaining at his own rooms the unassuming Thomas Park, and in reading to him the valedictory sonnet which Thomas Brown, in giving Leyden a copy of The Pleasures of Memory as a souvenir of years of open-hearted friendship and "simple joy," had inscribed in a blank page. In this pleasant if undisguished verse, as in Leyden's Adversaria Poetica, and "most pleasing volume" of Scott's Descriptive Poems, Park would find nothing obscure; but one wonders what he made of Leyden's spirited Lowland Scots version of the opening of William Drummond's Polec-Middlin, inserted in Park's copy of the rare 1691 edition of that robustly humorous production.

Ye linkin, lang-tramm'd limmers light
0' Fife - far fumed for kail
Wha bleach your claes by Pittenweem,
Or clod the crafts o' Grail...

Ye tally skippers, unco pleased
In skellast boats to hobble,
Come; lift wi' me the dirsum dour
Frac ilka tarry cobble.1

Very different were the elegant or sentimental trifles which Leyden, according to his wont, turned out with apparent ease for almost any young lady. Ranging from the dexterous trifle composed for 'Julia' in January on the given line from Chaucer, 'Hard is his herte who lovith naught,' to the untitled and rambling effusion addressed to 'Monk' Lewis's witty and Sophia, they included a tribute to the power of that same graceful sister/Sophia's "conquering fan," and an oblique compliment to a young lady whose green veil prevented her

1 Leyden to Robert Leyden, c. Feb. 26, 1803. Leyden told Miss Boswell, loc. cit., that her brother and he had "dined supper'd visited and gone to the Opera together".
3 Park to Dr Anderson, Dec. 14, 1808.
4 Park to Scott, Apr. 4, 1812. 5 Park to Anderson, Mar. 19, 1803. This volume, bound with the 1st ed. of Scenes of Infancy, is in E.M., inscribed 'The presentation of Dr Leyden to Thos Park, 1803'.
6 Printed in The Poetical Register for 1804, Vol. IV, p. 15.
7 Printed in The Life and Correspondence of M. G. Lewis, I, pp. 32-5.
8 Not to be confused with The Fan (1803).
"faultless mien" from producing its full effect on Leyden's superficially susceptible heart. 1 The best of them, the melodious Ode to the Evening Star, has a sufficiently affecting conclusion:

Fair star! though I be doomed to prove
That rapture's tears are mixed with pain,
Ah, still I feel 'tis sweet to love! —
But sweeter to be loved again;

but remembering how fervently he had assured Janet Brown

...Dearest maid
I never can forget thee: — thou shalt dwell
In my soul's temple, tho' wide seas divide

one admires the facility, rather than the sincerity, of Leyden's muse.

Leyden had also much more serious poetical business on his hands during these crowded weeks in preparing for the press The Vale of Teviot, which friends were awaiting with pleasurable expectation, 4 and which was to appear under the more sentimental title of Scenes of Infancy. Descriptive of Teviotdale. There were to be also less authorized changes in it; for, correcting the text in London and sending it by instalments to Edinburgh for James Ballantyne to print for Longman and Rees, 5 Leyden was obliged to leave final decisions on the text to Ballantyne and Thomas Brown. The highly fastidious taste of the latter (himself a practising poet) led him not only to amend the punctuation, adding greatly to the number of commas, but also, on occasion, to curtail what Leyden liked, and leave what he "did not care a sixpence about", 7 so that Leyden, although duly grateful for his friends' good intentions and disinterested efforts, was moved to

1 The Green Veil. Sent to a lady with Hamilton's Poems.
2 Ode to the Evening Star.11.21-24. Printed in A Select Collection of English Songs...by the late Joseph Ritson, I, pp. 205-6.
3 To J. B. from J. L., 11.42-44.
4 Dyer to Anderson, 17 April, 1802.
5 Leyden repeatedly tells his brother Robert to transmit enclosures to Ballantyne without delay.
6 Cf. the text of much of Scenes of Infancy in MS. 3380, ff. 184-200.
7 Leyden to James Ballantyne, [6 April 6, 1803], quoted by Scott, Memoir.
Tell once by clamour that pursued his way
To the sound heleshed his helpless pray.
Eugenia shivered with fear as now wild
Thoughts crossed on her breast him lifelong child.

While fondly hoping containing with despair
The scene for one song their mother spunged
In her torn heart of distracted passion right
And oft she thinks her child revives again.

Tale uttering tales while withers her embers.

330 The hues alone the tired that wound her heart.
Clinging little life one soul communicated
Into the blue soul of despairing woe.

She weeps she weeps for his wrongs she consigns wings.
While no relief the lifts of morning brings.

Tell rest in light before the night of eyes
Trent's deic pure was left unpierced to rise.
Tell on his face a painful glance he set,
And, as she looked she searched garments wet.

Your rich complaints, he saith, have made on trade
350
"The clay and ear of death your murmur heart.
You cease not my mind with tears to wet.
Yet, love one tranquil with the hand to read.
"No break again the slumber of the blest."

Amuse the dear, loved from Eugenia these
Her come, we from the gods she the remembrance flue
Refuge, while her presence was the wings".
"Hope from heaven to yearns around.
"Hope the fountain, no other than a massing".
360 Land call the field spirit back to stay.

Passage from Scenes of Infancy p.11, in Leydon's hand, showing the 19 lines on Eugenia omitted in the printed text (No.3204187)
lift up his voice "like a trumpet" against their bad taste and criticism, thundering to Ballantyne on the eve of embarkation:

"I fancy you expect to receive a waggon-load at least of thanks for your midwife skill, in swaddling my bantling so tight, that I fear it will be strangled in the growth ever after. On the contrary, I have in my own mind been triumphing famously over you, and your razor-witted, hair-splitting, intellectual associate, whose tastes I do not pretend to think anything like equal to my own. Though before I left Scotland, I thought them amazingly acute, but I fancy there is something in a London atmosphere which greatly brightens the understanding, and furnishes the taste. This is all the vengeance you have unfortunately left in my power."

And specially was he enraged by the omission of eighteen lines describing how the spirit of the fair Eugenia's infant son, drowned in "Alemoor's lake" by a marauding eagle, returned to implore his mother to cease the weeping which compelled him to revisit the dreary portals of his "earthy bed".

"The verses you excluded were certainly the most original in all the second canto, and certainly the next best to the Spectre Ship, in the whole poem, and I defy you and the whole Edinburgh Review, to impeach their originality. And what is more, they contained the winding-sheet of the dead child, wet with a mother's repining tears, which was the very idea for the sake of which I wrote the whole episode ... and, what is most provoking of all, you expect the approbation of every man of taste for this butchery, this mangling and botching! By Apollo, if I knew of any man of taste that approved of it, I would cut his tongue out ... do not talk of men of taste approving of your vile critical razors, razors of damnation!"

Despite these assaults on Leyden's text, his poem duly made its appearance, graced by a pleasing sylvan frontispiece, dedicated to Lady Charlotte Campbell "as a small, but sincere, mark of the author's esteem and admiration for her ladyship's taste and understanding, which are the delight of all who have the pleasure of her acquaintance"; a circumstance which may account for the erroneous identification of Leyden's 'Auroria' with Lady Charlotte instead of with Janet Brown. Being on the high seas at the time of its publication, and failing to see a copy for many months thereafter, Leyden had for a long time really no idea what sort of

1 Leyden to James Ballantyne, 6 April 6, 1804.
2 See Scenes of Infancy, pt. II ll. 269-236 for the portion of this episode retained; and p. a inf. for that rejected.
a thing his poem was; but he would doubtless have been sufficiently gratified both by most of the reviews accorded it and by such opinions as that of the soulful Anna Seward, who was inspired by this "sweet Verse" with its many beautiful passages, to feel affection for its author and interest in his health and prosperity. This, Leyden's poetical magnum opus, was indeed far from fulfilling his boyhood ambition of rivalling Milton; and it suffered particularly, as Leyden himself realized, from its spasmodic composition, which conduced to over-abrupt transitions and lack of continuity. But, despite its general failure to touch the heart, it had descriptive merit enough to satisfy so fastidious a critic as Henry Mackenzie, and sufficient popular appeal to reach a second edition within eight years.

Less fortunate was the proposed expansion of his African Sketch into a two-volume History of Africa, on which Leyden continued to work, with "immense researches in the British Museum and other libraries," much buying and borrowing of books, and frequent verbal and written communication with his long-suffering publishers, until his departure from England. For, although what had been done had won great applause from the literati, no more than a single chapter, that on Egypt, was to be incorporated in the enlarged Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Africa which the painstaking Hugh Murray was to produce fourteen years later.

A break in Leyden's almost incessant round of social and literary duties occurred at the beginning of March, when, the sailing of his ship having been repeatedly deferred so as to keep him in "a most tremendous state of hurry and uncertainty", without

1 Leyden to Erakine, September 15, 1804.
2 Anna Seward to Scott, March 7, 1805 and c. April 17, 1805.
3 The North British Magazine and Review for 1804, I, P. 173.
5 Leyden to Miss Boswell, April 8, 1805.
6 Published in two vols., 1817, it reached a 2nd ed. in 1818.
7 Leyden to Robert Leyden, c. February 26, 1803.
"a week to reckon upon from first to last", he found time to visit Oxford, returning to London on March 9, in a state of ecstasy with "that ancient seat of the Muses", where he had spent a little over two days with Richard Heber. Leyden was later to feel that he would be less "astonished at the sight of Casii and all its Bremens that he had been at finding in Oxford "a town of the 12 century in every respect except its mailcoaches and post-chaises surrounded by hamlets, towns and villages, of the 19th", and peopled by a race of "Gownsman ... a set of fellows ... little better than Jude Divino boys, rank incourigible [sic] tories to a man as ready for burning as rooted and grounded as any political heretic within these 14 years", but so little heedad beyond their sacred precincts that they could do nothing except elect an M.P.: "Hang em with their square caps on their heads: they look five hundred years older there than in any place I ever saw in Europe." In this medieaval city, Leyden saw "many curious nights ... con- versed with many queer fellows, and heard many odd things related over their cups by both masters and fellows", including a "piece of literary scandal", in the shape of Coleridge's doggerel lampoon, "The Devil believes that the Lord will come", on Sir James Mackintosh, the author of which Leyden readily discovered by the peculiarity of the style and which he was later malicious enough to pass on to Mackintosh's secretary, William Erskine, with the information that it was whispered at Oxford that Sir James had "lost a good old friend among his grinders in conconquence of these Verses". Such frivolities aside, Leyden made good use of his time and opportunities at Oxford, seeing "every thing and every body whether Grecian or Oriental", including the "three chief Orientals", White, Winstanley and Ford, and collecting a mass of

1 Leyden to Janet Brown, April 2, 1803.
2 Thos. Park, Notes on Leyden in Scotch Descriptive Poems.
3 Thos. Park to Dr. Anderson, March 19, 1803.
4 Leyden to Scott, ? March 19, 1803.
5 Leyden to Erskine, November 27, 1804.
introductions to literati in India. Having already passed muster pretty well for a Scot, and received his blessing at parting in a very formal but venerable style not unlike a consecration, Leyden probably found it comparatively little of an ordeal to dine one day with the Masters of Brazen Nose, and another with the Bishop of Bangor; and upon the whole he returned to London believing that he had "fought the good fight" at Oxford for the sake of Heber's credit as well as his own.

There, too, there had been important contacts to make beyond that "small society" of literary men, in which Leyden had proved to be "one of the most comfortable companions" possible, and it was in these interviews with the principal persons in power that Leyden found his stay in London of infinite use to him. All had accorded him a "most flattering reception;" Lord Castleragh, Lord Malmesbury, Lord Warwick, Lord Cavan, the Marquis of Abercorn, Lord Charles Bentinck, the Honourable Charles Greville, who was greatly Leyden's friend in the whole business, and, in particular, Lord William Bentinck, Governor-elect of Ladras, to whom Leyden had been introduced by Greville (Bentinck's brother-in-law and confidant) on the evening of January 25. By Lord Abercorn, Leyden, despite his former aversion to all stars and garters, was borne to Court, being taken, appropriately dressed "into the present-chamber in order to see all the splendour of majesty the king and Royal family, etc.", so that he could not help figuring to himself what his mother would have thought on seeing him "dressed quite in the pink of fashion with a large hat as big as a corn riddle" not on his head, but under his arm.

1 Leyden to Scott, 7 March 19, 1603.
2 Leyden to Dr. Anderson, April 5, 1603.
3 Rev. Wm. Cleaver, Bishop of Bangor, 1800-1806.
4 Ellis to Scott, February 11, 1603.
5 Leyden to his father, April 5, 1603.
6 Leyden to Scott, January 25, 1603.
7 Leyden to Miss Boswell, April 5, 1603.
8 The friend of George Ellis and brother-in-law of Lady Minto.
It was on Lord William Bentinck, however, that Leyden placed his chief hope, requesting Scott: "Remind Colonel Campbell that he promised me letters to him there will be no harm in joining all influence on this head." And Bentinck, who, although evidently likely to be not a little of a despot prided himself on being the first Governor of Madras with any interest in literature, found Leyden "exactly such a man as he wanted" telling him after a short conference: "We shall have occasion for your oriental languages." Further conferences followed "in consequence of Lord Castlereagh's recommendation"; and late in March Greville sent for Leyden in great haste to desire him to gird up his loins for the station involving services of confidence and importance which his "Sovereign Lord the Governor" graciously signified his desire for Leyden to have. This was the omnibus post of surgeon, antiquarian, naturalist and linguist to a detachment of troops with the most skilful engineers which was evidently to be despatched when Bentinck reached India, to survey the lately ceded territory of Kanara and to settle its civil regulations. As a main tool in this plan, with additional tasks of methodizing observations and writing reports, Leyden had altogether the near prospect of an astonishingly good and very confidential situation. Accordingly, although suspecting that at Madras he would have to play his cards carefully and eschew openness and frankness, he declined a chance to join the Lisbon Embassy as Secretary on account of its inferior opportunities. And, feeling it now doubly necessary to summon his whole force of mind and energies, he assured his father:

"...if God send me a few years and a little good luck we shall very soon hold our heads a great deal higher than the Blythes ever hoped to do."

1 Leyden to Scott, Feb. 7, 1803. 2 Leyden to Heber, Feb. 10, 1803. -This remark made Leyden "move heaven and earth to get hold of a Neminski". 3 Leyden to Janet Brown, Apr. 2, 1803. 4 Leyden to Scott, March 19, 1803, when he asked Scott not to mention the matter beyond his own family until it was certain. 5 Leyden to his father, Apr. 5, 1803.
There was indeed comparatively little time now before Leyden's voyage, so often postponed, began at last; but he was able to bid a convivial farewell to the most intimate of the many good friends whom he left behind.¹ Earlier in March, all the ship's hands having been pressed for naval service when almost at the point of sailing, Leyden had hoped that the delay might enable him to see Walter Scott again "before leaving this side of the world";² and although this hope had grown fainter as the prospect of renewed war with France apparently receded, it was fulfilled after all, Scott reaching London only a day before Leyden left it on April 3,³ so that Leyden's last night there was spent at "the British", with Scott, Heber and James Boswell, who sat till three in the morning drinking him a good voyage.⁴ Just as he was getting into a coach, too, Leyden had a parting glimpse of the genial George Dyer, himself on the eve of a journey to Cambridge, so that there was "little time for converse" although Dyer had been hearing from several quarters of Leyden's increasing reputation.⁵

Leyden's departure from London was unduly hastened, however, by the fact that, on going down to the "heavy coach" with his luggage about five in the morning, he met one of his prospective "messmates" in a state of prodigious haste and asserting firmly that "the Purser was gone"; news which, although Leyden had already been told the contrary, made him board the coach himself, in nervous fear of losing his passage.

1 Leyden to Janet Brown, April 2, 1803.
2 Leyden to Scott [March 19, 1803]. Thomas Park wrote to Dr. Anderson of Leyden, March 19, 1803: "The press for seamen has prevented his escape from our Island hitherto . . . "
3 Leyden to Janet Brown, loc. cit. As Reith (p. 193) points out, Lockhart (II, p. 116) errs in stating that Scott reached London too late to see Leyden. cf. Leyden to his father, April 5, 1803: "I have seen Mr. Scott who has just come to London . . . "
4 Leyden to Miss Boswell, April 5, 1803.
5 Dyer to Dr. Anderson, April, 1803. (Adv. MS. 22.4.12.)
and so go off without returning to his lodging, to "arrange every thing accurately", as he had purposed. So, as he had left Edinburgh sleepless and in confusion, Leyden now left London, after two nights without sleep, with such precipitation, that he was obliged to ask Owen Rees to ascertain just what he had left behind in his rooms and to send on in a packet the papers and books concerned, including his surgeon's diploma, which he lightly reckoned "of no great importance".

Reaching Portsmouth on the afternoon of April 1, "in good health and no worse spirits" than before, Leyden was chagrined to find, after this sudden transportation "to the world's end", that after all, neither ship nor purser having yet arrived, he had made a premature change from "the politest society of London to the brutish skippers of Portsmouth". The Hugh Inglis indeed came round on Saturday night, enabling Leyden to have a "conference" with her captain concerning the "pretty considerable expense" of having the passengers' berths decently arranged, with such a multitude of troops on board, and preventing Leyden from immediately following the laudable example of Sydney Smith's brother Robert, a fellow-voyager whom he had not yet met, in retreating with the utmost expedition to the Isle of Wight. Sunday was accordingly spent quietly in Portsmouth, a modern "Tyre and Zidon", which trusted a great deal too much to walls, ramparts and "other carnal methods of defence", and whose inhabitants spent Palm Sunday in doing no work nor any good but merely in getting drunk, to the disgust of Leyden, who was always temperate, even in careless company.

1 Leyden to Rees [April 3, 1803.]
2 Leyden to Heber [April 4, 1803.]
3 Scott, Memoir
commented disapprovingly:

"We manage these matters much better in Scotland. I have been greatly scandalized ... for really the women all appear to be no better than they should be and the men a great deal worse, and yet they have the insolence to toll bells and exhibit other signs of devotion which is a mere mockery of religion in such an execrable place as this",  

where the sound of the church bells was "most melodiously mixed with the noise of drums, trumpets, cannons and culverenes".  

Portsmouth, indeed, which might equally well have been "denominated Hell's mouth", gave Leyden his first accurate and most unfavourable impression of a garrison town, like "Gibraltar for instance, though probably Bergen op Zoom would have been a better example for here are neither rocks nor precipices, nor hills nor vallies, except trenches and ramparts, besides which there is great abundance of halfmoons, revellings, hornworks and covered ways... the town itself is only an immense turnpike gate pitched down on the boundaries of sea and land to take toll of all nations on the face of the earth, particularly adventurers to India. They scream out for ever like so many cormorants, for the half of the prize money in the whole world is swallowed up between Portsmouth and ... Wapping."  

It even seemed likely that there might be some "Grecian authority" for Charon's having lived there, since Leyden could not look in the face of any of the inhabitants without recollecting Lucian's dialogue between Charon and Menippus, the exclamation, 'Pay me my fare you scoundrel' being so legibly written in every countenance.  

Accordingly, as the Hugh Inglis did not sail after all until April 12, Leyden contrived to spend April 6 and 7 at Ryde, and he busied himself with overtaking some at least of the arrears of correspondence for which his lack of leisure in London had been responsible.  

Being sensible that, although herself almost equally silent, his "Dearest and only love" might reproach him for not  

1 Leyden to Owen Rees, April 3, 1803.  
2 Leyden to Robert Leyden, April 6, 1803.  
3 Leyden to Heber, [April 4, 1803.]
writing sooner, he had first of all, when waiting "for a favorable wind to make that distance real which was only imaginary before", sent a "hasty farewell" to Janet Brown, assuring her that his recent state of activity and agitation had been "rather increased than diminished" by the constant intermingling of the thought of her with everything he said or did; promising soon to send a portrait of himself from Madras instead of a miniature begun for her in London but left unfinished on his sudden departure;¹ and declaring fervently:

"... since I first had the conviction of your love, I have always been able to secure friends who have taken the sincerest interest in all my movements. While I confide in you I can hardly doubt of retaining them. I don't know how often I have read your last letter, poor dear how much I have agitated your too sensible heart! but be certain your affection is not thrown away. My dear love why do you like a bird of evil augury always speak of breathing your last &c. though that should happen on my lips it would be very little consolation to a heart that loves you like mine. It might make me kill myself but I see nothing else that it could do. My mind is full of better auguries. I think of nothing but clasping you in my arms, all the tedious and lonely night (for be assured my arms shall never clasp another) and of the sweet and delightfull compensations of this terrible exile which I expect in your affection and love before a long period has past. My poor dear Girl how I tremble for you till I embrace you again. But I am happy to think no persecution can possibly arise from your own family. Let me know if anything ever tends to injure you, - though at Japan or the farthest extremity of the globe, you shall soon see a deep and deadly vengeance inflicted. I will not lose you tamely. You are mine soul and body and there exists not a living being that can tear you from me. When I cease to be yours may the same vengeance light on me! I hope to God I shall be able to make you happy or we shall be very very miserable, but I confide implicitly in your affection, continue to be as you have hitherto been my better angel, and ah my love lose no opportunity of writing me for it must now be so long till I hear of you. Great God what I would now give to see you once more ... I must now my dear love bid you a long adieu".²

Long indeed, for Leyden, pursuing knowledge with his whole soul, was to find the compensations of his exile in other things than

¹ Leyden to Janet Brown, April 2, 1803.
² cf. To Aurelia (1802) 11. 1-2:

"One kind kiss my love before
We bid a long Adieu ...."
the love of Janet Brown, so that in after years her brother, when asked by James Morton to contribute to a sketch of Leyden's life, replied a little stiffly:

"... I am sorry that I must decline any personal ostensible appearance in connection with the biography. There are circumstances (I say this to you in confidence) that would make me feel a little awkwardness in drawing up such a sketch as you would naturally expect ..."

Leyden had preserved "a very unwarrantable silence" also to that Miss Boswell (sister of Sir Alexander and of the antiquarian James Boswell, with whom Leyden had been lately "much together"), who, having provided Leyden with introductions to her London friends, was now taking "a very friendly charge" of his brother Robert in Edinburgh. For, trusting to her candour, and wanting to tell her "a thousand anecdotes" and make his comments on London and its people in his "own slow way", Leyden, although in no degree forgetful of the lady, had allowed his desire of composing "a very pretty letter" to prevent her receiving one at all: an omission which he now remedied with the twin requests "not to let unpunctuality of an adventurer among Mahbratas Gaundas and Pariars" deprive him of her letters, and to apologise to many people in Edinburgh for his silence, as "when I did not to you you may be certain I did not addict myself much to epistolary correspondence".

Considerably less complaisant was Leyden's tone to Dr. Robert Anderson, about whom he had had a long conversation with Heber the day before leaving London, and to whom he had

1 Thos. Brown to James Morton, February 15, 1816.
2 There were three Boswell sisters, Veronica (b. 1773), Euphemia (b. 1774) and Elizabeth (b. 1780).
3 Leyden assured her that he would consider any civilities shown to Robert as "of much more importance even" than to himself.
4 Cf. Leyden to Robert Leyden, February 26, 1803: "... tell all my friends that I have not written to ... that I cherish their memory".
5 Leyden to Miss Boswell, April 5, 1803.
already begun to write two or three times since leaving Scotland, desisting on finding that, although he still regarded Anderson with "the same sentiments of friendship and feelings of kindness" as ever, he could not help remonstrating in terms hardly consistent with his respect for his "literary father", on the unkindness of the note which Anderson had intended for him on parting in Edinburgh: ¹ a note sent in the belief that Leyden's reconciliation with Robert Lundie (at whose conduct Leyden "had reason to be very indignant") could only have been effected by the sacrifice of Anderson himself. ² Scarcely taking time to consider what it contained, except for "something about this last instance of disrespect", Leyden had torn this letter to pieces with a degree of resentment which he had never before felt towards Anderson and which had fallen "with a very cruel weight" on his agitated state of mind, enfeebled as he had been "with immense fatigue, both of mind and body and exhausted by three nights' total want of sleep to an inconceivable degree of anxiety". ¹ Now, however, desiring to forget the whole business and admitting that he might have been negligent in ceremonial, Leyden acknowledged that he often verged so nearly on absurdity that it was perfectly easy to misconceive as well as to misrepresent him, and contented himself with commenting:

"... how you ever imagined ... I could treat you with intentional disrespect is altogether inconceivable to me, and showed a want of confidence both in yourself and me, which I am quite irritated at". ¹

Having heard, too, without much surprise, that Archibald Constable (whose discharged account Leyden strongly

¹ Leyden to Dr. Anderson, April 5, 1803.
² Leyden to Wm. Erskine, September 15, 1804. Stating that Anderson had almost quarrelled with him over this before his departure, Leyden added: "But really I had no time to investigate the causes of his disquiet".
desired his brother to obtain through Scott by any means)\(^1\) had been talking of Leyden's obligations to him, Leyden, wishing Dr. Anderson to understand the situation and not caring if Constable also knew his sentiments, took this opportunity of denying that any such obligations existed, save possibly in the use of books, made originally at Constable's own suggestion and generally for his own benefit;\(^2\) so that if Constable had derived less advantage that he might from this arrangement, he had his own petulance and his later conduct to blame.\(^2\) So far as fair promises constituted obligations, there had been Constable's offer that, if Leyden would insure his life, Constable, with other "responsible personages", would become and bound for the perpetual payment of the premiums; having mentioned this project to Scott without Leyden's permission, Constable had indeed feared that Leyden might call upon him to fulfil it. But this Leyden had had neither intention nor desire to do, so that no actual obligation had been incurred.\(^1\) Thereafter, Constable having failed to offer Leyden some expensive books which he knew he needed, Leyden had consulted him on nothing relating to India; and now, denying that Constable had ever introduced him to a single person from whom he had derived the least advantage, he declared trenchantly:

"I challenge him to say that I owe him a farthing. If I do, it is his own fault. The settling of our literary concerns he had in his own way ... Does the man think I was obliged to him for occasionally dining with him when it suited his convenience? God knows that I never wanted a dinner nor was it possible I could, as both my brother and I always boarded by the year since I ceased to reside in a family ... what tempted him to suspect me to be unfriendly to him or his interest I could never learn, but I believe it was

\(^1\) Leyden to Dr. Anderson, April 5, 1803.
\(^2\) Leyden to Robt. Leyden, February 26, 1803. He added "... take care this be done immediately and send me proper notice that steps may be taken if he demur".
because I refused, with some degree of asperity, (which
wounded his pride) to adopt his opinion in literary matters
when it did not accord with my own. If Mr. Constable will
please to recollect himself, he will find that he never had
a firmer friend till his own conduct obliged me to hold
myself aloof... I think I have now discussed the sum
total of my obligations to Master Constable, and most
sincerely do I regret, that ever I had the slightest
connection with him."1

It was thus not without reason that Alexander Murray later
recollected that Constable and Leyden did not altogether agree
on some points;2 but after being two years in India and
receiving not a single letter from his European friends, "Proh
Deum! Mr. Constable excepted",3 Leyden was to be glad enough
to reply warmly and at some length to Constable's "very brief
communication".4

For the rest, Leyden dispatched valedictory notes to
his father (a former letter home from Oxford having miscarried),
urging his mother and him to take care of their health and make
themselves "easy and comfortable", there being nothing to which
Leyden /would more heartily contribute;5 to his "precious brother"
Robert,6 with parting instructions; to James Ballantyne,
fulminating against his friends' editorial treatment of Scenes
of Infancy, and asking to be commended warmly to Ballantyne's
brothers and "good motherly mother";7 to Owen Rees, requesting
him to send ten pounds by return of post;8 and to Scott
reporting on the "very motley" party of his fellow passengers,
declaring his undying affection and esteem for "your excellent
Charlotte",9 and promising a speedy and accurate adjustment of

1 Leyden to Dr. Anderson April 5, 1803.
2 Alex. Murray to Constable, January 28, 1812.
3 Leyden to James Ballantyne, October 24, 1805.
4 Leyden to Constable, October 23, 1805.
5 Leyden to his father, April 5, 1803.
6 Leyden to his father,
7 Leyden to James Ballantyne, ? April 6, 1803.
8 Leyden to Rees, April 5, 1803. Cf. P. 116-117.
9 "... say a thousand pretty things, for which my mind is too
much agitated ..." (Leyden to Scott, April 7, 1803.)
his money concerns, of which he considered Scott as trustee: 1

"Money may be paid, but kindness never... think of me with indulgence and be certain that wherever and in whatever situation John Leyden is, his heart is unchanged by place and his soul unaltered by time or fortune." 3

Scott, although he found Leyden's deserts as a correspondent by no means extraordinary, 4 was indeed to think of him with indulgence and affection, keeping "an ingleside" and a corner of his heart always warm for him. 5 So Allan Cunningham was never to hear Scott mention Leyden without "an expression of regard and a moistening eye"; 6 and twenty-four years later, the protagonist of an odd and vivid dream, in which Scott saw himself at a panorama, was a little man who commented cleverly but impudently on the picture, wanting information which no-one would give him:

"I turnd round and saw a young fellow dressed like a common carter with a blue coat and red waistcoat and a whip tied across him. He was young with a hatchet-face which was burned to a brick colour by exposure to the weather sharp eyes and in manner and voice not unlike John Leyden. I was so much struck with his countenance and talents that I asked him about his situation and expressed a wish to mend it... I have seldom seen a portrait in life which was more strongly marked on my memory than that man's." 7

It was to Richard Heber, however, to whom his obligations had long been incapable of being increased, that Leyden had most to write in that last uneasy week, when he was continually "in the situation of Coleridge's devil and his grannam, 'expecting and hoping the trumpet to blow'" 8 for final embarkation: for, having departed in such characteristic haste, he had still a variety of literary commissions for Heber to

1 All remittances, as well as dividends from Longman, were to be to Scott's direction.
2 Cf. Leyden to Heber, 7 April 6, 1803: "Money... I may be able to repay but your friendship and kindness I never can."
3 Leyden to Scott, 7 April 7, 1803.
4 Scott to Leyden, August 25, 1811.
5 Scott to Leyden, February 20, 1811.
6 Allan Cunningham, quoted by Sinton, Tour p. 11.
8 Leyden to Scott, 7 April 7, 1803. Cf. P. 98, for COLERIDGE'S VERSES ON SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH.
execute, including the return "with all possible expedition" of a book which its owner Ritson valued extravagantly, and the speedy dispatch to Leyden himself of the sheets of his Africa (needed for the notes), a new and essential German edition of Strabo, and "any indifferent copy" of Plutarch's Isis and Osiris. Heber was also to distribute among his Oxford friends "a parcel of the Descriptive Poems" and "a dozen of Teviot" (of which copies were also to go to Scott, Rogers, Sotheby and Lord Abercorn); and he was to act as Leyden's literary censor for the future, with special reference to two great projected poems, The Pleasures of Sympathy, already "in a tolerable state of forwardness" with about 400 lines written, and The Indian Voyage, as yet little more than projected, to one or other of which Leyden's verses to Heber "relating to Oxford etc." were to form the peroration. Expecting that his visit to India would certainly produce a revolution in his taste, either much for the better or greatly for the worse, and dreading his own versatility and imitative power, Leyden had been putting himself strictly on his literary guard in verse writing; and, knowing no one besides Heber and Thomas Brown whose taste he deemed sufficiently "classical ... and at the same time original" for poems, he had resolved merely "to keep polishing" his the editing of his work until Heber's return from the Continent. This precaution proved superfluous, no more being heard of either poem; but in the more mundane sphere of money matters

1 Leyden to Heber, ? April 4, 1803. It was a translation of some Dialogues of Hariri by Chapelow, left at Leyden's lodgings with Heber's Leo Africanus and "the sheets of Ellis."
2 Ibid. Leyden had picked up another edition of Strabo apparently cheaply, but had returned it on finding several sheets missing.
3 Leyden to Rees, April 3, 1803. Of the Scotish Descriptive Poems at Oxford he added: "... they will do us no harm in our future speculations."
4 Cf. The Pleasures of Hope, Melancholy, Health etc. Leyden particularly asked Heber "How do you like the title."
5 Leyden to Heber, ? April 4, 1803. None of these verses is extant.
Leyden had immediate need of Heber’s services.

Having received from Robert Leyden on the evening of April 6 a letter which gave him "inconceivable disquiet", and threatened in a moment to overturn all his most cherished plans by indicating that his father needed at once the £40 of which Leyden had made permitted use, Leyden was obliged to ask Heber to raise a loan of £50 in any manner he thought proper; and in doing so, he felt impelled, although "conscious that it was very unnecessary to say the one half", to give some account of his family circumstances, on the principle that "there is no harm in knowing the man you have to do with well" and that "a bad son will generally make a worse friend".

Blaming himself exceedingly, "after a little more cool reflection", for urging this new claim on Heber’s tried and approved friendship (which he would of course value equally whether the thing were "a thousand times accomplished" or not at all), and being too sensible of his obligations to Heber ever to think of cancelling them, Leyden realized that in his agitation he had revealed his own views and situation farther than to anyone else, Scott not excepted; and he accordingly added:

"I do not regret my confidence for since that night when you became acquainted with the dreadful secret which I firmly believe but for your society would have overturned my mind, I have not felt any inclination to conceal from you anything; but I must request your silence for others would sneer perhaps at what you would give me credit for, and of all the qualities of a man I am possibly least deficient in courage to revenge myself, and do not wish to multiply opportunities which would not be courage but madness."

1 Leyden to Heber, ? April 7, 1803.
2 See p. 189.
3 Leyden to Heber, ? April 6, 1803.
He did not hesitate, however, in answer to Heber's exhortation to preserve his principles uncontaminated, to speak frankly of the handicaps of poverty, which he had known from childhood, and of his own mental conflicts, declaring frankly:

"Alas! my dear friend if the scenes I have passed through have not been able to contaminate them, there is little danger of the atmosphere of India producing this effect. We all talk very smoothly of the humble vale of life and all that but attempt to emerge from it and we may reckon it a quagmire ... I am much too proud to shrink from or even to complain of the imperious duties of my situation, but unfortunately for you, you have been destined to find me in moments of attendrisement, perhaps to occasion them, for this reason, at other times, when I have with difficulty excluded suspicions of the whole human race, I have almost regretted your acquaintance. I well know my dear friend you did not deserve even this momentary distrust but you must forgive these childish wavering of mind. I trust my soul is but yet in its infancy. But I feel considerably exhaustion sic from fatigue, and it is a duty incumbent on me at least for some time to take care of my health, for I am deeply pledged to rise or perish. At all events I shall fulfill my destiny honourably. Would to heavens I could exchange all my solicitudes for the dangers of a Mahratta campaign."²

No active campaign service was to fall to John Leyden's lot; but, for all its quiet beginning, the voyage on which he was embarking was to come surprisingly near to providing a substitute.

The East India Company's ship, Hugh Inglis, after spending almost a month at Deptford, had gone to Gravesend on February 2, remaining there till the end of March, when she sailed for the Downs working into them on March 31, leaving again on April 2, and mooring at the Motherbank, Portsmouth, on Sunday, April 3. The next day eleven Army officers and a hundred and seventy-five E. I. C. recruits came aboard; and on

1 Contained in a letter of April 2, which had made "the Tour of the Inns of Portsmouth" before reaching Leyden on April 7.
2 Leyden to Heber, ? April 7, 1803.
3 Log-book of the Hugh Inglis. (C.k.o. Lib.)
the fifth, when the ship was only waiting a favourable wind for sailing,\(^1\) Leyden, writing letters "in extreme hurry and agitation", was expecting every moment to be piped on board.\(^2\)

At 7 a.m. he was reporting excitedly:

"... the Hugh Inglis has hove round and made all her signals ... The wind is fair for the Bay of Biscay as I perceive by the direction of the steam of a tumbler of grog ... on the table before. You perceive what an adept I already am in sea observations! There goes the whistle confound it I am off ..."\(^2\)

and, an hour and a half later: "Our sails are bent, and I am just summoned aboard; in 15 minutes I bid farewell to England."\(^3\)

But although detained on board that day long enough to miss the post,\(^4\) Leyden spent Wednesday in the Isle of Wight, still awaiting a favourable wind, of which there was as yet "no great appearance", although the seamen prophesied at least a considerable chance of one.\(^4\)

Leyden's luggage was now safely aboard; but on April 7, after being called at day-break and spending most of the day on board ship,\(^6\) the thirty-two passengers were again disappointed by the uncertainty of the wind, and most of them, including Leyden and Sydney Smith's brother Robert (going out to Bengal as Advocate-General, with his wife Caroline and their three year old son), returned to Ryde, with the prospect of re-embarking at dawn on Friday.\(^4\)

But after all it was not until April 11 that the passengers finally returned on board; and at dawn on the twelfth the Hugh Inglis weighed anchor and worked out from her mooring-place, "beating up and down between the Needles and St. Helens without being able to get out to sea",\(^7\)

1 Leyden to his father, April 5, 1803.
2 Leyden to Miss Boswell, April 5, 1803.
3 Leyden to Dr. Anderson, April 5, 1803.
4 Leyden to Heber, April 6, 1803.
5 Leyden to Heber, April 7, 1803.
6 Leyden dated his voyage from the seventh, "when we went on board". (To Heber loc. cit.)
7 Leyden to Heber, April 12, 1803. (MS. 939)
until at last, getting a fair breeze, she hove to at eight o'clock almost opposite Under Cliff and dropped the pilot who had that morning brought on board Heber's "Parcel with Strabo and Plutarch", which Leyden had feared would arrive too late.¹

By noon next day there was no land in sight, and the Hugh Inglis was fairly launched on her four-month voyage "towards Madras" with steady breezes and pleasant weather,² It was to be by no means an uneventful journey. Sailing just when a declaration of war against France (actually made on May 18) was expected daily³ to end the short and uneasy Peace of Amiens, Leyden would probably have been disappointed had the Hugh Inglis not been "chased" thrice before rounding the Cape of Good Hope (at which she did not touch, thus frustrating Leyden's ambition of capsizing a Hottentot⁴) and once in the Indian seas, although never closely enough for the pursuer to be identified as French.⁵ There was in any case quite sufficient incident on board to keep Leyden from succumbing to "downright ennui", even in his "plaguy jaundiced scurvy state of health", since it was extremely problematical if a ship ever arrived in India fraught with more combustible matter than the four hundred people on board the Hugh Inglis, "cooped up in a box ... ready to knock their heads together at the least motion of wind or water - and several of them seasick into the bargain", so that there was inevitably a great deal of quarelling to "amuse" the passengers!

¹ Leyden to Heber, 7 April 7, 1803.
² Hugh Inglis Log.
³ Leyden to his father, April 5, 1803.
⁴ Leyden to Scott, February 7, 1803.
⁵ Leyden to his father, March 23, 1804. The log-book has merely such entries as "A Strange sail to the Eastward" or "A sail to Leeward shewing Dutch colours".
listlessness, resulting, by Leyden's reckoning, in the arranging of at least a dozen duels.¹

Leyden himself found his chief social pleasure in seeing a good deal of his "excellent friend" Robert Smith,² "almost the most powerful man at all points" that Leyden had ever met³ and his amiable lady. Of Smith, whose profound comprehension and versatile mind with equal ease fathomed the abysses, unravelled the subtilties and amused itself with the playthings of literature and science,⁴ Leyden later believed that no-one with any opportunity of appreciating his "Sovereign merits" could ever "abate a single atom of his esteem for his character and admiration of his abilities".² And Mrs. Smith, although she hardly ever opened her mouth to Leyden save to scold him,¹ he "revered with a great deal of filial affection", always taking her admonitions with good part, although not always profiting by them as he ought.

One of Mrs. Smith's main grounds of complaint was Leyden's inexhaustible supply of "superfluous animal spirits" but after almost two years in India he was able to assure her with great satisfaction that "tedious indisposition" had so utterly shattered and ruined his constitution, taming all his violence of temper, that if he had ever the pleasure of seeing her again, he counted on "being a prodigious favourite, may very little inferior to the sage Henry Newnham".⁴

"No fear of my old extravaganzas & capriccios now; it never once comes into my head to think of attempting

1 Leyden to Erskine, September 15, 1804.
2 Leyden to Malcolm, April 12, 1805. Leyden later quarrelled with Smith however. Cf. p inf.
3 Leyden to Scott, April 7, 1803.
4 Leyden to Mrs. R. Smith, June 12, 1805.
impossibilities or any thing of the kind. I can sit as silent as a dormouse for any given length of time, and my old harsh grating voice is as soft & slender as the pulling of a three years old child. From all this it is evident that I never was more manageable in my life than at the present moment, but the mischief is that ever since I lost sight of you I have been left to the freedom of my own will, the influence of coup-de-soleils & other moral & physical causes wh. have no tendency to improve the intellectual faculties."

He enjoyed, too, the society of three young E.I.C. writers, Henry Newnham, William Wilberforce Bird and Mordaunt Ricketts, all bound for Bengal, with whom he continued to correspond after the voyage was over.

To the ladies of the party, among whom were several girls going out to join brothers or friends in India, Leyden maintained his usual gallantly bantering attitude, picturing them as dreaming by day and night of "Beauty's sweet Empire that female delight":

Already in fancy dear Victory ranges
From the banks of the Thames to the banks of the Ganges
And moormen & Turks drop their Turbans in swarms
And shave off their whiskers to worship your charms
While the bald pated Hindu by ecstasy stung
Bends low & besmeares you with holy cow-dung.

And in addressing to them a Letter from the Pintadoes, completed on July 5, and written between May and July in Mordaunt Ricketts' cabin, where he often studied, Leyden represented these birds in their "garment of tabby" as transmogrified nymphs from the Indies, erstwhile human flirts, once skilled "to ogle and simper with ninies and fools", and doomed now to flutter ceaselessly over the ocean, displaying to their equally feather-headed successors all the charms of coquetry. It was a maxim of Leyden's that ladies should be as timid and submissive as those of an eastern seraglio, all meekly "arranged in battalia", instead of given to high-spirited freaks of "rants and bravadoes". He accordingly

1 Leyden to Mrs. Smith, June 12, 1805.
2 Letter from the Pintadoes, passim.
pointed his favourite moral:

So teaze not your sweet hearts with fancies & vapours
Which they value no more than the snuff of your tapers
Nor loud nor obstreperous maintain your opinion
For ranting & storming destroy your dominion
But softness & sweetness establish your sway
And the hearts of the brave will be first to obey;

and in the process he contrived to sketch a few satirical portraits:

For foplings & beaus all around you are, swarming
As thick as the head of a beggar with vermin.
There's the spruce Captain with looks full of valour,
Though he struts on his tiptoes he ne'er grows the taller.
And Romeo the handsome predestined to shew
How nicely the sailor dovetails with the beau
How plain you may read in his eyes' tender languish
That nothing improves a spare habit like anguish...
And the Doctor who smiles but ne'er ventures to laugh
And shows that the still sow may eat the most draff
With the other who oft feels the pulse of the Muses
And whom each man of feeling so often abuses
Of his taunts & his gibes & his humours so lavish
And all but to pass for a sensible savage.

To describe the character of another of his fellow passangers, a "damned invalid lieutenant" who unluckily sate like Satan at his right hand throughout the voyage, Leyden required the greater freedom of prose; for the lieutenant, whose prototype Leyden looked for in vain in Shakespeare, Massinger, Johnson, Beaumont and Fletcher or any other comic author of his acquaintance, was neither Sir Toby Belch, nor Captain Bobadil, nor Sir John Falstaff, nor Sir Andrew Agnecheek, but a character of bewildering complexity. Combining "a pretty correct idea of the military character in all its propriety" with "all the vulgarity & brutishness of the recruiting sergeant", and extreme good nature with a "damnably quarrelsome and tetchy" temper he had "something like an amiably simplicity of manners" when sober, and was courageous to temerity, having "often volunteered

1 Letter from the Pintadoes, passim.
2 Leyden to Erskine, September 15, 1804.
Although possessed of strong common sense and considerable clearness of ideas on subjects which he comprehended, he was also a most "potatoe-headed" Irishman, constantly making the most risible blunders, and lacking any particle of wit, though occasionally showing "a good deal of slovenly humour", and being "particularly fond of talking in an equivocal kind of language before ladies."1 Robert Smith, "who had an opportunity of contemplating this strange character at a distance was as much delighted as if he had seen him on the stage"; but Leyden, having "a more immediate part to play in the drama could not sometimes help wincing consumedly at his botheration," so that Smith, finding in this situation eternal scope for rallying, took a malicious pleasure in counterming all Leyden's attempts to change his place.1 At last Leyden, although no more quarrelsome than formerly, found his patience quite exhausted, although he reckoned it greater than Job's, and provoked the lieutenant until the latter fairly challenged him; upon which Leyden reckoning that this was "the water coming to the man and not the man to the water ... became still less scrupulous in keeping terms with anybody and presently was considered as un enfant perdu."

"... I bustled about pretty well, rummaged up my Arabic, read some Persic, clambered up to the truck, visited the c--t splice & the bollock blocks & every place of notoriety on the rigging, kept the midnight watches, played at whist on a hammock between Saturday & Sunday in order that the Devil might cut in for a partner, became such an adept in the nautical stile that I could outswear the Mate, bully the boatswain & bombard the gunner, complimented the ladies in my left-handed way, was the general pivot of all the ship-quarrels & finally came on shore with only three duels on my hands, which however afforded me an opportunity of displaying my skill in projectiles, being merely the defendant while my antagonists had all the onus probandi."1

Nor was this tendency to violence confined to the passengers. Many of the soldiers on board the Hugh Inglis, both officers and men, were Irish, most of the latter being

1 Leyden to Erskine, September 15, 1804.
2 Sic evidently for 'no'.
'Vinegar-hill boys', veterans of the rebellion of 1798; and when the recruits realized that their own officers were on bad terms with those of the ship, much friction followed.

The first fortnight passed quietly enough, although heavy swells and fresh winds made the ship labour much and require frequent pumping but in the afternoon of April 23, the ship's armourer having struck one of the recruits, Commander Fairfax was obliged to inform the crew that "whoever struck a Recruit or fought among themselves would be punish'd." This warning had so little effect that by 5 p.m. two seamen, being found fighting, were punished by flogging; and during the punishment "Richard Davis Seaman ... endeav'rd to excite the Ship's company to resist by crying out: One and All, and making a rush to the Gangway". This attempt to seize the ship's arms was easily subdued, however, after a little fighting, the passengers, "many of them desperate dogs", helping to quell it; and the insurgent Davis in his turn received a total of three dozen lashes. By next day, a fine Sunday, order was restored sufficiently for Fairfax to perform Divine Service: an observance apt to be neglected if there was so much as a little rain or even the appearance of unfavourable weather; and in the next fortnight the only untoward event was the disappearance of James Teague, the carpenter's boy, presumed to have fallen overboard and drowned on April 50. On May 8, the day after the Cape Verde island of Brava had been sighted fifteen miles off, Fairfax had the contrasting items to enter in his log: "A.M. Perform'd Divine Service ... P.M. Punish'd John Smith Seaman with 2 Dozn. Lashes for

1 Hugh Inglis Log Book.
2 Leyden to his father, March 23, 1804. Leyden places this incident "in the latitude of the Canaries", but the Log makes it north of that. Leyden says: "... the sailors mutinied, and leapt on the quarter deck, crying 'One and all'".
Striking the Ship's Steward & Jumping overboard; but for almost the rest of the month there was no disturbance but that of four days' tropical storms with much vivid lightning, thunder, hard rain and violent squalls, which by May 19 had combined with a strong current to give the ship "a set to the Eastward of 66 Miles in two days".¹

With the approach to the Equator, lemon juice began to be issued both to the seamen and to the recruits, whose "thick Jacketts" had already been taken from them because of the heat, and who were largely employed on picking oakum; and the washing of the orlop with hot vinegar became like gunnery practice an almost daily feature of the ship's routine. The Line was crossed with due ceremony on Monday, May 23; a day which saw also the death and burial of Joseph Gurney, one of the E.I.C. recruits.² Five days later, there was a recurrence of trouble, an ordinary seaman being punished "for riotous behaviour and beating another sailor", and two recruits being court-martialled for various offences. On June 8, the seaman formerly flogged for fighting, received twelve lashes for theft, two other recruits being punished at the same time; and the following Sunday, June 12, a day of squalls and lightning, was marked by another fatality, John Bridger, a recruit, being lost overboard.¹ The next fortnight, however, passed with nothing more noteworthy than strong gales, the sighting of Tristan da Cunha some thirty miles off on June 18, and the issue of new clothing to the recruits. But on June 28, yet another Court Martial tried three recruits for unspecified offences, while a seaman received twelve lashes on the same morning "for having Soldier's Clothes in his Possession";¹

¹ Hugh Inglis Log-book.
² Ten recruits and six seamen were on the sick-list at the very start of the voyage.
and on July 4, as the Armourer was working at the forge, there were more signs of unrest, one of the sailors involved in the fight of April 23 being flogged for refusing his duty as Armourer's Mate and using mutinous language.  

By the end of July, when the ship was getting into the trade winds, symptoms of scurvy began to appear in several seamen and recruits; and from then until almost the end of the voyage, there were never fewer than twenty men ill with scurvy, despite the liberal use of lime juice.  

August began with very hot weather, as the equator was approached again, many birds and fish being observed about the ship, doubtless including the sharks, dolphins, "Bonettas, Yellow tails and Albicores", albatrosses; pintadoes, cape hens, boobies and "one Tropic Bird" noted by Leyden; 2 but life on the Hugh Inglis was still far from idyllic. On August 11, Edward Allen, a seaman who had been given two dozen lashes on the fifth for "Destroying ship's Stores", suffered the same punishment for theft; while at the same time, in ominous and now familiar conjunction, occurred the court-martial of four recruits.  

Thus far the ship's log: but according to John Leyden, there was much more to tell.

"... the soldiers mutinied, seized a pile of shot-and some arms, and had nearly taken us aback. They took advantage of a clear, moonlit night, and at midnight came up with the watch unperceived. Fifty seized the forecastle, thirty... attempted to rush on the quarter-deck. The rest kept below and tried to secure the hatchways. The first mate, myself, and four quarter-masters were the only persons on deck to oppose them, and we had just time to seize a tomahawk apiece. I sprang to one of the gangways of the waist, where only two men could advance abreast, and defended it alone for some time... Having several large cannon balls thrown at my head, and being pressed very hard, I cut down four of the hardiest mutineers ... By this time the officers and passengers got on deck, and it was soon quelled." 3

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1 Hugh Inglis Log-book. 2 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 15, 1804. 3 Leyden to his father, March 23, 1804. He assigns this mutiny to the latitude of Mauritius; but the Log records nothing amiss there.
Leyden had perceived even before the voyage began that, owing partly no doubt to Robert Smith's recommendation, he was going to be "a vast favourite" with Commander Fairfax. Now Fairfax, well satisfied with Leyden's exertions, gave him command of the passengers appointed to keep watch until land was reached, as it was without further incident; and Leyden, being less scrupulous than in the days when he would have needed "a System of Ethics twice as beautiful as that of Epictetus" to convince him of the utility or innocence of playing cards, enjoyed himself immensely in this capacity, always thinking of "the African Pirates and the Buccaneers of America" as he sat down to a party of whist where every man had "a couple of loaded pistols by one side & a tomahawk by the other with a bottle of cherry brandy in the middle of the table".

The outcome of all this might have been less entertaining, since, had the matter been laid before the Governor at Madras, several of the mutineers might have been shot; but, men being much needed for the Ceylon and Maratha campaigns, "it was thought best to hush up the business". From the general amnesty thus produced (mainly by the exertions of Robert Smith) Leyden "virtually excluded" himself, asserting roundly that he had given no offence, "but only resisted it when offered and thus steering clear of all apologies" and baffling "the arbitrators", including Smith himself, who did his best to make Leyden apologize, being convinced that, despite his "Scottish dexterity" Leyden had been "a principal firebrand in the combustion". As usual, however, Leyden's defiance ended in

1 Leyden to Scott, April 7, 1803. 2 Leyden to Thos. Brown, Dec., 1797. 3 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 15, 1804. 4 Leyden to his father, March 23, 1804. 5 Twenty-six of the Hugh Inglis's men were pressed for naval service on the evening of her arrival at Madras.
"This termination of the matter on my part was by no means satisfactory to the other side of the question, but as I expected no quarter when once ashore, I laughed at threats of every kind, and enquired with a sneer what a man had to fear with a good tongue, a good pen & a good pair of pistols. In fine I got ashore with very sanguinary intentions but found that nobody had any inclinations to disturb me after passing the dangers of the high seas."1

These dangers ended for Leyden with the ship's anchoring in Madras Roads on the evening of August 18, three miles from the flat shore, where the apparently barren prospect seen from the sea suddenly gave way to the "vision of enchantment" afforded by the view of the town with its public buildings and fort, St. Thomas's Mount rising behind Government House, and minarets and pagodas showing here and there among distant gardens.2 Leyden's promised land of India lay directly before him at last: 'Tomorrow to fresh woods and pastures new'.

1 Leyden to Erskine, September 15, 1804.
2 Mrs. Graham, Journal of a residence in India, p. 123.
John Leyden landed on Indian soil on the morning of August 19, 1803, with a characteristic display of exuberance. The passengers of the Hugh Inglis, being rowed ashore at nine o'clock in a large light boat made of cocoa-tree planks held together by coir ropes, passed, despite the prevailing pleasant breezes and fair weather, through a very rough and dangerous surf which completely wetted them with its spray, and were received on the low, flat beach, crowded with people of all colours, by "a parcel of naked black disgusting daemonlike animals" in human form, obviously eager to carry the passengers from the boat on their bare, greasy shoulders, shining with cocoa oil. Leyden, however, being "extremely impatient to get ashore and anxious to rush into the middle of the scene to enjoy its novelty", disdained the services of these "black wretches" and leaped at once on shore "with a loud huzza tumbling half a dozen of them on the sand", and so making up for his lack of any chance of "capsizing a Hottentot" at the Cape. Once on land, finding that his brains seemed to be boiling in the excruciating heat, he spent no time in admiring the fine prospect of colonnaded buildings lining the beach, but was content to enter "a box very like a large coffin... termed a Palankeen" and to proceed therein to Madras's principal inn, almost falling headlong into the street on the way through leaning incautiously to one side to address a companion. At the inn, having been "tormented to death by the impertinent persevering of the black people", who reckoned every "griffin or newcomer" a fair target for importunate begging, Leyden saw a number of those Madras jugglers whose fame for sleight of hand had spread even to Europe, together with "fellows that play with the hooded snake a thousand tricks though its bite is mortal" and a sword swallower whose instrument was, disappointingly, not "a highland broadsword or even a horseman's sabre" but merely "a broad piece of iron perfectly blunt at the edges" and this display so whetted Leyden's already keen appetite for sight-seeing that, despite the intense heat, he forthwith "set out to survey the town in the self-same Palankeen", staring at...
everything "like a stuck pig".

While in Britain, Leyden had suffered from "a considerable degree of that vagueness of idea and want of discrimination" which, tending to identify countries in opposite quarters of the globe, made it easy "to think confusedly and talk glibly of Arabia, Sofala...and Bamian as if they had only been the same country", instead of being from time immemorial "as different as England or Russia and Spain or Turkey". So, when "very much ridiculed by a Madras man in London" for supposing (correctly) that the popular speech of Madras was Tamil, and assured instead that "a dialect of Sanscrit, or a mediate jargon between Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persic" was spoken along the Coromandel coast as far as Cape Comorin, Leyden, feeling "almost afraid" to enquire farther on the subject, had studied no Tamil whatever, and consequently found himself now unable to make his bearers understand a single syllable of his instructions. Whereupon, his patience becoming exhausted, he felt "obliged as the sailors say...to try them in the God damn language": an experiment which, since it immediately sent the bearers off "at a measured trot vociferating in cadence God-damn-God-damn", "perfectly cured" the former divinity student of swearing, so that when Sarah Grant (nee Sowie) later sent him "a very Matron-like dissertation on Swearing and Cursing", with other "pretty advices and maxims of morality", these were "quite thrown away" on his reformed self.

Altogether, although Leyden had taken the precaution of reading "nearly every book written in an European language on the subject of India", the actual aspect of a country so entirely different from Scotland filled him with the greatest "surprise and astonishment". The houses of Madras with their "very un-earthly appearance" by no means consonant with western ideas of oriental splendour; the wild, mangy, mad-looking pariah-dogs and the low-necked cows and bullocks with bowed backs and "hunches on their shoulders"; the trees, the long hedges of prickly aloes with leaves like large house-leeks, and the "spurge whose knotted and angular branches seemed more like a collection of tape-worms...".

1 Leyden to Miss Kay, Oct.28,1805.
2 Note by Leyden in B.M.Add.MS.26,580 f.39r.
3 Leyden to Lt.Col.Richardson, [2106]:(B.M.Add.MS.26,565.)
4 Leyden to Wm Erskine, Sept.15,1804. Leyden there states his view of Tamil as an ancient and original language "totally unlike any other", although with many Sanscrit words, - being apparently ignorant of its relationship to Malayalam and the other Dravidian languages, of which it is the oldest & richest.
5 Leyden to Sarah [Grant], Sept.25,1804. (B.M.Add.MS.26,561.)
6 Leyden to Miss Kay, loc.cit. To Richardson, loc.cit., he claims to have perused all "contemable" publications on India in all ancient and modern languages.
7 Morton,op. cit., p.lxxxix, followed by others, prints 'bunches'.
than anything else”; the fantastic and confusing variety of the native dress, and the sight of “completions of all kind of motley hues except the healthy European red and white”: all combined to satisfy Leyden’s curiosity so thoroughly that he “even experienced a considerable degree of sickness”, feeling all his senses as much dazzled and tormented as if he were wholly “covered with blistering plaister”. 1 With aching head and tingling ears, completely fatigued by the multitude of new sensations pressing on him from every side, he was glad to escape by taking to the water like an ox pestered by gad-flies, returning temporarily to the Hugh Inglis with even more satisfaction than he had felt in sighting land after the four months’ voyage. 2

In the city which he had thus surveyed with such astonished interest Leyden was to spend ten months, acting for almost half of that time as physician in virtually sole charge of the Madras General Hospital: a post worth more than any possessed by three-fourths of the medical men on the Madras Establishment, 3 and one which Leyden was allowed to hold for so long as a favour to give him opportunity for linguistic studies; 4 doubtless in preparation for the special appointment which Lord William Bentinck had in store for him. The professional details of this office occupied a good deal of time, including as they did the superintendence of about one hundred cases, almost all inveterate; and Leyden did his work well enough to enable him later to state “without vanity”: 5

“I have been extremely successful in all my Medical and Surgical practice, so that at Madras my medical reputation is at least as high as my literary character”. 6

In at least one case his treatment formed an interesting blend of the orthodox and the original, for when attending Cornet Thomas Taylor of the 6th Dragoon Guards for fever, Leyden first bled him (as became a student of Dr James Gregory), although Taylor considered himself quite “bloodless enough already”, and then, being “a curious mixture of apothecary, poet and scholar”, solaced the patient with porter and poetry, 5 with complete success. Leyden was fortunate, too, in his superior, Dr James Anderson, the East India Company’s general physician for the presidency, in whose house Leyden lived during his first month in Madras: an arrangement probably much to his liking, since the amiable and popular Anderson, being liberal and unselfish in temper and “a stranger

1 Leyden to Miss Kay, Oct. 28, 1805.
2 Ibid. Leyden says “five months’ voyage”; but it lasted from April 12 till August 18. - The baggage went ashore on August 21, 3
3 April 12 till August 21. - The baggage went ashore on August 21, 3
4 Leyden to Archibald Constable, Oct. 23, 1805.
5 Leyden to Erskine, Sept., 1804. He told Richardson, [?1806] that he “performed the whole duties of the hospital.
to deceit", took pleasure in encouraging promising juniors, and presented Leyden with at least one object of antiquarian interest in "the remains of a small mutilated brick" inscribed with an arrow-head character. For Anderson had more than one character-istic in common with Leyden, being "always thankful for books", taking a highly practical and altruistic interest in botany, and speaking his sentiments "freely on all occasions without meaning to offend".

Both during his stay in Anderson's house and later, Leyden discovered the falsity of his assurance (made to his father before leaving Britain, with more confidence than he doubtless felt) that there need be no fear of his reaction to the Indian climate, Madras being "quite another garden of Eden", and "all the principal med-:ical men in London" agreeing that "nobody ever visited India with a constitution better adapted to it" than John Leyden. On his very first night ashore, being wakened in the darkness by a sharp pain in his side, Leyden found, on rolling over, that this was caused by a living creature, from which he disengaged himself as quietly as possible, believing it to be a snake, which slithered from his couch to the floor, leaving him to lie down again "with great sang-froid" to sleep as well as he could. In the morning, however, his assailant was revealed as a kind of large lizard termed a blood sucker, which greeted Leyden after its fashion by nodding at him from the window, "like Xailoun's Cousin the Kurdu-wan in the Arabian tales, which saluted him so kindly, though it would not condescend to enter into conversation", and this creature's bite proved to be for Leyden the first of a series of prolonged and varied physical discomforts. His first week in India was altogether "most cruelly long and tedious", seeming disposed "to lengthen itself into a little eternity" instead of coming to a close like other weeks and months and years; and having at last "got rid of it" with great difficulty, Leyden found to his utter horror and amazement both that "all the plagues of Egypt in the shape of mosquitoes snakes frogs lizards and prickly heat and boils" were falling upon him, and also that his acquaint-ances showed a disconcerting readiness to act as Job's comforters when I was most loud and vociferous in my complaints everybody congratulated me more and more on my good fortune for

1 Leyden to Col. John Malcolm, Feb. 11, 1805. (B.M. Add. MS. 26, 561.)
2 Obituary notice of Dr James Anderson (1738-1809) in the Kelso Mail for Feb. 15, 1810. Anderson, who carried on a wide printed correspondence on plants, crops, silk-worms, etc., at his own ex- pense "for public purposes", made an excellent botanical garde out of a piece of waste land near the fort at Madras.
3 Leyden to his father April 5, 1803.
4 Leyden to Miss Kay loc. cit. For the kardouan, cf. the Story of Xailoun the Idol in the New Arabian Nights.
The prickly heat alone, which could reduce a legal dignitary to rolling about on his own floor "roaring like a baited bull", proved so intolerably vexatious to Leyden that it nearly unfitted him for mental exertion - an extremely difficult thing to do - during his first six weeks in Madras, making him understand for the first time the request of Dives and the blessedness of a drop of cold water; and although thereafter he "got used to it", "according to the saying of the flayed eels", and even became temporarily "very stout and healthy", he was again rendered almost incapable of effort by attacks of fever and dysentery lasting from the end of November till the middle of January, 1804.

Leyden never permitted ill-health to have more than the minimum effect on his activities, however, being convinced that in any event "the wheel must go round to the last". At present, he had a "very difficult" choice to make between "only two routes"; either "to sink into a mere professional drudge and, by strict economy, endeavour to amass a few thousand pounds in the course of twenty years" or "to aspire a little beyond it, and by a superior knowledge of India, its laws, relations, politics and languages, to claim a situation somewhat more respectable in addition to those of the line itself"; and the fact that he found the medical profession at Madras in "a state of complete depression", its members having been always excluded from all but professional appointments and their emoluments greatly reduced just before his arrival, doubtless helped Leyden to decide, after much consideration, to follow the second course and pursue his resolve, formed before leaving Scotland, "to become a furious Orientalist, nemini secundus". Having thus determined to neglect no opportunity, in health or in sickness, of acquiring the most extensive and minute knowledge possible of India and its inhabitants, Leyden made a modest beginning, on October 1, 1803,

1 The word is missing, the MS. being torn; but cf. "like to lose his life" (Leyden to Heber, ?April 6, 1803). See p. 340 sup.
2 Leyden to Miss Kay, loc. cit.
3 Lord Minto to Lady Minto, June 29 - July 19, 1807, referring to Sir Henry Gwillim quoted in Lord Minto in India, p. 23.
4 Cf. Scott to C. K. Sharpe, Feb. 17, 1805: "when you have been as often and as bitterly reviewed as I have been, you will acquire all the indifference of eels that are used to be flead..."
5 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 15, 1804.
6 (Sir) John Malcolm in the Bombay Courier for Nov. 2, 1811.
7 Leyden to James Ballantyne, Oct. 24, 1805.
8 Leyden to Malcolm, March 24, 1806.
by opening a volume of *Adversaria Indica* which came to contain such items as a comparative view of the Tamil and Malabar dialects, 'Additional Observations on the Cosmogony of Bodhayanah', a fragmentary translation of the *Ramayana* by Francis Ellis, notes on Ceylon from Joseph Greenhill's MS. memoir of 1797, and Leyden's own lists of the names of Siva, 'The 7 Great Moslem Commandments', 'Persian, Arabic and Hindustani literary Notices', compositions in Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit, and ' Analogies of Sanscrit & Grecian &c philosophy'. Realizing both that the acquisition of Indian languages must precede any kind of further research, and that in the variety of languages in the Madras territory alone it was impossible to tell which were isolated, connected, original, derivative or mixed, without studying them seriously, Leyden decided to pursue that study on an extended scale, attending particularly to "the mutual connexion of the languages of the Dekkan". He accordingly began in earnest with Tamil and Persian, and then, having made some progress in them and desiring not to spend time on Deccani, the southern dialect of Hindustani, sought to take up Marathi, in preparation for being sent into Maratha territory, only to find that his instructor, recommended as adept in Marathi, knew none at all and had been fraudulently teaching Hindustani instead. Not discovering this deception until he had "made too much progress to retreat", Leyden did not quite abandon Hindustani, but applied himself sedulously to genuine Marathi, in which he advanced far enough before leaving Madras to produce a translation of something "very like a nursery Tale" for Sir Thomas Strange; and the incident demonstrated that, besides having to "form a library of MSS. at most terrible expense" and to pay his native teachers highly once they were found after many time-wasting and abortive inquiries, Leyden was liable to suffer various "tricks and unfair practices" at their hands. Thus a Brahman, engaged "with immense difficulty and almost for a ransom" to teach Leyden Sanskrit during his convalescence from ten weeks' illness, knew scarcely a syllable of the language, so that Leyden, in order to make some use of his services, was obliged to learn the first.

1. The 11th century Tamil version of the *Ramayana*, by Kamban.
2. Headed 'Telinga Compositions and papers communicated to Major Mackenzie'. (B.M. Add. MS. 26, 568, ff. 27-29.)
3. Now B.M. Add. MS. 26, 568. F. 2 bears the date 'Octr. 1, 1803'.
4. Leyden, Plan for investigating the languages of the Dekkan, f. 5.
5. Leyden to Richardson, Oct. 2nd. Nothing came of the maratha project, although Leyden told Constable, Oct. 23, 1805, that he might be employed as Maratha interpreter, physician— and surgeon at "one of the Maratha Residences or Courts".
6. Leyden to Erskine, Nov. 27, 1805. (E.S. 971, M. L. S.)
principles of Telugu from him instead; and another did his best to pass off a few common Slogas as the translation of an ancient Kanarese inscription. The conduct of Leyden's first Sanskrit teacher, who bore a wonderful resemblance to the "savage picture of Leontius Pilatus", Boccaccio's preceptor in Greek, was indeed so execrable that he had to be dismissed in disgrace; and Leyden felt that any European scholar in South India was "exactly in the situation of the revivers of literature in Europe", being exposed to the same difficulties of "the incorrectness of MSS., the inaccuracy of teachers and the obstacles that must be encountered in procuring either". He declined to be discouraged, however, declaring flatly: "I shall most probably never...attain either the harmony of Petrarch's numbers or the suavity and grace of Boccaccio's prose but I shall certainly conquer Sanscrit though they failed in attaining the Grecian language".

Nor would Leyden accept "tameley and strangely", like most of his countrymen, the reproachful appellation of Pariar instead of "the reputable character of Chatriya or Pajaputra", but took care, when dealing with Brahmans, to claim boldly to be regarded as "the immediate descendant of the chief Brahmadica Swayumbhuva under the character and name of Adima and from his wife Iva, subject to a particular Veda more ancient than their own which was issued before Vyusa was born", and therefore not affected by Brahmanical laws of later promulgation.

Altogether, Leyden considered that the Hindus, so far from being "'the blameless, mild patient innocent children of nature' as they are ridiculously termed by gossiping ignoramusses who never set eyes on them", possessed a moral character "as utterly worthless and devoid of probity as their religion is wicked shameless impudent and obscene", like that of the Old Testament Canaanites. And although the natives of Madras were not entirely without good points, having a store of "extremely curious" books and learning, Leyden still found them incredibly cunning and deceitful, resembling in manners "the Jews in scripture", or rather the Philistines with their "very indecent" worship of "Dagon, Baalpeor & Chemosh, &c".

Nor was Leyden fully satisfied with what he saw of his own countrymen in Madras, both in public and in social life. Having gone east at a period of growing recognition that the British were "not merely merchants in India, but legislators and governors", he

1 Leyden to Richardson, [1806]. He found Telugu easier to learn than Sanskrit, from its relationship to Tamil. (Ibid.)
2 Leyden to Erkine, Nov. 27, 1804.
3 Ibid. Dr Claudius Buchanan combated Brahmanical pretensions by similar methods. (Cf. his Letters in MS. Eur. D. 122, f. 73, C. R. 0, Lib.)
4 Leyden to Miss Kay, loc. cit. Mrs Graham (op. cit., pp. 15 & 27) also found her "expectations of Hindoo innocence and virtue" mistaken.
5 Leyden to his father, March 23, 1804.
6 Leyden to Ballantyne, Oct. 24, 1835.
found that the public men at Madras (and, as he correctly assumed, at Bombay and Calcutta also) "fell naturally into two divisions", that which unfortunately stood highest in credit with the East India Company being the "mercantile party, consisting chiefly of men of old standing, versed in trade, and inspired with a spirit in no respect superior to that of the most pitiful pettifogging pedlar, nor in their views a whit more enlarged", who, being occupied solely in making money, and having "no name for such phrases as national honour", would not scruple to sell their country's credit to the highest bidder. The more enlightened group, with whom Leyden's sympathies lay, comprised "men of the first abilities, as well as principles,... drafted from the common professional routine for difficult or dangerous service", who, although represented by their opponents as actuated merely by "the spirit of innovation, and tending to embroil us everywhere in India", not only had the interests of national commerce more truly at heart than the others, but also asserted that Britain's conduct in India ought to be calculated for stability and security and marked equally by "a wise internal administration of justice, financial and political economy" and "a vigilant, firm and steady system of external politics". Socially and intellectually, the balance was still less favourable, there being but few young men with a literary turn in the Presidency.

Leyden's old school-fellow, the amiable, fair-haired Gavin Trotter, was also an assistant surgeon on the Fort Saint George establishment; but as he was stationed at the uncomfortably great distance of seven hundred miles, Leyden had to be content with hearing very good accounts of this "most excellent young man", until Trotter died prematurely in April, 1807, just when he had reached Madras on his way home on furlough. Nor was Leyden fated to meet Charles Carpenter, commercial resident at Salem in the centre of the province, who regretfully reported four years later to his brother-in-law Walter Scott: "I have never yet met with Dr. Leyden."

By a fortunate accident, however, Leyden was introduced to one literary young man, Francis Whyte Ellis, Secretary to the Board of Revenue at Madras and a person of "extraordinary talents and unrivalled Indian learning", who, almost alone among the British

1 Leyden to Ballantyne, Oct. 24, 1805.  
2 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 15, 1804.  
3 Cf. Leyden, to Mr. James Purvis, st. 5, on "Gavin, gentle youth": "His yellow locks tangle d by the breeze,  
Gleam'd golden on the orient seas!"  
4 Leyden to his father, March 23, 1804.  
5 Robert Leyden to James Morton, April 17, 1819. Trotter went to India in 1797, becoming a full surgeon in December, 1804.  
6 Charles Carpenter, 5, 1807. (R.B. 3678, N.L.S.)
in Madras had been able "to break ground" in studying Sanskrit against the prejudices of the local Brahmans. This meeting proved of great importance in directing Leyden's future exertions, Ellis and he combining to 'overhaul' Anquetil Duperron's Avesta and Pahlavi vocabularies, of which, with the aid of Sanskrit, Persian and Hebrew, they made out "almost every word in spite of his most abominable pronunciation", finding in some passages so much Sanskrit that they began "seriously to query whether Anquetil had not confounded his Zend at times with the Gujarashtra". And Leyden, claiming (not without reason) that there was much in Anquetil "extremely dubious and... very incomprehensible", his translation being "full of errors", and that the Zend-Avesta might be proved, from original texts and correct alphabets, to be of "no great authority credit or antiquity"; determined to work on the connection of ancient Indian and Persian religion and learning in the belief that Arabia and India were "the two fountains of Persic literature", so that Zoroaster might "go hang himself, with Anquetil too": a thesis to which, being resolved to "throw down the gauntlet" on the question, Leyden was to recur more than once. Nor was Ellis the only kindred spirit in the presidency; for there was also Major Colin Mackenzie, a Lewis man with a thirst for knowledge almost as great as Leyden's own, who in his first twenty years in India had combined an active military career with an unwearying interest in the geography and antiquities of the Deccan, and who was to become "the most successful collector of the materials for a complete history of the South of India" and "perhaps the first Briton who left the beaten track of research" to study architectural remains, ancient inscriptions, temple registers, genealogies and family histories, instead of confining himself to the books and mythological traditions of the natives.

Of the letters of introduction which Leyden had obtained before leaving Britain, most proved ineffective, their intended recipients having either died or returned to Britain before his arrival; and although Leyden's regret at this was tempered by

1 Leyden to Erskine, Nov. 27, 1804. Some years before, Major Mark Wilks (vid. inf.) had "exerted a great deal of influence very unsuccessfully" in trying to study Sanskrit at Madras. (Ibid.)
2 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 15, 1804.
3 Leyden always refers to the language of the Avesta as Zend, not realizing the word's true application to the Pahlavi version.
4 The opinion, said Leyden to Erskine, Nov. 27, 1804, of "almost all Orientalists" and latterly of Sir William Jones himself.
5 Cf. pp.
6 W. C. Mackenzie, Colonel Colin Mackenzie, pp. 97-98, emphasizes the kinship of mind between them, 7 "to the young's combination of literary & scientific interests. 7 Wm. Erskine, op. cit.
his belief that he could not otherwise have convinced his fellow-
surgeons that he possessed any professional knowledge or skill, it
yet left him largely in the company of uncongenial people, with
whom, as he readily confessed, he achieved little popularity,
having generally "too good spirits and too great vivacity for any
of the loggerheads" he had the pleasure of meeting.

"I did not turn out a favorite with either the beaus or the
belles at Madras, they found I had too stiff & unbending a
neck for them and an unlucky custom of telling my mind a
little roundly for very delicate ears, especially such as
keep an ear-tickler on their establishment. Nay had it not
been sufficiently notorious that I had no positive aversion to
gladiatorial practices some persons would not have been
merely contended with threatening very vindictive doings in
my absence..."

With some at least of the belles Leyden was on sufficiently good
terms for his former shipmate William Bird to inform him, in a
"very angry letter", that he had "stared with wonder and amazement"
to hear of Leyden's flirtations, and fully expected to learn that
he had proposed to some young lady, despite Leyden's confidence
that "old foxes" like himself were not to be "caught like gudgeons;
but in other cases social relations became severely strained on
occasion, as Leyden did not fail to let Bird know:

"Your old flame la belle Johnson before her departure to
Ceylon made me a most ample apology as well as to the Sowles,
and in my case in the presence of her husband. Miss Daniel
performed the same operation, both of them declaring they were
under the compulsive influence of the old hag you recollect."

And Sarah and Margaret Sowle, themselves "a good specimen of
Madras ladies", although with "a good deal of the female in them",
could corroborate Leyden's testimony against 'the old hag'; for
after the first novelty of the Indian scene was over, they found
themselves so uncomfortably "involved in all the little jealousies,
piques and quarrels of that vixen Mrs Sherson", that they often
declared with tears in their eyes to Leyden, whom they regarded
"a good deal in the light of a brother"; that for all the dangers
of life on the high seas in war-time, they viewed the period spent
on board ship as infinitely preferable to their present position.

Life in Madras was by no means without its compensations,
however, one of these being a short excursion made in the highly
congenial company of Francis Ellis, Colin Mackenzie and Sir Thomas
Strange, the Chief Justice of Madras and Leyden's steady friend.

1 Leyden to Richardson, [? 1806].
2 Leyden to Malcolm, April 12, 1805. (B.M.Add. MS. 26,561.)
3 Leyden to William Bird, Dec. 1, 1804. (Ibid.) (Leyden had receiv-
ed in November, 1804, Bird's "angry letter" of January 5, 1804.)
4 Leyden to Sarah Grant, Sept. 29, 1804.
5 Miss Maria Johnson & Miss Augusta Daniel, proceeding to their
brothers in London & Madras respectively, were on the Hugh Inglis.
6 Perhaps the wife of Robert Sherson, deputy collector of Customs.
to Mavallipuram, the village of the Seven Pagodas, which, with the hills behind Sadras, had been the first objects descried by Leyden on the Coromandel coast from the deck of the Hugh Inglis. \(^1\) Having then thought them highly romantic and picturesque, and since had his curiosity much excited by accounts of their sculptures and excavations, Leyden viewed the pagodas with the utmost attention, although, being disabled from handling pen or pencil by a "malignant paronychia" on his right thumb, he had to confine himself to general views and impressions, instead of drawing or copying inscriptions. \(^1\) Leaving Madras on the evening of Monday, October 10, and travelling by palankeen, Leyden had little opportunity of observing the intervening country before arriving some two miles from the pagoda rocks at daylight on October 11, but thereafter he noted everything; the sculptured figures of deities on every building, \(^2\) the inscriptions which he identified as "Jain Canara" and believed himself to be the first European to translate, \(^3\) the view from a pagoda-crowned rock which he climbed, descending by "a very rugged way", and the effect of the natives' singing of "some love airs which might be denominated pretty" but which to Leyden's Scottish ear seemed "highly defective in expression". \(^1\) The rest of the tour comprised visits to Conjeeveram and Tirukkurum  \(^4\) a neat village nine miles north-west of Mavallipuram, the party pausing en route to look at the remains of a Dutch fort at Sadras, where Leyden made inquiries concerning the Malay language from a former Dutch governor of Malacca named Caperus, who knew enough about the subject to plan a grammar of it. \(^5\) And at Tirukkurum itself, by way of compensation for being allowed to examine only the exterior of the pagoda on the hill, the tourists heard more songs sung by dancing girls in Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit, and saw in the evening a solemn procession of the god of the temple, mounted on a gilded bull and accompanied by flaring torches and beating drums, which Leyden for one found "amazingly sublime" and infinitely beyond all his preconceptions of such a solemnity. \(^1\)

Leyden responded with less enthusiasm, however, to a later display at "Chenaya's festival on solemnizing his daughter's

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1 Leyden, Tour to the Seven Pagodas; (B.M.Add. MS.26,568,ff.6-10.)
2 The sculpture of the lion of Bhadra Kali seizing on Mahesha Asura reminded Leyden of a description of a fight between a lion and a buffalo in John Barrow's account of his African travels.
3 Leyden to Richardson, loc.cit.; & to Heber, Oct. 24,1805. Colin Mackenzie wrote to Leyden, Apr.30,1807: "...we may hope for an explanation of the Mavellipooram characters, as my old Jain Doctor of Laws accompanies me to the Coast".
4 Apparently Tirukkalikkunram.
5 Leyden asked Lt. Thos Arthur, May 29,1805, if he had written to Caperus about this "projected Grammar".
nuptials" in Madras, where, seeing "the Eastern Alme for the first time", he formed the unfavourable impression that the singing was monotonous and lacking in harmony and expression, and the dancing of the girls in tawdry ornaments, under the direction of an "old grim-looking" coryphaeus, "finical and constrained", consisting mainly of awkward contortions and agile rather than graceful gestures. Nor did he think any more highly of the scenic exhibition or puppet show of the Nellah Raja, performed by Telugu Brahman, which he was invited by Sir Thomas Strange to visit with a select party on November 28, for, going in curiosity to see how the Indians, who seemed to be the inventors of everything "from the most frivolous to the most important", would acquit themselves as "rivals of Punch's opera and the mimics of Sadler's Wells", he found that European performers were as superior in propriety, grace, effect and execution as they were inferior in the tinsel splendour, "minute costume, puerile magnificence and uninteresting accuracy" in which the Hindus excelled, the difference between the Indian and the European cast of mind being very clearly shown in the contrasting development of this form of entertainment.

Leyden's stay in Madras was not to be prolonged indefinitely, however. Lord William Bentinck had by no means forgotten his promise to employ Leyden in some special capacity giving scope to his varied abilities; and he now found just such a post for him, not indeed in South Kanara, as had been expected, but in Mysore, where Bentinck was concerned to establish the ryotwari system of land tenure, in the territories acquired by Britain after the final defeat of Tipu Sultan in 1799. At that period, Colin Mackenzie, having given the Commissioners for the conquered territories the benefit of his wide geographical knowledge of the Deccan, had been appointed by Lord Wellesley to survey Mysore on a plan embracing history and statistics as well as geography, and had been granted the services of three assistants and also of Dr Benjamin Heyne as surgeon and naturalist: and in this plan Mackenzie persevered, despite much discouragement and financial trouble, until 1807, when his survey of some 40,000 square miles in the Mysore provinces was completed to the minutest degree. At the end of 1801, however, when Mackenzie, at much risk to his health, had just dealt with the

1 Leyden, On Indian Music and Dancing. (B. M. Add. MS. 26, 568, f. 3.) He found the dances of the whole company more graceful. Lord Minto & Sir James Mackintosh shared Leyden's opinion of nautches.
2 Leyden, On the Indian Gesticularia. (Ibid., ff. 13-15.)
3 As opposed to the zamindari system introduced by Cornwallis in Bengal. Bentinck proposed to tour the Madras provinces personally in this connection, but had not time before his recall in 1807.
northern and eastern frontiers of Mysore, the arrival of limiting orders from the Company's Directors, who disapproved of even such a moderate establishment, almost crushed the survey, and brought Heyne's part in it to an end. It was his office which Bentinck now proposed to revive and bestow on Leyden, who was accordingly appointed on January 13, 1804, "to afford Medical assistance to the Department under Major Mackenzie's orders" and to prosecute also "the enquiry into the Natural History and productions of Mysore which formed a part of the original plan of the survey... but which subsequent events rendered it necessary to suspend". This appointment, made at the sole and particular instance of Bentinck, brought Leyden a salary of fifty pagodas a month in addition to the pay and allowances of his rank as assistant surgeon, making a total of over £1,000 per annum, which was "reckoned very great for a Surgeon in his first three years of service". It was emphasized, however, that although the Madras Government would receive any recommendation from Mackenzie concerning Leyden's establishment and allowance for camp equipage, his establishment would not be on the same scale as that formerly attached to Heyne; and eventually Leyden found himself with a staff of some fifty persons, the great expense of whose wages, paid from his own pocket, lessened the advantage of his large salary and detracted from the pleasure of appearing with his retinue like "Johny Armstrong and his merry men".

"...whenever I go into the country besides several people on horseback I have always a guard of spearmen on foot. I could wish we were allowed to do without them for they are plausibly expensive but as we are so few white men in comparison of the natives we are under the necessity of appearing always in great state, armed & ready for fighting that they may stand in proper awe of us - accordingly in addressing us they always term us Bahader which means 'great warrior'."

Although it was early June before the Survey left belatedly for Mysore, Leyden was very little in Madras after January, being employed in such tasks as going "in the medical charge of some recruits lately arrived" to the cantonment of Walajabahad: returning whence on March 23, he took advantage of the imminent sailing of the Prince of Wales Indiaman to write home and so make up for the probable detention for convoy of the ship by which he had already written four months earlier. His letter took due cognizance of

1 Biographical Sketch of... Colin Mackenzie, loc. cit.
3 Leyden to Wm Erskine, Sept. 15, 1804; & Leyden to Lord William Bentinck, June 17, 1805. (B.M.Add. MS.26,561.)
4 Leyden to his father, March 23, 1804. (N.I. 3380, N.L.S.)
5 Reith, op.cit., p.212, erroneously renders 'persons' as 'pagans'.
6 On March 23, 1804, Leyden expected to leave for Mysore in 2 weeks.
7 Leyden to Wm Bird, Dec. 1, 1804.
such exciting events as a recent "most gallant action between our
fleet of China Merchant-ships and a French 84 Gun vessel and four
large Frigates in which the French were completely defeated and
escaped with great difficulty," and current measures against the
King of Kandy who, in the summer of 1803, had massacred the British
garrison there when they were "all sick of a pestilential fever...
and not able to stand on their legs", but who would now "infallibly
fall like Tipoo Saheb" before the British advance. Its recipients,
however, were no doubt more interested in Leyden's news of himself
and his prospects and his assurances on family matters. Hoping that
his parents would keep themselves "cheerfully in good health" and
look out for some respectable farming situation, he promised to send
£100 by a safe conveyance in May, declaring:
"it shall be my business to furnish money, and take care of both
my brother & sister's education for that is every thing. Incul-
cate on Margaret the necessity of behaving with great propriety
except she expects to find in me something much worse than a
brother".

Over eighteen months later, Leyden was still combining warning and
encouragement to his sister, promising:
"...if she behaves discreetly and marries a man I can approve
of I will give her 500 pounds, but let her take great care of
her conduct";
but he need have had no anxiety, since Margaret, "a fine interesting
girl", extremely affectionate to her parents and possessed of excell-
ent natural qualities, was to make a commendable marriage to "Mr
Turnbull, a writer in Glasgow" and a native of Denholm. For himself
Leyden was full of confidence and satisfaction, having "found every-
thing extremely agreeable" and already made progress in the Malabar,
Marathi, Armenian, Telugu, Kanarese and Sanskrit ("the Latin of
India") languages, so that he had no doubt of succeeding in India
according to his wish. His health had improved, as his old head-
aches had left him and he was growing not only stouter but broader
and more lusty, his weight having increased from ten to almost
twelve stones; and it was unlikely that in his new post he would
see any battle beyond the "one slight action with the Polygars or
men of the hills" which he had already witnessed, the Maratha war
being completely over and the native powers all subdued: at which
1 Capt. Nathaniel Dance's triumph of Feb. 14, 1804, which Leyden also
celebrated in verse. See p. inf.
2 The peace negotiated was not very advantageous to Britain, the
King of Kandy not being finally overcome until 1814-15.
3 He had meant to send it by the present ship, but was delayed.
4 Leyden to his father, March 23, 1804.
5 Leyden to his father, Nov. 20, 1805.
6 James Morton to Leyden, Dec. 13, 1808. (MS. 3330, N. L. S.)
8 He exaggerated in claiming not to have had an hour's illness.
9 Sindhia & Bhonslas had made peace by the end of 1803.
I daresay my mother is very glad, instead of wishing me to obtain glory or laurels or any thing of the kind. In both these points, however, Leyden was rather too optimistic. The Poligars were still to cause trouble enough in Mysore for Leyden to write from Seringapatam eight months later:

"...let me know...how you come on with the reduction of the Poligars. They pretend here that the road is unsafe to Velore & we are constantly pestered with reports of officers massacred. And the "robust & hardy state of health" which he enjoyed from mid-January to the start of April tempted him both to over-exertion and to incautious exposure of himself to the sun, the consequence being a coup de soleil in early April, followed by a slight bilious fever. "Just as I was recovering of this, came the Sessions which I was obliged to attend having been called to the ground as surgeon in a duel in which Capt. Taylor of the Glory lost his life. In consequence of the heat I relapsed & was seized by a violent affection of the stomach, & unfortunately discovered that I actually had Nerves, (a circumstance I had formerly doubted) on finding myself in the situation of an hysterical old wife, unable to read or speak, or make any kind of exertion without being seized with a paroxysm of suffocation. At all this I was extremely indignant as I had been overtaken in this manner just as I had mastered the principal difficulties incident to an oriental tyro. I however found in Nitric acid a powerful & efficacious remedy, and had completely recovered before I left the Carnatic."

Although he professed to have found Madras "exactly the field for his studies, it was probably without much regret that Leyden left the city and its uncongenial social life behind him to set out on the evening of June 9, two days after Major Mackenzie, for Mysore that "singular country...supported on two converging mountainous ridges" 4,000 feet above sea level, which was to interest Leyden exceedingly, and by the "pure and cool serenity" of its climate after "the sweltering & oppressive atmosphere of the Carnatic" to give him at last the delightful sensation of freedom from his "Egyptian plagues of boils & prickly heat" and renewal of his "European faculties". The Survey's route was to lie along the southern and western frontiers of Mysore, and from the start, in addition to making innumerable notes on the climate, mineralogy, natural history, economy, languages and diseases of Mysore for his official reports, Leyden kept, as was his wont, a personal journal in some detail.

1 Leyden to his father, March 23, 1804.
2 Leyden to Dr Harris, Dec. 3, 1804. (B. M. Add. MS. 26, 561.)
3 Leyden to Wm Erskine, Sept. 15, 1804. Leyden told Richardson, (? 1805) that he was nearly incapacitated for ten weeks at this time.
4 Leyden to Constable, Oct. 23, 1805.
5 Mrs Graham, op. cit., p. 27, found British society in Madras lacking in breeding and interest, & describes (pp. 130-31) its vapid life.
6 Leyden to Mrs Robert Smith, June 2, 1805. (B. M. Add. MS. 26, 561.)
7 Leyden to his father, loc. cit. It was to go almost as far north as Goa, & then down the Malabar coast to Cape Comorin.
8 Many of these appear in B. M. Add. MS. 25, 580, passim.
Travelling by night past such villages as Amurampoddas Choultry ("remarkable only for some indecent figures which might vie with the grossest of Greece or Rome"") and through tracts of sparsely-peopled cultivable land overgrown with jungle, which bore, like all of the Carnatic which Leyden had yet seen, obvious traces of the "threefold devastation of captivity fire and sword" inflicted on it by Haidar Ali in 1780, Leyden overtook Mackenzie on June 10 at Conjeeveram, where, remaining till the next evening, they improved their knowledge of the chief sights of the neighbourhood, including the principal pagoda, with its inscriptions in ancient and unknown characters and its images transcending Leyden's knowledge of Indian mythology. At Kaveripak next day, Leyden's taste for the picturesque in nature was gratified by the spectacle of a fort transformed into a fruit garden, with palmyra, coconut, mango and custard-apple trees and a moat on the water of which floated "red and white lotus flowers in full blow", while from the boughs above hung the nests of the Indian grossbeak, producing altogether "a very pretty effect"; and the road from there past Arcot to Vellore skirted a gratifyingly high range of hills, with granite peaks showing white above the green jungle. The fort of Vellore, surrounded by a deep moat stocked with alligators, was currently "a kind of state prison for the Royal family of Mysore"; and there was considerable military activity, troops being "in motion to proceed against the Gentoo Polygars" and their allies in disaffection. Despite rumours of widespread native unrest, however, the Survey remained for over three weeks in the vicinity of Vellore, where the cooler climate, which kept Mackenzie "quite in a cold shiver" after the sultry heat of Madras, had a recuperative effect on Leyden, who professed to find it indeed "as hot as a fiery furnace".

Such an effect was much needed, since during the journey, which had yielded nothing more exciting than "the jog trot circle of common occurrences", Leyden had suffered "a degree of torment only to be compared to that of crucifixion" from an inexhaustible crop of boils which had sprung up on his back "like mushrooms after rain".

1 Leyden commented: "Indos fellatores esse ante a non novi!"
2 Leyden to Mrs Robert Smith, June 12, 1805.
3 Probably the temple of Siva. Leyden and Mackenzie had visited Conjeeveram in October, 1803, with Strange and Ellis. See p. sup.
4 Leyden's spelling is Caverypauk, which Reith (op. cit., p. 213) renders as 'Caveripant' in his garbled version of this journal.
5 Leyden, identifying the grossbeak as Linnaeus's Loxia Philippina, admired its "elegant" building instinct, but rejected the story of its lighting its "little apartments" with glow-worms.
6 Leyden, Journal from Madras to Seringapatam (B.M. Add. Ms. 26,562.)
7 Tipu's sons were imprisoned there from 1799.
8 Leyden to Sir Thomas Strange, July 15, 1804 (B.M. Add. Ms. 26, 561.)
9 Leyden to Francis Ellis, July 15, 1804. (Ibid.)
since his recent illness: an affliction which he believed he might have borne remarkably well and resolutely, albeit "not without occasional murmurs & palaverings about Zeno & his boasted nonchalance", had it not at last given him "a smart twinge of fever" which was still troubling him when he took up his quarters at Vellore in the house of William Linley, the town's "poetical paymaster". This young man of musical and literary tastes, whose eldest sister had married Richard Brinsley Sheridan, was suffering to such an extent from "one of the most singular and... distressing diseases that ever appeared in the Books of Nosology", that he presented the most beautiful, perfect and illuminating case of nostalgia in all Leyden's experience, and made Leyden long to "pop him slily" into his medical journal, along with notes on such matters as the expediency of prescribing wine in cases of jungle fever, the "frequent and terrible" occurrence of "the water Cancer" in Mysore, the use of serpents' flesh in cases of elephantiasis, ulcers and leprosy, and the "rates of pulsation in individuals of different ages" in India:

"In Mysore there is a difference from Malabar or Coromandel, but the difficulty is to make accurate experiments, which I had some opportunities of doing from the number of persons that generally attended the sick".

Nor could Leyden resist saying many facetious things of nostalgia, comparing it in detail with chloresis, but classifying it as a nervous disease originating in "a morbid acrimony" of mind and body, here displayed particularly in great irritability at whist and chess, and curable only by "a long sea voyage & a colder climate". Among its symptoms of splenetic tendencies, listlessness and aversion to activities like riding, uneasiness about the heart at the thought of England, and a distaste for generous diet which made Linley unable to finish a bottle of claret "even with Major Mackenzie's assistance", appeared a preternatural desire for "solitude, silence and sweet Music"; and this last, regarded by Leyden as analogous to the passion for dancing produced by the tarantula's bite, manifested itself in Linley's remaining alone at home instead of playing cards or rejoicing with such "Bacchanalian friends" as Colonel Richard Gore and Lieutenant-Colonel John Darley, of whom Leyden saw much.

1 Leyden to Francis Ellis, July 15, 1804.
2 Leyden to Wm Linley, July 19, 1804. (B.M. Add. MS. 26, 561.)
3 Elizabeth Linley (1754-92) married Sheridan in 1773.
4 Leyden to Strange, July 15, 1804.
5 Leyden upheld his right to speak of "a beautiful case of disease with the same raptures" as a poet of verse or a lover of his lady.
6 Cf. p. sup. He compared the fever's symptoms with those of plague.
7 Leyden wondered if the Indians, like the ancients, used these.
8 B.M. Add. MS. 26, 580, ff. 39-40. 9 A "new discovery in Physic".
10 Linley actually returned to Britain for good in 1806.
11 8th Native Infantry, Bombay Est. 12 4th Nat. Inf. Fort St George Est.
12 Leyden to Harris, Dec. 3, 1804.
apt, too, to keep silence when addressed, "with very little appearance of having either heard or understood what was said to him", and to betray an extraordinary fondness for a great many alleged harmonies, wherein Leyden could discern no harmony nor merit whatever. A passion for melody, however, Leyden would probably have understood better, since he knew how a man could hear again "the voice of his mother, of his sister, of his youthful love" in simple and familiar airs addressed "to the various emotions of his heart" and how patriotism could influence musical judgment, as in the undeniable affection of the Swiss to the Ranz des Vaches which certainly is not to be compared to the Scotch "Waulking o' the Fauld", & if the truth must be spoken does not seem greatly superior to the lowing of a melodious cow, or as Theocritus says, that of a sweet-breathed heifer. As it was, although he enjoyed hearing Linley play some of his own settings of "fairy songs" and other "wild and impressive" compositions, he advised him with mock seriousness to shun music entirely: "Thou fellow of infinite merriment & fun if there were any possibility of getting them out of thee, thou Yorick in crape, thou jester in the disguise of a melancholy man how stands the Thermometer of thy spirits, art thou ever merry when thou hearst sweet music? If not pray to heaven instantly to unstring thy lyre untune thy harpsichord & give the colic to thy organ, else thy living soul will peak pine & dwindle away to the soul of a fiddlestick or a tempering pin... A Murrain on Music say I whenever I think to what a sad pass it has reduced so fine a fellow as thee. Take courage man, crush thy fiddle demolish thy organ & utterly consume thy chessboard... & so let thy days be long in this land which John Company hath given thee." Leyden professed also to view this "inveterate and distressing malady of homesickness as a fitting punishment for the inexcusable manner in which Linley contrived to dissipate Leyden's time at Vellore, making the days slip away unnoticed in conversation and music, and moreover obliging him to put himself in quarantine to avoid the contagion of the shockingly infectious distemper by engaging in the perusal of "the Arabian Night, [sic] The Arabian Tales, Don Quixote, Rabelais" and "a long &ca of the same Class". Leyden probably indeed dissipated a good deal of time on his account, his social life being so lively as to include the receipt of "a lusty box on the ear as a token of Scotch kindness", delivered between 8 and 9 p.m. on June 27 in Colonel Gore's house by "the lovely Mrs Orrock", a young lady enjoying a "rude bloom of health" reckoned unbecoming in India "among the terrestrial celestials who do not enjoy the benefit of legs and arms, poor dears". Nevertheless, he
persevered with his studies, working hard at Hindustani, Kanarese and Telugu, not quite neglecting his version of "the Canda Puranum" from the Tamil, and preparing "a long translation from the Persic to be entitled The Tales of the Peris", which, although finished by mid-April, 1805, and circulated among Leyden's friends in MS. copies, was fated never to be printed, despite protracted plans for its publication.

The improvement in health which led Leyden to boast by mid-July that he had quite recovered and was "getting as strong as Goliath of Gath", enabled him also to visit near-by places of interest, making always careful geological and botanical notes, and paying particular attention to the ancient and the picturesque. He was much pleased by the country around Vellore, being cheered by the frequent sight (unknown near Madras) of a plot of green grass, and finding in the temperate air and the mountains and vallies with their verdant woods and ancient ruins constant reminders of Scotland and especially of the Border hills where he had so often walked with delight "in youth's exulting day" beneath a milder and less perilous sun. On June 19, he visited Vellore Droog, the old fort built on three hill-tops which had withstood Haidar Ali for two years, and which commanded a most extensive and picturesque view over a landscape of such striking contrasts as the winding, sandy, dry river-bed, a sort of 'funnel' of flat country through which the parched land-wind passed violently, and the pinnacles of a chain of mountains, some wooded to the top, some "covered with the white debris of their ancient rocky hills", some towering in the lonely majesty of "abrupt naked spires". The largest fort, besides a Marathi inscription and "a rough sculpture of an elephant treading a criminal to death", possessed a deep tank decorated both with carved figures of fish, lizards and bandicoots and with the bangles and trinkets offered by barren women to the goddess of generation, who was believed to visit the spot at midnight in company with the nymphs of the hills, dressed in white flowing garments. It was also "reckoned extremely dangerous on their account to visit the tank at high noon out of mere curiosity", as Leyden did; but although recollecting that the power of the "Gothic Fairies" was

1 B.M. Add. MS. 26,577, ff. 22-63, has a copy of this translation in Leyden's own hand. 2 Leyden to Strange, July 15, 1804.

3 Leyden to John Malcolm, April 12, 1805.

4 Mrs Raffles, Mordaunt Rickette & James Hare had MS. copies, Hare sending his (now B.M. Add. MS. 26,599) to Wm Erskine in 1817. Leyden's own copy came into Heber's hands. Plans to publish the Tales after Malay Annals came to nothing. Cf. p.

5 E.g. of a plant "used by natives in decoction for boils".

6 Leyden to Strange, loccit. & Ode on leaving Vellore, sts. 5 & 6.

7 Leyden, Journal from Madras to Seringapatam.

8 Leyden could find no "family likeness" to the Oreads of antiquity.
likewise supposed to predominate as much then as at midnight; he
felt that "the vertical heat of the Sun" was a more likely source of
peril. On June 25, he climbed the hill, some four miles from the
town, "termed by the Hindus Baba Buden and by the Mahometans Baba
Adam", a former resort of pilgrims, now remarkable for the remains
of small pagodas scattered among its rocks; a representation of the
lotus feet of Buddha (of which Leyden made a rough sketch with com-
parative notes); "an old inscription...written in the Laden-Lippee,
a character mixed & distorted & formerly used by the Byraggies",,
which neither Leyden, his Tamil interpreter nor "all the learned
Tamulers of Vellore" could then decipher, although Leyden later
"first of European speaking men translated and decyphered" it, ident-
ifying its language as ancient Tamil; and a dark winding cavern,
the narrow, rough and irregular dwelling of a race of large baboons,
which led down into the interior of the mountain from near a solitary
mango tree on the summit and which Leyden explored with boyish
zeal and a keen eye for its geology. And in Vellore itself Leyden
found a mantapam, secularized in the time of the tyrannical and per-
fidious Mortiza Ali and now used as an arsenal, which he considered
the finest specimen he had seen of these buildings in "what we may
call the Moresque of India", the necessarily undignified style and
the "minute fritterings of Hindu architecture" being allowed for.

Even so interesting a district could not detain the Survey
indefinitely, however; and so on the evening of July 6 Leyden had to
bid farewell to "Velura's moat-girt towers" and the landscapes
reminiscent of home, and to pass on to Sathgur, the group of seven
hill forts built on "abrupt rugged peaks" commanding a wild and ex-
tensive view and affording much material for geological and botanic-
al notes, which now, although no longer the Nawab of Arcot's state
prison, still supplied that prince with such garden produce as pine-
aples, guavas and coconuts. Then, early on July 8, the ascent
was begun of the relatively low but very steep barrier-range of the
Ghats by a little-used route past the village of Chargull (inhabited
by the boorish descendants of notorious freebooters, with an air
more of savagery than of "clownish simplicity"), through the pass of

1 The hour of noon "is allowed by those skilful in demonology to be
as full of witching as midnight itself" (Scott to Joanna Baillie,
Aug. 24, 1811. Cf. the invocation of the White Lady in The Monastery.
2 Leyden, Journal from Madras to Seringapatam.
3 Leyden to Francis Ellis, July 15, 1804.
5 Cf. st. 2 of the Ode on leaving Vellore.
6 Leyden included in his Journal as "a specimen of the delicacy of
Indian Satire" his own translation of a "strange epistle" resembling
"some of the lucubrations of Rabelais", addressed to Mortiza
Ali by the Vellore-born satirist Mir Jafar Zatuli.
7 Leyden disliked also the "minute fritterings of Gothic architect-
ure". Cf. p. 174 sup.
8 Ode on leaving Vellore. I. I.
the same name, rough and overgrown, but not impossibly steep, and
on to the plateau of Mysore, with its cooler air and less luxuriant
vegetation. Leyden had an eye and an ear for everything, from the
fine herd of cows and bullocks encountered at a romantically situat-
ed village in the middle of the pass, and the coarse, black
country-woven plaids of the peasants, to the variety of local lang-
"ages" and the statement of a ryot that "renting a plot of ground
for 2 Pagodas he cleared all expenses with 40 Pagodas profit in
the year"; and having believed, at "the moment of illusion", that
the granite structures on a small hill climbed by Mackenzie and
himself were ancient and curious tombs standing in a region of
barrenness and desolation where only euphorbium grew, "unshapely,
scaly and covered with moss", he was disappointed to find, on
further inquiry, that these were simply "rural temples devoted to
the worship of inferior deities the local Gods of the woods and
the mountains". Having traversed wild country as far as Venkata-
giri on July 9, and more cultivated countryside next day, the
Survey left Betmangala early on the 11th to proceed to Kolar, past
comparatively fertile fields and fantastic insulated rocks. Only
one day was spent in Kolar itself: a town less populous than
when it had been the cradle of Haidar Ali's fortune, but still
possessing such memorials of greatness as the Sirkar's garden with
its long row of fountains, an ancient pagoda with inscriptions for
Leyden to transcribe and decipher, and the mausoleum of Haidar Naik
with its lines of cypress trees, according well with "the stiff
and tawdry character of Oriental magnificence": a character which,
in architecture, gardening and scenery, in almost every trait of
eastern life and manners, partook of the huge rather than the
great, the showy rather than the graceful, and presented "a singu-
lar mixture of greatness and frivolity". A stay of three days in
the neighbourhood, however, gave Leyden ample opportunity to climb
hills and to examine pagodas, tombs, tanks and rocks, so that his
journal bears little evidence for his complaint that, although the
journey had so far been pleasant enough, the faculty of vision had
been almost the only one he could employ, and that not to the best
advantage, "the inconveniences of Palankeen carriage and a slight
inflammation of the eyes detracting from it very considerably."6

1 These included Telugu, Tamil, Kannarese, Hindustani and Marathi.
3 Leyden described these in detail in his journal, feeling that
this system of local worship deserved investigation.
4 Leyden to Linley, July 19, 1804.
5 Contrast Scott's opinion of Indian architecture as "so gorgeous
and on a scale so extensive" as to shame the magnificence of Eur-
"ope. (Scott, Journal for Feb. 24, 1828.)
6 Leyden to Francis-Ellis, July 15, 1804.
At Jungum Cottah on July 14, the inhabitants sustained their reputation for robbery by making a night attack on the Survey's tents; but the next day saw its safe arrival at the military station of Nandidroog, standing on its lofty cloud-capped hill a thousand feet above the Mysore table-land, commanding a wide and varied prospect and boasting a climate good enough, despite the violence of its electrical storms, for the successful growing of European vegetables, including the best potatoes in India. Leyden, "quite delighted with the huge savage rocks" which to resemble Scotland completely required only "Honest men, bonny lasses and 'whisky that liquor divine,'" found there an interest beyond that of examining the soil and copying inscriptions; for Colin Mackenzie, having been the engineer in charge of the successful British siege of this seemingly impregnable fortress in 1790, now took the chance to fight the battle over again, so that Leyden had the uncommon pleasure of hearing a first-hand account of it on the spot, although at the expense of some physical discomfort:

"The day was extremely cold and the Major carried on the siege with such vigour that I was very near being completely routed as well as Col. Cuppage but the good Major himself did not come off scotfree; for he was not only severely fatigued but has had a cold ever since."  

Being able to travel by day in the fresher air of Mysore, the Survey left Nandidroog on the morning of July 18, passing through Devanhalli to Chicajilla, where Leyden, besides accompanying Mackenzie to take observations from a nearby hill in the evening, visited a small chapel "appropriated to the Lingam worship", where the lingam's three eyes were so distinctly painted that he had at first "almost taken it for an animal"; and on the following day, writing to remind William Linley to send his "Effusions" in due course for a "good squeeze in the cheese press" of Leyden's criticism, Leyden gave a graphic account of his present distracting mode of life.

"Indeed we have been marching and countermarching at such a rate scrambling through jungle, climbing hills and descending into vallies that all my ideas are jumbled together in such an odd stile that I scarcely know where to find one of them. All this would be nothing at all if we had nothing more to sing or say than 'My lodging is on the cold ground', but unfortunately I am obliged to add 'The Devil take the Carpenter and the inconstant wind', as to the wind all that one has to do is to let it blow, but for the Carpenter, the Carpenter beetle I mean it is as troublesome as one of the plagues of Egypt. Just as I have

1 Both in his Journal and in his notes on electricity in Mysore (B. M. Add. Ms. 26,550, f. 42) Leyden notes the presence of this cloud.
2 Leyden to Wm Linley, July 19,1804. In promising to send Linley verses, Leyden feared that his first essays would be on potatoes rather than on poetry.
3 Leyden, Journal.
4 Leyden added: 'If you do not like the metaphor you may call it wine press if you please'. Cf. Leyden to Erskine, Sept.15,1804.
seated myself in some old musty Choultry and begun to collect: myself comes this infernal beetle like an evil conscience buzzing and humming and bumping against you as if it were determined that you should attend to nothing but itself and thus the most sublime and savage and pathetic ideas, the most terrible and picturesque descriptions of objects, cobwebs of the working brain vanish like Gossamer on the hill. 

Leyden's "working brain" found sufficient to record in prose, if not in verse, during the next two days, the populous city of Bangalore, some 220 miles from Madras, being reached on July 20 and entered by the great Northern gateway, with its five portals. Having been a strong military position, Bangalore displayed the remains not only of the royal palace but also of the arsenal and foundry of Haidar and Tipu; but for all the superb ornamentation of its halls, pillars and scalloped arches, their "minute carving and gilding" seemed to Leyden extremely heavy and "insufferably tawdry" in effect, with a literally chilling aspect which produced in him the strongest sensation of cold he had yet experienced in India. As an escape from these frigid splendours, Leyden made a rapid excursion southward through "thick jungle much infested by tygers", examining all objects of interest, especially inscriptions, which presented themselves; and Mackenzie and he together explored the Cavern Temple near the city, entering a winding passage on the left and passing "several groups of small images generally consisting of two superior deities attended by several of a secondary class", until, on reaching a pool of water, Mackenzie grew faint and was obliged to go back. Leyden, however, "remained in darkness till the Bramin came back with the light, & persevered in exploring the innermost recesses..."

On July 22 the whole party moved on towards Chinapatam, reaching it on the 24th after traversing fine romantic country with "grand and majestic" views, in a "remarkably wild, rugged and rocky district" of which Leyden, suddenly observing a cave of striking aspect on a hill-side, was reminded of Vellore, first of all

1 Colonnade of a temple; also a place to receive travellers.
2 Leyden to Linley, July 19, 1804.
3 The Delhi gate, breached by Cornwallis in 1791, although it seemed to Leyden much stronger than the Southern or Mysore gateway.
5 Leyden to Mordaunt [Ricketts], March 25, 1805. (B.M. Add. MS. 26,551.) Leyden also describes this temple and cavern, with a sketch of the latter, in his Journal.
picturing it as "beleaguered by the Polygars", with William Linley "on his terraced roof firing briskly away at them with a dozen of country beer", and then, "after various musings", composing the Ode on leaving Velore which he was to send to Linley some five months later.¹ Two more days' travelling through country at first wild and mountainous and then "barren bleak and stony" brought the Survey near enough to Seringapatam for Leyden to have his first view of it from a hill-top on the afternoon of July 26 as it lay on its fertile island in the midst of the broad and majestic Cauvery below the bare high ground, still grand and magnificent despite the ravages of siege and revolution, and presenting in the fine gardens and buildings of the Lal Bagh and Doulet Bagh, the "strong, uniform and solid" structure of the fort, the lofty spires of mosques and pagodas, and the lower but regular outlines of the Ganjam on the island's highest point, a scene to "fill and elevate the mind with a multitude of ideas" and reflections on how "Mohammedan usurpation, like one of the formidable genii of Arabian fable," had there fixed its powerful government and beautiful and splendid residence in the heart of a desert.² Entering the city on the morning of July 27 and remaining there until August 15, Leyden had ample time to observe at close quarters everything about it: its geological environment; its climate, good except in autumn and early summer, when the miasmas of the rice-fields induced malignant fever; the variety in race, language and religion among its large population; and its public buildings, from the Courthouse and healthily-situated jail to the "Tyger Mosque" of Tipu,³ and Haidar Ali's mausoleum with its "funereal" cypress trees and black marble colonnades. Of the palaces, that of the Doulet Bagh, although much altered for use as a European residence, retained its mural paintings, including one of "Colonel Baillie's disastrous action" at Perambakam in 1780, wherein the white officers were "distinguished by a particularly hard and obdurate physiognomy and steeple crowned hats with a broad band", which Leyden was at a loss to identify until, accidentally encountering "a German of the Meuron Regiment" with the same dress and aspect, he conjectured that the original had been "a Hanoverian Serjeant".² The Lal Bagh palace, never inhabited by Tipu and still in its original state, was much more superb and in a better style of architecture than those of Bangalore and the Doulet Bagh, having its

¹ Leyden to Linley, Nov. 29-30, 1804, when he sent st. 1 of the Ode as a specimen; & Leyden to Linley, Jan. 2, 1805, when he sent the whole poem, to afford Linley his critical revenge.

² Leyden, Journal.

³ Built when Tipu was purposing to assure the tiger as the emblem of his government. (Ibid.)

⁴ Baillie's force of 2,800 was destroyed by Haidar Ali on Sept. 10, 1780.
roofs and pillars all splendidly "painted and gilt or rather orna-
:mented with tinsel" and bearing in its walls niches for a multitude
of lamps, so that its lighted halls must have "resembled a palace of
fairy, and accorded well with our ideas of Oriental magnificence": a
magnificence best seen at a distance and not "too minutely scrut-
inized", its effect being greatest when attended with some degree
of obscurity. And by contrast, Leyden was much impressed by the
flourishing state of the foundry for manufacturing gun carriages
established eighteen months before on the site of the demolished
palace of the ancient rajas of Mysore and directed by Captain Scott
of the Engineers, who had built up a most creditable native labour
force equal to "the patient and finished artists of Europe" in "every
department of the Carpenter, turner, Smith or founder" and so
demonstrated the "docility of Indian workmen and their facility of
improvement when subjected to strict discipline": an achievement
which "forcibly excited" Leyden's astonishment, since the indocility
and obstinate adherence to trifles of the Indians he had himself
encountered had made him doubt seriously the possibility of "inuring
them to habits of European industry".

Thus far, Leyden had kept his journal meticulously; but as
the Survey, on leaving Seringapatam, moved deeper into the wilds of
Mysore, this record was discontinued, although Leyden continued to
make copious notes from which his journals could later be "made out
and transcribed", along with papers on the mountainous strata of
Mysore and their "mineral indications", its crops and their rotation,
"the diseases, Medicines & remedies of the natives" and their pecul-
:iarities of habit and constitution, and the number and "respective
relations" of its languages, especially the Kanarese. He persevered,
too, in writing letters, in the midst of professional duties,
linguistic studies and indifferent health, and often without much
apparent response from his correspondents; for communication with
Europe, slow and hazardous in general, was hampered still more in
Leyden's case by his situation "among jungles, mountains and Forests
almost inaccessible to the most direct despatches from government", over three hundred miles from any seaport from which letters could be sent. The proper despatch of letters to Europe being thus made very difficult, their safe arrival, particularly in time of war, depended entirely on accident; and Leyden's own receipt of letters

2 Leyden, Note on the Foundry in MS. 25, 580, f. 27.
3 MS. 25, 580, f. 41, has a note on alternation of crops in England.
4 Leyden to Colin Mackenzie, April 12, 1805. (B. M. Add. MS. 25, 561.)
5 Leyden to Thomas Brown, Nov. 5, 1805. (Ibid.)
6 Leyden to his father, Nov. 20, 1805. (MS. 3880, N. L. S.)
7 Leyden to Janet Brown, Oct. 25, 1805. (Ibid.)
from Britain was no less uncertain. These usually arrived indeed with great precision if sent by the regular packet to anyone living in Madras, Bombay or Calcutta, and fairly well known there; but the case of a man stationed hundreds of miles inland on "out of the way service among the wilds and mountains" \(^1\) and in the midst of jungles was very different, especially as the Post Office officials at Madras generally left the transmission of such letters to "the black Clerks...the most ignorant and careless of mortals", so that a letter entrusted to "the indolent cowardice of an Indian Tappal-bearer" \(^2\) would "sometimes amuse itself by travelling a few thousand miles and visiting the remotest stations of the Dekkan and Hindustan" \(^3\) without covering the same ground twice. It was thus "quite a symptom of fatuity" for anyone to take umbrage at Leyden's failure to answer a letter which might take half a year to reach him, if it ever did; \(^4\) and indeed none of the many letters which Leyden despatched from the Carnatic, Mysore and Malabar procured him any reply from Scotland, so that he was not only disappointed, \(^5\) but rendered almost afraid to inquire for any of his friends, lest they should prove to be "dead, damned and straughted". \(^5\) Correspondence with his acquaintances in India was less fraught with hazard, although the Poligars still occasionally disrupted communications between Mysore and Madras, where Leyden had in any case comparatively few correspondents; \(^6\) but it tended to be one-sided, since by the summer of 1805 Leyden claimed to have heard from none of his "quondam ship-companions" in Bengal excepting Mrs Robert Smith, \(^7\) who had soon appointed Harry Newnham as her deputy in the correspondence. \(^4\) Leyden had certainly his own epistolary sins of omission, since, having been prevented by "reiterated attacks of indisposition" from sending Mrs Smith's husband several specimens of translation to prove himself "not exactly the idle mischievous personage" Smith seemed to take him for, he had delayed writing at all until he feared Smith would be "very little satisfied with the correctness" of his correspondence. \(^8\) All in all, however, he had written a great many letters for one whose time in India had been "pretty equally divided between the jungles and a sick-bed". \(^8\) And

1. Leyden to his father, Nov. 20, 1805.
2. Leyden to Thomas Brown, Nov. 5, 1805.
4. Leyden to Mrs Robert Smith, June 12, 1805. (B.M. Add. MS. 26, 561.)
7. Rather an exaggeration, as Leyden told William Bird, Dec. 1, 1804: "I have to thank you for a very angry letter of Jany 5, 1804, which I have received a very few days ago..."
8. Leyden to John Malcolm, April 12, 1805.
now, being "a solitary man" living chiefly "in the wilderness by the well springs and the sides of the brooks" in a manner to which his old companions, "rioting in the conviviality and companionship of a college life" in Bengal, were as yet complete strangers, Leyden, feeling that their silence looked "confoundedly like a general desertion" and that right lay entirely on his side, resolved that if his acquaintance had thus pretended to cut him, they would "cut beyond the point", since he would write to none of them save Newnham, whom Ricketts believed never to have received Leyden's last letter with its account of his "various marvellous adventures" on his tour to the Seven Pagodas.  

This being the state of his correspondence, it gave Leyden his most complete and agreeable surprise since his arrival in India to receive, exactly a month after leaving Seringapatam, the first letter to reach him from Europe, save for a few sent on at Portsmouth. It found him at Nanjangud, fifteen miles up the Bhavani river from its confluence with the Cauvery on the border of Coimbatore, where Leyden was sitting in his tent "puzzled to death by one of the most difficult passages" ever encountered by "a poor novice in Indian literature" in the Sanskrit "Versified Vocabulary entitled Amȧ̃rokoṣa" which he was committing to memory; and after a moment's misgiving and uncertainty on recognizing the handwriting of "his identical old friend William Erskine for ever", he opened it to learn with delight that Erskine had arrived in Bombay at the end of May, 1804, as secretary to Sir James Mackintosh, who had then taken office there as Recorder. Having reconciled himself to seeing nothing of his old friends until he might meet them, if at all, as "scarcely recognizable relics" of their former selves after a "grey haired score of years", Leyden had thought of himself as "more than half a dead man to all intents and purposes" before even landing on Indian ground, his depression being increased by learning from a "straggling newspaper" reporting events already a year old that his own acquaintances and the great names of literature and science seemed to be "dropping off one by one like the lingering leaves of autumn"; and his pleasure in finding "these lubberly twenty years" abridged at least in part by the prospect of seeing Erskine comparatively soon was accordingly so keen that he felt obliged to apologise for appearing to "depart a little from the old man or even to trench somewhat

1 Leyden to Mrs Robert Smith, June 12, 1805.  
2 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 15, 1804.  
3 Leyden's spelling is 'Capani'.  
4 The Amȧ̃rokoṣa of Amȧ̃ra-śīmha, dating from the 6th century and composed in verse, like all Sanskrit dictionaries. Henry Colebrooki edited it in 1808.  
5 Mackintosh reached Bombay on Saturday, May 26, 1804, & was sworn in as Recorder on May 28.  
6 They met for a short time in the summer of 1809.
on enthusiasm or Lundyism\(^1\)

1

by explaining that life amid woods and wilds greatly sharpened the "keenness of the feelings of him that has once been a civilized man".\(^2\)

2

Having for some time lived "a good deal like Noah's raven (dove I believe)\(^3\)" unable to find any rest for

3

the sole of my foot, any tarrying city or place of abode" as "one of those that dwell in tents by the side of the brook, and eat quails in the great wilderness.\(^4\)

4

For quails read wild-ducks!", Leyden had become "nearly tired of 'chewing the cud of sweet & bitter reflection' having had enough of time for that, God knows, & having also been frequently much in the same situation as St Paul who contended with beasts for men at Ephesus"; and despite his recollection of his

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maxim "N'importe! let us make the best of it and Merrily merrily

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sing fala!", there had been "no great deal of music in this self-

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same fala!" before Erskine's letter reached him.\(^2\) Nor did it come

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singly; for while Leyden was still composing his reply, the arrival

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of a second letter from Erskine, dated August 21,\(^7\) inspired him to

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add another sheet, completed at the British Residency at Mysore on September 21, with some doubts of Erskine's ability "to hold out so far" in reading it.\(^2\) Erskine probably held out without difficulty, however, since Leyden first of all, in his continuation, acknowledged

11

Erskine's account of their Scottish friends, rejoicing at the

12

success of Francis Horner and Francis Jeffrey\(^8\), regretting Thomas

13

Brown's indisposition, expressing little interest in Brougham, and asking for Dr Anderson and "the active mind" of James Reddie, and then gave in return a caustic report on an old acquaintance, Alexander Hamilton Kelso, who, having come to India in 1800, was by now "a great deal vainer and more important than ever", being "sub-collector of the Burahmal & Balaghaut"\(^9\), and having "actually commenced author at Calcutta & made his debut with the Papoosh Name

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...a very humble attempt at a dissertation on the propriety of

15

allowing Moor men'to enter the houses of whites with their slippers

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on their feet", and in no way reminiscent of "the Shah name or the

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Secunder Name, or anything of the kind".\(^10\)

18

"With some persons, besides himself, he actually passes for a

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man of ability & has been so bespattered & beplastered with praise by that clumsy Hottentot of literature Gilchrist\(^11\) that

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21

\(^2\) Cf. Genesis, viii, vi, 6-12.

22

\(^3\) As You Like It, IV, III: 'Chewing the food of sweet & bitter fancy'.

23

\(^4\) Cf. I Corinthians, xv, 32.

24

\(^5\) Erskine's first letter had been written on January 15, 1804.

25

\(^6\) Horner, after being called to the Scottish Bar in 1806, had gone to London in 1802. The success of the Edinburgh Review since its beginning in October, 1802, had brought Jeffrey fame.

26

\(^7\) Kelso (who later changed his name to Hamilton) became Subordinate Collector of Coimbatore District in June, 1805, & went home in 1811.

27

\(^8\) Cf. Borthwick Gilchrist.

28

\(^9\) That clumsy Hottentot of literature.
he has become a most sovereign prig & coxcomb, & fancies the slender twig of his abilities a spear like a weaver's beam. He has learned to talk Hindostani fluently, though without understanding the finesse or the depths of the language, & emboldened by this, he ventured in a large company a few weeks after my arrival to assail me as an orientalist, but I presently convinced him that I could see as far blindfold as he could with his eyes open."

And to convince Erskine also that he had not been "very indolent" in his oriental studies, Leyden gave a detailed account both of his own literary labours and of the character, distribution and relationships of the dialects of South India, demonstrating his peculiar facility, not only in acquiring languages but also in "tracing their affinity and connection with one another". 2

Even as his acquaintance with modern European languages had been the product of reading, and consequently "more extensive than accurate", 3 so Leyden had now been able to progress farther in reading than in speaking Hindostani, Tamil (in which, as in Sanskrit, he had found difficulty in obtaining instruction), Marathi, and Arabic. 1 In the last, studied only in leisure moments, he had attended chiefly to pronunciation and was eager to know whether "any Arab of literature is cometable in these parts"; and in Sanskrit, having "mastered the grammatical part" and read a little, he was "reckoned an adept in pronunciation...among country gentle-

1 Persian manuscripts were very expensive, even a poor Gulistan or Bustan costing six pagodas; but besides being able to read the most difficult Persian authors with the aid of a dictionary, and to "relish the beauties" of their classics, Leyden could speak the language "nearly as fluently as English", having soon contrived once the pronunciation was acquired, to make himself intelligible to the Persian with no knowledge of English whom he had hired to instruct him at Madras 5: so that, although he had not yet applied assiduously to the study of Persian hands, he perceived that with further progress in the language, that would be an easy matter. 1

Having methodized the Marathi language in the course of his reading, constructing a set of grammatical flections 6 and a glossary of some five thousand vocables, which might form the rudiments of a grammar and dictionary, Leyden had begun the same process for Kanarese and Telugu, the grammatical part for the former being

1 Leyden to Erskine, Sept.15,1804. Kelso may have contributed to Leyden's dislike of Madras society. Cf. p. 2
2 John Malcolm in the Bombay Courier, loc.cit.
3 Leyden to A.F.Tytler, June 12,1801.
4 Approximately £2.10.0.
5 Contrast Dr Wm Dick's story (to Scott, Aug.23,1819) of Sir Wm Jones's Persian speech being mistaken for English by the "Learned Native Gentlemen" to whom it was addressed.
6 These filled 88 4to pages, "without a single philosophical observ...ation" by November 27,1804. (Leyden to Erskine, Nov.27,1804.)
almost completed, although work on the latter (at once "the sweetest & most melodious of all the popular dialects" in intonation and the most irregular in structure) was less advanced,"I believe because I have had more assistance".\(^1\) Being thus ready to fling a number of grammars and dictionaries at Erskine's head, Leyden did not hesitate to request his friend to procure for him "a fair alphabet" of Gujarati, "as well as of the Kunda its sacred character, and if possible too the Tulwa\(^2\); and in conclusion, desiring to pass through the ordeal of Erskine's "critical vine-press" even with red garments, and confessing that he had "so completely forgot ten his own Scenes of Infancy as to recollect only a line here and there, he admitted that if "it could be sent by Tappaul" he could almost solicit a sight of that also.\(^1\)

Despite his fits of depression and the mirthlessness of his forced 'fala', Leyden was nevertheless able to assure Erskine that he lived "as happy as the day is long at present" and could declare "with a safe conscience on the best authority":

"...I am reckoned one of the most hearty, joyous and riotous fellows in the whole Presidency not excepting the kingdom of Mysore, and...my genius for mischief is improved astonishingly\(^4\). And ten days later, being again at Nanjagud (a village which provided such varied material for his notebooks as a display of "the ceremony of Naga pooja or snake worship performed by women",\(^3\) and the medical case of "a man with his skin quite yellow and pimpled like the small pox, yet little annoyed by pains of the bones"\(^3\), Leyden found his spirits fully equal to the composition of an arch and lively reply to "Sarah alias Cousin", nee Sowle, who had recently demonstrated her possession of "a little" good sense as well as spirit" (which Leyden, even in his least complimentary moods, had always allowed her) by marrying a Scotsman named Walter Grant, whose attention, Leyden was glad to think, would now be taken up by his wife to the exclusion of "tumbling over battlements and riding over rivers on the top of palankeens with other freaks of a like laudable nature".\(^4\) Sarah's "elegant epistle" of July 25 on this topic had reached Leyden by a circuitous route only on August 25, "quite worn to tatters", particularly on the page enjoining Leyden to write immediately, which he had taken "nearly three weeks to decipher".\(^5\) Nor had its tidings surprised him in the least, since he had by then read a newspaper report of the ceremony, and had in

\(^{1}\) Leyden to Erskine, Sept.15,1804.
\(^{2}\) Ibid. Tulwa is presumably Tulu. - Leyden assumed that Erskine would "attack Sanscrit" through Gujarati.
\(^{3}\) Leyden, Notes in B.M.Add.VS.26,580, ff.28 & 39.
\(^{4}\) Leyden to Sarah (Grant), Sept.25,1804.
\(^{5}\) Leyden facetiously begged Sarah to choose a "less brittle paper in future, to avoid such shocking accidents".
any case, being sufficiently skilled in physiognomy, prophesied
two months beforehand, despite the lady's protestations that she
had "no Celadon, poor Dear!"; that consummation whereby her "sweet
soul (Sowle, various reading) took unto itself a body". Leyden
accordingly enclosed a sandal-fan to hide Sarah's blushing, with
another for her sister Margaret, who might need it, "no such art-
icle of dress as 'discretion's frigid veil'" being worn at Madras,
and who was herself to marry Robert Orme before the end of the year
so that Leyden had the satisfaction of knowing that both girls had
made "most excellent marriages to two very worthy friends" of his
own. Of the virtues of his gift he had a fanciful account to give.

"The most learned Bramins of my acquaintance maintain on good
grounds that its odour is peculiarly acceptable to the immor-
tual Gods and in a mystical sense denotes that a woman shall
live in the odour of sanctity and a good name; and when proper-
ly consecrated as in the present instance they farther
allege [sic] that it obviates whatever is sinful in a woman's
looking or crying, whatever is wicked in her speaking or
laughing, and then add that it disannuls the ill marks on her
hair, on her teeth, and in the dark intervals between them. -
Now as I know you are somewhat given to show your teeth, even
when you cannot bite, I have caused a Bramin of great skill to
perform poojah over these fans in order that you may find them
endowed with all the requisite virtues and may prosper as a
housewife in this land which our fathers never saw." 1

And he had cryptic remarks to make on the "great and manifold
injuries" sustained by Sarah for his sake "in the pinching busi-
ness" in consideration of which he would always be ready to lend her "an
helping hand at a pinch"; and also on the most important of the
many reasons for which he rejoiced that she had "matronized"herself

"...I am just upon the eve of falling mortally in love, and of
course I shall be greatly distressed for want of a Confidence.
Now as you must have a good deal of experience in these matters
in comparison of me, I shall have great need of your advice
how to regulate my approaches, in which a good deal of caution
is necessary... as the lady is not only of the transparent
breed, but a Malay of a tolerably revengeful and irritable dis-
position as well as possessed of a very masculine & muscular
habit of body - by the same token, that having a few days ago
pressed her hand a little too warmly she made no bones but
pitched me head foremost into a Tank which in the ardour of my
addresses I had not observed. But if ever I run any risk of
exciting her indignation again it shall be where there is
neither tank ditch or pond within a 1,000 ells of me, You will
probably ask what attractions so striking a fair possesses -
Why ma'am an island a kingdom & I find I am as fond of being
an island-King as ever poor Sancho Panza was." 2

1 Leyden to Sarah [Grant], Sept. 25, 1804.
2 Mrs Graham, op. cit., p. 129 noted that although Madras society
was externally more ele-
tinated than that of Bombay, it was no more
refined, being exposed to exactly the same influences.

3 Leyden to Wm Bird, Dec. 1, 1804.
4 Leyden further hoped that anyone attempting to pinch Sarah's
ears or otherwise maltreat her might find that they had "got a
wrong sow by the lug".

5 Of The Adventures of Don Quixote; ch. IV et passim.
Leyden had soon a much more real and grievous source of discomfort than this pretended courtship of the Rani of Cannanore, with whom, after all, he was "not sufficiently well acquainted... to be able to spell correctly her names, titles and attributes", being indeed more interested in "her empire of Malaya dwipa" or the Laccadive Islands. For although he was confident in mid-September that his constitution, despite its former trials, was now as strong as ever, having not yet been assailed by the dreaded "Jungle or rather Hill fever" curable only by calomel, he had a very different tale to tell two months later. Moving rapidly over difficult terrain in a trying climate, constantly exposed to "the sun, damps and dews from the jungles, and putrid exhalations of marshes", noting every aspect of the countryside and its life, and busied both with the disgusting detail of a field hospital and with the unremitting study of one language after another in most difficult conditions, Leyden underwent severe fatigue of mind and body, its effect being aggravated, as in many other instances, by his own obstinacy, until at last, having been obliged to leave the Survey on November 15, he reached Seringapatam several days later "as nearly as possible in the agonies of death" and indeed more dead than alive, from the combined onslaught of "Hepatitis, Splenitis, bloody flux and the Devil knows what".

Towards the end of October, having been sent, while convalescing from a slight attack of dysentery, on a journey of some 180 miles to attend a Survey officer suffering from jungle fever in the wild country around Huliyar, Leyden had encountered en route "some little adventures...very little inferior to those of the witch of Endor or any witch of them all that ever crossed the sea in an egg shell or a sieve"; for, after travelling for two days as fast as horse and men could bear him, he arrived about one in the morning on the bank of a large, rapid river, roaring terribly as it rushed in spate through a forest. A palankeen-boy who could swim was soon out of his depth; and Leyden, being a non-swimmer, was obliged to have recourse to a near-by village, recently notorious as a nest of robbers, there arouse some of the inhabitants, "who were nearly as much afraid as Christie's Will at the visit of a Sirdar", and then, after "a great deal of discussion in Canara and Hindustani", to be ferried across the stream by three of the villagers.

"I got into a large brass kettle with three ears and sat down in the bottom of it balancing myself with great accuracy; each.

1 Leyden to Capt. A. Sturt, Jan. 8, 1805. (B. M. Add. MS. 26, 561.)
2 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 15, 1804
3 Leyden to Ballantyne, Oct. 24, 1805.
4 Leyden to Erskine, Nov. 27, 1804.
5 Leyden to Scott, Nov. 20, 1805.
of the swimmers then laid hold of one of the ears and then we swam round and round in a series of circles till we reached the opposite bank. Had it been light I should have been quite giddy. Now did you ever hear a more apocryphal story in your life — and yet it is merely fact."

On his way back from this arduous journey, in which, having crossed the river, he was dogged for almost three miles through still wilder jungle by a monstrous tiger "as large as an ass", Leyden was strongly advised at Seringapatam by his trusted friend and super-intending surgeon, Alexander Anderson, a mild and amiable man of great professional experience and observation, to submit to a course of treatment by mercury, his illness, which had troubled him since July, 1804, being evidently connected with the liver. Feeling "tolerably hearty", however, despite his undeniable ill-health and recollecting that "Mackenzie's detachment was rather sickly and the country on the boundaries of Coimbatore and Wynaad extremely wild, savage and jungly", Leyden rejected this suggestion, despite his respect for Anderson's skill and "temperate judgment", and determined to try a palliative course instead, in the hope (which he failed to realize by only a few days) of holding out by his natural perseverance until the survey of Mysore's southern border should be completed.

Rejoining Mackenzie accordingly, he became...

...rather better and as the country was very interesting in regard to Natural History Mineralogy, &c. rambled through woods & wilds & ascended mountains till at last on going down the Guzzulhatty pass into Coimbatore we were overtaken by rains and as a tent pitched on the wet ground does not accord well for the most part with a course of Mercury, I was seized with violent spasms of the Intestines, tenesmus &c, which defied all my skill in that situation; and as it is not pleasant to be both physician and patient, though one were quite an Esculapius, because when things do not go on to one's heart's content one has nobody to blame but one's self I was forced to make a very precipitate retreat.

...in the midst of the wildest jungles on the confines of the Wynaad", Leyden had some fifty miles to travel with the utmost despatch to Seringapatam, which he reached "in a way one's greatest enemy could wish one to be in", swearing his prayers in a terrible style, since the motion of a palankeen was by no means "very commodious for a man full of spasms".

Dr Anderson, under whose care Leyden was to remain throughout his illness, immediately commenced the mercury course prescribed a month before: and by the end of November Leyden was confident that

1 Leyden to Scott, Nov. 20, 1805. (MS. 939. N.L.S.) He added: "But pray my Dear Mrs Scott lay aside that pretty unbelieving face of yours"
2 Leyden to Mrs West, May 10, 1805. (B. M. Add. MS. 26, 561.)
3 Dr Alex. Anderson, Medical Certificate, April 1, 1805.
4 Leyden to Lt. H. Kater, Dec. 30, 1804. (B. M. Add. MS. 26, 561.)
5 Leyden to Harris, Nov. 27, 1804. — C. 10 days after he reached Seringa Patam.
he had weathered the storm and would be as fit for mischief as ever in two or three weeks,¹ although he could not at present join in the fun being produced at Seringapatam by Col. Gordon and a considerable party from Bombay, who were "kicking up a most terrible row" and making life quite gay with such importations as "the old game of Blind-man's buff", which the ladies unanimously voted captivating and infinitely superior to dancing.² Although when in comparatively good health Leyden had been completely happy "rambling in the haunts of tigers, leopards, bears and serpents of thirty or forty feet long", which would swallow a buffalo merely "by way of demonstrating their appetite",³ and of smaller but more dangerous snakes whose bite was fatal,⁴ he was now glad enough to be relieved for a time from the fatiguing and dangerous service of the Survey; for, being confined to a snug, warm room, instead of living in a tent on "wet exhaling ground" and constantly "clambering up rocks, precipices and droogs,"⁵ he found with relief that his spasms had almost left him. His progress was severely hindered, however, by the fact that he proved too volatile and of "too subtle and refined a nature and essence" for mercury to produce on him its usual effects, since, instead of causing the desired salivation (a process "equivalent to Salvation" in Leyden's case),⁶ it merely increased the dysentery which by the start of December had lasted for ten weeks.⁷ Nevertheless, there remained in the patient's favour "a good stout heart";⁸ and before the middle of the month, having been "relieved somewhat by blistering" from the agonies of a critically acute attack of the right superior lobe of the liver, which had kept him for several days on his back, unable to raise his head from the pillow without fainting, Leyden "again returned to mercurial frictions with greater assiduity than ever", but still without accomplishing any salivation, although his mouth and gums became ulcerated, his breath fetid, his aspect cadaverous, and all his feelings "only to be compared to those of a living soul inhabiting a noisome corpse [sic] half rotten in its grave".⁹ Leyden was thus left to wonder at the composition of his greatly wasted body, which yielded no alloy when "refined like pure gold in the furnace" by "the universal solvent Mercury"; and, finding himself in the undesirable position of

¹ Leyden to Erskine, Nov. 27, 1804. ¹a Adjutant General, Bombay.
² Ibid.; but Leyden could as yet offer no strictures on the ladies.
³ Cf. p. 193 supra, re Africa; & also Scenes of Infancy, pt. i. 11.469-70.
⁴ Leyden to Ballantyne, Oct. 24, 1805.—Leyden has sundry notes on Indian serpents, e.g. MS. 26, 580, f. 58 (a pencil drawing of a snake) & f. 76. (The Small Green Poisonous Serpent of Cochin & Malabar).
⁵ Leyden to his father, Nov. 20, 1805.
⁶ Leyden to Harris, Dec. 3, 1804.
⁷ Leyden to Bird, Dec. 1, 1804.
⁸ Leyden to Linley, Dec. 12, 1804. (B. M. Add. MS. 26, 561.)
supercargo to an indispossession of diseases, with which he was likely to founder before ever reaching the Cape, and with which he doubted indeed whether "the most skilful Captain in the Admiral's fleet could reach any port but that of Styx", he felt it necessary to warn his correspondents to write quickly, since, standing "inter sacrum et saxum...between the Devil and the deep sea" and considering his recovery as very dubious, he could not answer for his life beyond the return of post. He confessed also, on his usual principle of admitting errors frankly instead of taking up time and space with apologies, that, lacking the faculty of conversing with as much ease at two hundred miles' distance as at two feet, and having moreover "little humour for writing or anything", he had a considerable load on his conscience and deserved "a hearty scolding for remissness of correspondence". So to regain his "peace of mind and wonted inflexible serenity of temper" - for he sought to be "Courageous still and self-possess" in the face of all misfortune - Leyden declared himself willing to submit quietly to any penance which the energy of his friends' wrath might dictate, short of being "despatched to the land of forgetfulness" wherein William Linley for one seemed vastly inclined to provide him "a snug birth by way of inheritance": a generous offer, as some of his correspondents themselves were little troubled by epistolary cacoethes scribendi, while Leyden, despite his confession, and although fatigued by every exertion and generally unable to hold a pen, was still doggedly writing as many letters as possible "in conformity to the express prohibitions of the physicians".

Also in defiance of these prohibitions and of the entreaties of his friends, Leyden demonstrated that his spirits were "still proof" by refusing steadfastly to relax in his application to study, for which conditions at Seringapatam, although not ideal, were vastly superior, especially in facilities for the acquisition of Sanskrit, to his situation with the Survey, which had been "nearly as unfavourable for study as a Mahratta campaign". Then, indeed, being involved in a continued and exhausting series of

1 Leyden to Bird, Dec. 1, 1804. 2 Leyden to Harris, Dec. 3, 1804. Leyden admitted to his father Nov. 20, 1805, that this "seasoning fever" was severe, as he had been very long in taking it.

3 A frequent observation with Leyden, who flattered himself that he never pretended to defend his faults (to Harris, Dec. 3, 1804), could see little use in "such flourishes" as apologies.

4 Leyden to Erskine, Nov. 27, 1804. 5 Leyden to Linley, Nov. 29, 1804. 6 Verses by Leyden in MS. 28, 585, f. 7v, inveighing against the folly of "The person who can be perplexed" by any occurrence.

7 Leyden wished in return: "Long may you live to enjoy it yourself!" Malcolm in the Bombay Courier, loc. cit.

8 Leyden to Kater, Dec. 30, 1804. 9 Leyden to Richardson, [1806].
marches, and placed in an unpleasant dilemma by the hostile attitude of Mysore's native government and the tension and subtle manoeuvres between the local teachers and his own Brahman, Leyden, finding the effort of linguistic study becoming "insufferably teasing", would almost have given it up had he not viewed it as the sole satisfactory basis for any Indian researches; and now, being temporarily driven "almost off the field of literature" by this cruel and "deadly provoking" interruption of illness, he declared that he would "certainly perish of downright chagrin" were not dying quite contrary to his principles.

Dr Anderson, who had "scarcely ever seen a more obstinate complication of formidable diseases" than in Leyden's case, and who was accordingly "keeping a sharp look out for the formation of abscesses in the liver", warned Leyden bluntly that he would indeed die if he did not give up his studies and remain quiet; and for a time the severity of Leyden's illness left him no choice.

"Day after day and night after night have I lain on my back without a single idea in my mind but how to husband my breath so as to exist with the least possible agony; fever occupying my nights and a kind of ghastly stupefying days. Unable to speak to curse my bitch of a star, the unvaried uniformity of oppressive pain was only interrupted by cold shiverings occasionally along the spine indicating the formation of abscesses in the liver. On one of these enchanting nights I well recollect that suspecting my senses would desert me before morning I scrawled with a pencil a direction to Dr Anderson, in that case not to hesitate in performing any operation he might judge proper, but fortunately they did not leave me in the lurch."

Despite his own professed indifference on the subject and Anderson's evident fear that he was "already on the great high road", Leyden still did not think the game "quite up yet"; and, having resolved to be "the first oriental scholar of the age, or perish beneath the vertical Sun of India", he declined to recede "an inch from this determination, though the Devil should come". So, ignoring Anderson's warning, and justifying his own boast, "I never flinch", he proceeded as soon as possible to work with unconquerable ardour for over ten hours a day, propping himself up with pillows when unable to sit upright, and declaring stubbornly: "I cannot be idle; and whether I die or live the wheel must go round to the last."

1 Leyden to Richardson, [1806]. Cf. p. sup.
2 Leyden to Harris, Dec. 3, 1804.
3 Leyden to Erskine, July 4, 1805. (MS. 971, N.L.S.)
4 Leyden to Linley, Dec. 12, 1806.
5 Malcolm, in the Bombay Courier loc. cit.
6 Leyden to Linley, Jan. 2, 1805. (H. M. Add. MS. 26, 561.)
7 Ibid. Cf. Leyden to Mark Wilks, Sept. 8, 1805; ...if ever I hoist heraldic colours... my motto shall be 'Never flinch'. 
amusement, the wheel went round to such purpose that Leyden believed himself to have advanced faster in learning Indian languages than anyone else, not excluding Sir William Jones, in a similar length of time: a claim later upheld by Dr William Dick, who, being acquainted with both men, declared that Leyden, who was "at times very idle", as Jones never was, was "the greatest of the two" and had "a faculty of acquiring Languages that Sir William had no pretensions to". In progressing thus quickly, Leyden followed a plan of study which enabled him to compile grammars and dictionaries in a surprisingly short time. Having constructed "a series of grammatical forms" of the necessary parts of a language, as opposed to the "accidental or ornamental", he formed a vocabulary of 1,000 to 1,500 essential words, distinguishing between foreign and native ones so as to gain a fair idea of whether the language would prove original or derivative, and then proceeded immediately to speak the language in question, reading the most curious book he could find in it, and opening also an alphabetical glossary in which all words encountered in reading or converse were "regularly engrossed"; a task performed by one of Leyden's "Mechanical Aids", a very ignorant native whom he had taught in a few hours to write down each word as it occurred on a long slip of paper, afterwards divided into as many pieces as there were words, and pasted in alphabetical order, under different heads of verbs, nouns &c into a blank book. He could thus soon say with justice, "I flatter myself I am pretty well versed in the science of universal grammar"; and at the same time, regarding linguistic studies always as a means to the end of acquiring further knowledge, he carried on a rough commentary in an indexed notebook on the text being currently studied, noting indigestibly all "new forms of flections, illustrations of grammatical principles, traits of manners, dates, names of kings and countries".

Neither ill-health nor preoccupation with philology, however, had diminished Leyden's interest in poetry, whether written by himself or others. Although residence in India had not apparently effected that revolution in his taste which Leyden had expected, for better or worse, it provided such fresh and varied subjects for his ready pen as the Song of a Telinga Dancing Girl. Addressed to an European Gentleman, in the Company of some European Ladies, in 1803, and expressive of love and despair, a vituperative Indian

1. Leyden to Lord William Bentinck, June 17, 1805.
2. Dr Wm Dick to Scott, Aug. 23, 1819. (MS. 3390, N.L.S.)
3. Leyden to Richardson, [1806].
Eclogue of outspoken dialogue between Tamil and Telugu co-wives; the brilliant victory of Assaye, celebrated in spirited stanzas metrically rather reminiscent of Thomas Campbell's Battle of the Baltic:

Shout, Britons, for the battle of Assaye! — —
For that was a day
When we stood in our array,
Like the lion's might at bay,
And our battle-word was 'Conquer or die'...

But, when we first encounter'd man to man,
Such odds came never on,
Against Greece or Macedon,
When they shook the Persian throne
And the old barbaric pomp of Isphahan...

Hail WELLESLEY! who led'st the martial fray!—
Amid the locust swarm,
Dark fate was in thine arm;
And his shadow shall alarm
The Mahratta when he hears thy name for aye;

and extremely energetic descriptions from the Sanskrit of the tremendous combats, waged with every kind of weapon from the trident to the mace, of the goddess Durga, leading to the deaths of her enemies Mahishasura, the buffalo-demon chief of the Asuras, and his generals Chikshara and Chamara, in which clouds of arrows darkened the air "As on tall Meru's spiry peak descends the pattering rain", and the demon, becoming successively a lion, an armed champion, an elephant and again a buffalo, tossed the mountains like hail from his horns and lashed the sea with his dragon-tail, until trampled under foot and beheaded by the wrathful goddess. Some of Leyden's many translations were facile and notable for quantity rather than quality, as were the twenty gazels from Hafiz later published in a Calcutta newspaper under the name of Sadiq, "an ingenious and juvenile Correspondent", which in their trite and unvarying praise of love and wine merited John Malcolm's description of generally "careless and not worth preserving" more than the editorial commendation of showing "great taste and spirit". Sometimes, however, Leyden proved sufficiently successful, as in the brief lament on the Death of Tippoo Sultan From the Hindustani:

Dust, dust on every dastard head,
That meanly shrunk from combat red,
When sunk amid the heaps of dead,
With all our hopes, the Sultan!

1 B.M.Add.MS.26,556 & N.L.S.MS.3383; from the Tamil and Telugu reputedly of Vasudeva. (Leyden, Note in MS.26,557,f.26v.)
2 Seshadri, op.cit., p.23, found a Miltonic touch in this stanza.
3 The Battle of Assaye,11.1-5,16-20,26-30. Arthur Symons,op.cit.,p.172, ranks this poem as technically fine and on a level with all but the finest of Thomas Campbell's battle-songs.
4 Ud'hata was "mashed" beneath the goddess's "pounding mace".
5 Alias Parvati, the wife of Siva.
6 From "the Sanscrit of the poem Chandi", (MS.26,556,ff.3-5.)
7 Malcolm, Note on the series in MS.26,560,f.22.
and sometimes he was altogether so, as in the much longer and more elaborate Dirge of Tippoo Sultan. From the Canara:

How quickly fled our Sultan's state!
How soon his pomp has pass'd away!
How swiftly sped Seringa's fate
From wealth and power to dire decay!

His hosts of war a countless throng,
His Franks, impatient for the fray,
His horse, that proudly pranc'd along,
All in a moment pass'd away...

His elephants of hideous cry,
His steeds that paw'd the battling-ground,
His golden stores that wont to lie,
In years of peace, in cells profound...

Before our Prince of deathless fame
The silver trumpet's thrilling sound,
Applauding heralds loud acclaim,
And deep-ton'd nobuts shook the ground...

The noon-tide came with baleful light,
The Sultan's corpse in silence lay:
His kin, dom, like a dream of night,
In silence vanish'd quite away.

The extraordinary engagement off Pulo Aor on February 14, 1804, in which a merchant fleet of East Indiamen and country ships, homeward bound under Capt. Nathaniel Dance, put to flight and pursued for two hours the Comte de Linois's squadron of warships, was commemorated by Leyden with lively diffuseness in The Adventures of Linois set to the tune of St George and the Dragon, and introducing such varied personages as Napoleon, King Arthur and his knights, Jael and Sisera, Jason and Ragnar Lodbrok,3 and in sending this to William Erskine at the end of November, 1804, he accompanied it with a more "serious" piece, a "murd'rous ode" On Bonaparte's projected Invasion of Britain4 which Erskine inserted in the Bombay Courier for January 12,1805, without giving its author a chance to correct it: an action which Leyden, who thought the ode "terribly crude" 5 and unlikely to please by harmony of numbers or amenity of style if its "stubbornness" of sentiment did not interest,4 regretted chiefly because his own concluding couplet had been replaced by three "deep-mouthed lines", reputedly by John Malcolm,6 which Leyden did not admire and which lessened that "immediate reference of every feeling excited, to a person in India", which he had desired.

1 John Malcolm rated this as a "very remarkable ode", far superior to that from the Hindustani. (Note in MS. 26, 556.) The Edin. Annual Reg. for 1818 (Vol. XI, pt. 2, pp. 327-31) printed this Dirge, with such variants from the 1819 ed. text as 'Colusaye' for 'lotus-oys' (1119). 2 So spelt in MS. 3383 copy. MS. 971 has 'Le Nois'. 3 Cf. p. sup. for Leyden's report of this action to his father. 4 Leyden to Erskine, Nov. 27, 1804, when he sent these two odes, both composed earlier & neither "correct", "in lieu of better". 5 Leyden to Erskine, May 28, 1805. 6 Note (by Erskine) to this ode in MS. 3383, ff. 25-6. Malcolm noted in MS. 26, 556, that he would not recommend its publication.
particularly to retain at the end, having striven to maintain it throughout:

We too shall tell you deeds of might
Assaya, and Argama's fight
The crimson tinge of Jumna's waves
And rough Cassowly ridged with graves
Deeds of the old heroic sort
Like Cressy's field and Agincourt...

In vain the Nair and Polygar
From tyger-haunts provokes sic the war
And calls his Gods with bigot-zeal
To launch the moon-like disk of steel
When serried bayonets advance
Reverse each keen pretended lance
Mean dastards! shall the puny reptile vaunt
Before the murder-footed elephant?

In vain the Mahratta bulwarks frown
On every rock-ribbed mountain's crown
While ghastly lights of livid blue
Fling o'er their walls a funeral hue,
In vain thro' night the rockets fly
Like stars shot from a falling sky
Doomed on their prostrate battlements to see
The victor-flags of Lake and Wellesley.

Keeping careful transcripts of all his poems, with the intent of publishing a volume of them along with a new edition of Scenes of Infancy, Leyden had a stock both of his latest effusions and of such older pieces as the Ode to the Evening Star and the Epistle...from a Dancing Bear, which were frequently enclosed with his letters. And with them went permission to his correspondents "to cut and slash and hew and hack" critically as they would; for Leyden, preferring the frying-pan of private criticism to the fire of public strictures, considered it "much safer as well as more pleasant to be crucified a little in private by a friend than to be gibbeted to immortality" by a host of foes", which, as an author, he reckoned all general readers to be. He usually accepted such criticism even when he could not agree with it, as when he altered his "Canara Dirge" in two places on Malcolm's suggestion; although, had the poem not been still too new for him to view it dispassionately, Leyden would have protested strongly against both "innovations" even had Malcolm demonstrated their force by marching "a battalion of seapoys left and right" before his very nose.
and he would indeed have resented any lack of critical frankness in a friend as "a flagrant breach of trust & confidence", his own principle being to tell his mind roundly on such subjects to any-one for whom he had any value, granting his victim full liberty to quarrel with his strictures but not with himself, and reserving flattery "entirely for women and children".¹ He certainly put these precepts into practice in dealing with William Linley's verses on Superstition² and Oppression, to which he devoted the best part of three letters, once completely exhausting himself in this "critical exertion",³ and displaying throughout both a sound feeling for words and a detailed knowledge of Hinduism. Superstition, describing Brahmical worship and arguing that, although mistaken, it might be acceptable to God for its zeal and sincerity, Leyden liked very much and was disposed to treat leniently, despite its unintelligible last paragraph, of which he could not comprehend a word; from the very unexpected and confusing transition of subject from priest to pariah, which destroyed the poem's "very thread and unity";³ but although he approved of several of the emendations made by Linley on the advice of Francis Ellis, Leyden could not but protest against many of the principles, such as that requiring the substitution, in the phrase 'Brama's priests', of Vishnu or Siva for Brahma, a "name of infinitely greater notoriety" in any European language⁵

"The objection is totally inapplicable to you which bears hard on a passage near the close of the first Canto of the Pleasures of Hope. Speaking of the tenth Avatar, a word by the bye which he has accented wrong as he calls it avatar, Campbell adds 'He comes! dread Brama shakes the sunless sky'- Now this is a gross violation of mythology as all the ten Avatars are incarnations of Vishnu. If however you think any ambiguity might arise from... the phrase 'Brama's priests' what should prevent you from substituting 'Brama's sons' a phrase not liable to the same objection and... certainly vastly preferable to either Siva's or Vishnu's priests."⁴

Leyden was sufficiently pleased with such phrases as 'wild devotion' the shouts of the vulgar Indians, often joined in by the Brahmans, being indeed expressive of "a devilish noisy sort of devotion",⁶ and 'hallowed fires', the illumination of lamps forming an essential part of the religious ceremony and in no way resembling "the lighting up of an English Cathedral, where nothing is to be considered but the convenience of the congregation";⁷ but he regarded

¹ Leyden to Linley, Jan. 2, 1805.
² By Dec. 12, 1804, the title had been altered to Religion.
³ Leyden to Linley, Dec. 12, 1804. ⁴ Leyden to Linley, Nov. 29, 1804.
⁵ Leyden admitted that no particular priests were devoted to Brahma's worship, but declared this objection "totally invalid", the priests' descent, name & cast being derived from Brahma.
⁶ The alternative word was 'rapt which might denote a Yogi's silent devotion as well as the Brahman's "ostreperous hymns".
⁷ The alternative was 'variegated'; 'festive' was adopted.
native as a word both "exceedingly unpoetical" and very lax in meaning, everyone being "a native of some place or other," and firmly declined to believe that monumental, which Linley sought to use as equivalent to 'symbolical', could properly signify anything but 'sepulchral' or 'commemorative'.

Taking, moreover; a low view of such manifestations of Hinduism as "the troop of consecrated harlots dancing before the idol and the ponderous man-crushing wheels of his vehicle", Leyden could not feel that "unstained by sin" was an appropriate phrase, however necessary to Linley's treatment of the subject; and he had in fact been thunderstruck to hear Ellis, and Linley after him, assert that there was as much superstition in Christianity as in Hinduism, since in Leyden's opinion it was among the Hindus, if anywhere in the world, that superstition flourished "in full blossom and expansion".

"...I do not say that the stock of the Hindus is naturally worse than that of other men, but I say without mincing the matter that their religion & the whole crop of their manners, institutions & customs grafted upon it are the most execrable & unjust that were ever devised by man or Devil for debasing the minds & polluting the bodies of men." The caste system especially incensed him as being so completely "inconsistent with the principles of natural justice & equity that even to a Brahmin it appears unreasonable. To talk of its secret meaning & conformity to the genius of the respective classes is vile sophistry, for how could the lower classes show genius for the occupations of a superior class from which they are debarred by the prospect of lasting indelible disgrace & the punishments of both a present & future world." The analogy of the various classes of the animal creation was false, since the Brahman differed from the parish in neither corporeal nor mental functions, receiving no more pain from a sabre-wound, and "no more pleasure from the intercourse of sex"; nor was the sanction of Providence needed to cause each caste to display the peculiar genius to which it had been exclusively confined. It was therefore highly desirable to engage the Brahmans in all kinds of literary controversy, so as to convince them that the British were "as much their superiors in literature as in martial Tactics", and Leyden, himself presently lacking essential reference books, was eager for his acquaintance to do so. Being convinced that current Hindu practice, with its "horrid, inhuman and absurd customs", had deviated widely from the principles set forth by the ancient law-givers in the sometimes ambiguous puranas and sastras, Leyden believed that this fact, if established and authenticated from the Hindus' own sacred writings, would prove that all such

1 Leyden to Linley, Jan. 21805.
2 Leyden to Linley, Nov. 29, 1804.
absurdities and innovations should be "radically exterminated like a cancerous excrescence" instead of being "touched so tenderly as our wary and cautious governors conceive". In effecting such a reformation, it would be the Government's supreme duty to require the co-operation of the Brahmans, who, having "arrogated religion entirely to themselves", were responsible for the wrongs which they tacitly or avowedly countenanced; and, failing this co-operation, another ecclesiastical institution should be provided "with as little hazard as possible" as a corrective to abuses: "which corrective there can be little doubt the Christian religion as professed by Protestants is perfectly adequate to supply".

Linley's reply to Leyden's remarks on Superstition the latter considered "totally unsatisfactory" in so far as it did not coincide with his own opinion — "If this be not Orthodoxy I do not know what the devil it is"; and he turned unabashed to deal with Oppression, which, despite "some minute objections to the phraseology" and a desire to alter its misleading title to Conscience, he could say, after repeated perusals, that he liked, as having a more uniformly poetic and correct style than its predecessors, with one "impressively awful and pathetic" passage and another imagined and expressed with much fancy, force and truth. He regretted, however, that Linley had joined the "full-mouthed" and indeed "foul-mouthed cry of the vulgar pack of popular hounds about 'Indian Nabobs', 'cruel sufferings of the natives' and 'the odious-ness of the English name', of which Leyden completely disbelieved one half and thought the other "egregiously misrepresented".

"I never can & never will think the English character stained with cruelty, or in point of sympathy or feeling to be compared with the character of any Asiatic nation, tribe or caste whatsoever. The English Government is often feeble & often very ill-informed; but in lenity and justice not to be compared with any Asiatic Government – and moreover I do think the person who is of a different opinion very little versed in Asiatic history. I well know that dreadful cruelties have been perpetrated under the sanction of this government, but I attribute them almost entirely to 'Asia's sable sons' those cold hearted unfeeling wretches who stick at no crime, & who for ages, if they ever possessed them, have been totally devoid of genuine pity or compassion, though they are occasionally subject to certain misguided starts of capricious passion as some people are to fits of Epilepsy. It is very true the English name & manners are equally odious to them, but not more so I trust than natural justice & equity with wh. their abominable irrational manners and their filthy & obscene & impious religion are totally incapable of coalescing."

1 Leyden to Knox, [Sept.-Dec. 1804.]
2 Leyden to Linley, Dec. 12, 1804.
3 Leyden to Linley, Jan. 2, 1805.
4 Leyden's usual spelling for 'caste.
By the time he despatched his final set of criticisms to Linley, Leyden had been ill at Seringapatam for some six weeks, and was becoming "quite tired of this solitary retirement" in a "haunted castle" formerly tenanted by a Prime Minister of Tipu Sultan, and designated by Leyden "Vedalaashe, or the hall of bats and vampires," from which he could hear tantalisingly more or less noise of feasting, dancing and music. He heard also rumours of the local wars, in which he took a considerable interest, being averse to the idea of dying in his bed, and having some thoughts of leaving the medical service as "too insipid in general" and inferior to any other in the Presidency, and transferring to the Army. So his letters contained news of how "the Gentoo Polygars" might have been completely reduced by one bold stroke, like those of the south, "but for the mistaken lenity of the Government in allowing a gang of professed robbers to treat with arms in their hands" simply to gain time; of how, in the disorders in Wynaad (ascribed "by us of the coast" to the conduct of the Bombay men" on losing provinces they could not govern), there was some absurdity in treating as rebels the Nyemar (still some two thousand strong despite heavy losses from the British "humane and favourite principle of starving an enemy"), who, so far from submitting to Haidar or Tipu, had actually destroyed several of their armies and on one occasion, by successful bush fighting, so infuriated the "Moguls" that the latter "killed and eat a prisoner in the presence of some others, whom they dismissed for the purpose of inspiring terror"; of how Col. Macleod, marching down from Seringapatam to Malabar, had relieved all the British posts on the way without firing a gun; and of how, on the retreat to the hills of the Pyche Raja, who would probably submit willingly on the granting of an armistice, the priests of the Nyemar had danced for three days and nights before their chief deity, "who at last in a very gentlemanly manner recommended to them not to commence hostilities".

Nor were these martial concerns Leyden's only diversion. The tedium of his confinement had been broken by brief visits at the end of November to Ardenelly and Mysore, where he arrived "in dreadful agonies", to be welcomed by "the charming Mrs Wilks", wife of

1 Leyden to Sturt, Jan. 8, 1805. Apparently the Doulet Bagh, where Leyden heard from Mark Wilks the outline of a "singularly strange fantastical and romantic story, which latter often came over his mind "like a tale of Fairy". (Leyden to Wilks, May 15, 1805.)
2 Leyden to Sturt, March 22, 1805.
3 Leyden to Erskine, May 28, 1805. He quoted W. J. Bowles' Hymn to Woden, 11.15-20: 'Save us, God, from slow disease...'
4 Leyden to Erskine, Nov. 27, 1805. 'Gentoo' was formerly often used by Europeans as equivalent to 'Telugu'.
5 Gentleman in the MS.
6 Leyden to Harris, Dec. 3, 1804. He dated letters from Seringapatam on Nov. 27 & Dec. 3, 1804 before Ardenelly, Nov. 29. And he
Major Mark Wilkes, the British Acting Resident at Mysore, who, although herself afflicted by a "profound sepulchral cough" which Leyden feared indicated ulcerated and consumptive lungs, and which compelled her speedy return to Europe, invited Leyden to take possession of one of her rooms and assured him that he would "find her an excellent nurse". She and her husband had indeed been almost at a loss to show Leyden sufficient attention since finding in him a strong supporter of their "good friend Dr Harris": a discovery made towards the end of October, when Leyden had accompanied a party including the Wilkses and Colin Mackenzie to "the romantic falls of the Cavery" at Sivasamudram. The trip had called forth from Leyden both a set of doggerel verses satirizing literary tourists, especially those addicted to botany, to whetting their "Sentimental razors" upon "the hone of Affectation", and to describing even a gallows as "very picturesque", and the defence of Harris which attracted Mrs Wilks's attention. Already at Madras he had caused a minor sensation by his appearance and evident interest on Harris's behalf when the latter, being so extremely clever as to excel generally in everything he tried, had at last rashly "entangled himself" in a Court Martial, which he knew nothing at all about, and so had fallen foul of the redoubtable Col. Alexander Campbell, as Leyden himself had apparently done also, since John Malcolm, when on the brink of marriage to Campbell's daughter Charlotte, wrote to him from Mysore:

"I shall be married in a few weeks to a fair guest of mine a Daughter of your old friend Colonel Campbell - Though you came too much in Collision with the Father (when you aided your friend Harris) to be pleased with him you would be delighted with the Daughter who is all soul & as unaffected in her Manners & Cheerful in her temper, as she is graceful in her Person and accomplished in her mind."

Leyden had thereafter told Harris that all he needed to do to pass off this affair was to make light of it as something in which he had been baffled by inexperience alone, and he had found this view shared by Cols. Gore and Darley at Vellore and by Dr Anderson at Seringapatam. So, happening to hear Harris's name mentioned slightingly one forenoon at tiffin at the Falls by someone whom Harris had "had the honour of offending in the Circars", Leyden at once joined battle, in a voice "not the smoothest and most mellifluous

1 Wilks (1760?-1831) acted as Resident at Mysore in the frequent absences of John Malcolm from 1803 to 1808, when Wilks left India.
2 Leyden told Sturt, Jan. 8, 1805: "Mrs Wilks is gone to Madras for Europe." He had urged Harris to "save her if it is in the power of art".(Dec. 3, 1804.)
3 Leyden to Harris, Dec. 3, 1804.
4 The Tour to the Falls of the Cavery.(B.M. Add. MS. 26, 561, f. 40.)
5 Col. Gore's words, reported by Leyden to Harris, loccit.
7 Malcolm to Leyden, June 17, 1807. He married Campbell's second daughter, Isabella Charlotte, on July 4, 1807.
in the world". That "excellent woman", Mrs Wilks, overhearing this, had taken the first opportunity of calling Leyden aside, to express her delight at his loyalty to Harris and to learn "all the particulars of the business" before summoning her husband to tell him with "much emotion that this... was Harris' friend"; and Leyden had solaced their distress on learning that Harris had shut himself up "from all the world at St Thomas" by declaring in his "victorious way" that it was just as well, since Harris would then certainly finish his polyglot dictionary of Arabic, Persian, Hindustani and Malay, of which Leyden would not bate him a jot, even to advance his own fame as an oriental lexicographer. ¹

At Mysore, too, encountering Lt. Warren, the author of a "paper on Terrestrial Refraction with experiments" on Kater's new hygrometer, Leyden, although too unwell to give the subject his close attention, took the chance to "run over" the paper rapidly, being left particularly unsatisfied with the instrument's compass. ² Altogether satisfying, however, was Leyden's meeting at Seringapatam with Lt. Col. John Malcolm, a fellow-Borderer from Langholm and one of those kindred spirits whom Leyden, being "always a very lucky fellow as well as an unlucky one", met with gratifying frequency. Having spent some months resting at Vizagapatam after concluding the treaties with Sindhia signed in December, 1803, and February, 1804, and conducting further negotiations thereafter, ⁴ Malcolm, who had been soldiering in India for the past twenty-one years, seeing both active service against Tipu and varied diplomatic work, ⁵ came to Mysore at the end of November, 1804, to take up those duties as Resident which Wilks had been discharging capably in his absence. Travelling via Madras, where in a few days he laid the foundation of a firm friendship with Lord William Bentinck, he reached Seringapatam in company with his friend, General Arthur Wellesley, ⁶ who was proceeding "to Bombay with the utmost expedition via Mangalore"; and upon learning that a Teviotdale man lay ill in the town, Malcolm immediately called upon Leyden with an absence of ceremony which put the two Borderers on intimate terms within five minutes, Leyden's own policy being, on finding "a man of information and intellect" with any inclination to employ his

¹ Leyden to Harris, Dec. 3, 1804.
² Leyden to Kater, Dec. 30, 1804.
³ Leyden to Ballantyne, Oct. 24, 1805.
⁴ Malcolm had handed over his part in the negotiations after being censured by Lord Wellesley on April 22, 1804, for appearing to be too favourable towards Sindhia's demands.
⁵ E.g. as First Secretary to the Commission settling Mysore, 1799, & as Envoy to the Persian Court, 1799-1801.
⁷ Leyden to Baird, Nov. 27, 1804, when Wellesley was expected here tomorrow.
thinking powers, to consider himself as an old acquaintance and waive "all the subsequent tedious forms and ceremonies". 1

It was some time, however, before Leyden was able to join his new friend at Mysore; for in the second half of December, he suffered another terrible attack of the left anterior lobe of the liver, accompanied at nights with fever cold collicative sweats & cold shiverings along the spine", which so reduced him that he could not leave his couch even when the pain abated, transforming his "old harsh voice...into the shrill pipe of a year old child" with "a most melodious twang" which Leyden "did not like at all from not being used to it", and determining him for good and all to renounce the use of mercury, which his medical friends were already afraid to push further because of his weakness. 2 Leyden was coming to feel indeed that he had made such astonishing progress in acquiring the diseases of India, leprosy and elephantiasis excepted, that if each assailed a man but once, like smallpox, he might "fairly be pronounced one of the healthiest men in India", provided he weathered the present attack. This he believed might prove difficult enough, since he now resembled "a carcase...hung half a year on a gibbet to wither in the sun" rather than his former self 3 but by the start of January, he had been "getting round exceedingly well" for some days and was once more strong enough to hold a pen and write letters, although having no prospect of leaving his room for weeks to come because the affection of the liver, now apparently nearly removed, had been succeeded by the spleen, with an intolerable pain in his left side. However, as that organ, being "not immediately connected with the functions of life like the liver", might be "cut out altogether and totally extirpated without much inconvenience", Leyden did not mind a little "hard dry pain" which would probably yield to a course of nitric acid, which he intended to undertake. (as indeed he did, even without "the full assent of the Faculty" 4) as soon as he recovered a little strength. 2 And as he had rejected William Linley's suggestion of curing liver trouble by the application of philosophy or mental resources - two "succeedaneums for Calomel and Opium" unknown "in the Pharmacopeia or indeed almost any where in India", so he now declined Linley's advice to leave India for good affirming that, having left "Britain and many dear friends attracted much less by Oriental gold than by Oriental literature", he was in no danger of receding an inch, "though the Devil should come", from his determination to be "the first Oriental scholar of the age."

1 Leyden to Sturt, Jan. 8, 1805. 2 Leyden to Linley, Jan. 2, 1805.
3 Leyden to Kater, Dec. 30, 1804. 4 Colin MacKenzie to Leyden, Feb. 10, 1805.
5 Leyden to Linley, Dec. 12, 1804.
and declaring: "I thank you for your advice but must answer in the words of Mr Acres 'we wont run Sir Lucius'. "

In pursuit of this determination, Leyden continued, in his "present lamentable situation", to prosecute his multifarious researches by letter. Believing that Henry Kater, who possessed "not only...a telescope but a microscopic eye of observation", would be able, from his literary habits, to answer any of Leyden's queries extemporaneously, Leyden relied on him for information on the languages, literature, manners and religion of "the Coorghies or Kurghies (I protest I do not know the orthography of the word)", having learned of them so far only from Major Marriott of Vellore, whose accuracy he distrusted, and who, although "in a great passiad" at Leyden's comparing the people of Coorg to "the Nyeiar of the Wynnaad", had been unable to give chapter and verse for his "very singular" description of them as a highly superior race, probably of Arabic origin, and differing entirely from their neighbours. From Sturt, whom he had some hopes of visiting later if Sturt's "friends the Nairs" could be prevailed on to be "as quiet as the quakers", he sought information especially on the peoples of Kamar and Malabar, including the Malabar 'Christians of St Thomas'; and their sacred books; and, having himself reached India too late for "any of the grand sacks and spoliages of Royal libraries", he hoped frankly that Sturt, in the intervals of the sanguinary, disastrous and desolating warfare in Wynnaad, might stumble over such treasures as cadjans bearing two works against the Brahmins, and lives of Christ and of St Theresa, all in verse and in the Malayalam language, or a copy of the Malayalam grammar published a century before by a Roman Catholic missionary.

"Some of these Missionaries who laboured zealously in their vocation opposed the Brahmins very successfully with their own weapons and scattered various curious productions...in verse and prose among their Malabar disciples, some of which are occasionally to be met with, and if it should chance to be written above that some of them should throw themselves in your way I must request you to have an eye to my researches especially as I don't mean to die of the liver exactly on this occasion... you may have an opportunity of extinguishing the little literature of the Cotidle & Wynnaad, as the rascals

1 Leyden to Linley, Jan. 2, 1805. See The Rivals, V, iii. Urging Harris to persevere in Malay (Dec. 3, 1804), Leyden wrote: "so I say again with Mr Acres in the Rivals 'We will not run Sir Lucius?'"
2 Leyden to Kater, Dec. 30, 1804. 3 Leyden to Harris, Dec. 3, 1804.
4 On retiring from the army in 1814, Kater (1777-1835) devoted himself successfully to scientific research.
5 Leyden to Kater, loc. cit. Marriott was evidently describing the Kodagas or Coorge proper, a light-skinned race of unknown origin, of whom Leyden (who may have been here thinking of the inferior race of the Eravas) was later to think very highly. Cf. p. 395.
6 Leyden to Sturt, March 29, 1805. 7 Leyden has notes on them in MS. 26, 583, ff. 92 et seq., etc. 8 Leyden to Sturt, Jan. 8, 1804.
It was not indeed easy to acquire even less out of the way books than the Edda or "any work in Moeso-Gothic or Saxon" which Leyden sought on finding that "a vast number" of Sanskrit words were also Saxon, several of Odin's names being "pure Sanscrit". Leyden's only resource was sometimes, as in his search for the first parts of the Sanskrit grammars of Colebrooke and Carey, to instruct his Madras agents, Messrs. Binny and Dennison of Armenian Street, to order copies from Calcutta; and he thought very little after all of some of the works obtained, as of such "nonsense" as the "Indian guide of that literary sloven Gilchrist who cuts pretty much the same figure in philosophical philology as a cat shod with walnut-shells does in dancing", and "the Baghi Oordoo as that Goth Gilchrist stiles his Hindustani version of the Gulistan", which Leyden found so barbarous in style and worthy of the name adopted that he preferred to have a correct copy made of another version highly extolled by Dr Harris and Capt. James Leith. There was a friendly system of book exchange, however, with such fellow-students as Mackenzie and Harris, from whom Leyden desired a two months' loan of Nathaniel Halhed's Bengali grammar to aid him in deciphering a Sanskrit dictionary in the Bengali character; and in early February, 1805, Leyden returned with thanks Malcolm's copy of Edward Scott-Waring's Sketches of Persia, having perused it with "much eagerness, some pleasure, and a good deal of something very like contempt", since its author appeared to Leyden to be one of

1 Leyden to Sturt, Jan. 8, 1805.
2 For Leyden's own association with Lewis's "Tale-telling lore" in Tales of Wonder, see pp.
3 Leyden to Sturt, March 29, 1805.
4 Leyden to Erskine, Nov. 27, 1804.
6 Leyden to Harris, Dec. 3, 1804. For Leith, see p. inf.
7 Mackenzie to Leyden, Feb. 10, 1805, promised him the "2d Vol. of the Sanscrit Dictionary" of which Leyden had already borrowed vol 1; & he himself had then a Herodotus of Leyden's.
8 Published 1778 at Hooghly, at the first press in India.
9 Leyden to Malcolm, Feb. 6, 1805.
Nor did Leyden fail to enumerate Waring's many faults, including a "vague and laconic" mode of citing authors and alluding to their views; the expression of "very exceptionable" critical opinions on such Persian poets as Khakani, whom Leyden thought "very harshly dealt with" in being accused of harshness, and Sadi, whose European reputation Leyden believed to rest chiefly on "the elegant scruple and natural turn of his Ghazels"; the passing of "ridiculous censure" on the Akhlak-i-Naseri, "a metaphysical work of a simple and forcible style" and profound and ingenious reasoning, which Waring compared "simply enough" with Sadi's popular moral works; the dismission without discussion, in a "slovenly and chilling manner" which quite hurt Leyden, of Sir William Jones's "delightful fiction of the Per-i-selz" and the accusation that Jones had misquoted "Nizamee", as Waring spelt it "in conformity to that slovenly Hotentot of literature Mr. Gilchrist"; and, worst of all, an affected want of interest in his subject, contemptible in its motive and "highly indecent and disrespectful to the reader". This last Leyden reckoned a common fault in the usually cold and phlegmatic manner of an English author, and one which contrasted unfavourably with the vivacity of French travel-writers, who made up for their notorious inaccuracy and general inferiority in solid thought by an evident concern for their subject and an individuality of style, which, even when failing to reflect a country's real colouring of scenery and manners had at least a distinctive hue of its own to arouse the reader's interest. But he had no such criticism to make of Malcolm's own "valuable Journal" of his visit to Persia four years earlier as the first British envoy there since the time of Queen Elizabeth: a work which Leyden now read in MS. with avidity, pleasure and profit, admiring Malcolm's unfailing interest in every topic and his handling of a subject which lent itself to the introduction of many various disquisitions, to several of which Malcolm

1 Leyden to Malcolm, Feb. 6, 1805. (B.M. Add. MS. 26, 561.)
2 Leyden has several translations from Khakani (d. 1199) including a bombastic Answer...to a poetical Challenge. (MS. 3333, f. 40v.)
3 Waring began his translation of this with a piece of "nonsense".
4 Cf. pp. & sup. Leyden excelled neither to-Gilchrist's nor Jones's method of "Exhibiting Oriental languages in the English character", but favoured Dr Harris's. (L to Harris, Dec. 3, 1804.)
5 Leyden to Malcolm, Feb. 11, 1805. 6 Cf. note 5, p. sup.
had left little to add. The "brief and business-like stile" of the journal, written "on the spot and amid the pressure of circumstances", left room, however, for the introduction of other similar discourses on historical, ethnological, political and economic topics, including "the interior political and domestic economy of Persia contrasted with those of Hindostan and Turkey", and the history of British political and commercial relations with Persia; and, as an antiquarian, Leyden would have liked Malcolm to extend his strictures on such curious points as the state of the Gabars, particularly near Isfahan, and the Persepolitan arrow-head characters, in which Leyden took considerable interest, having once translated "the chapter of Kaempfer's 'Amenitiae Exoticae' which treats of the Persepolitan ruins" and compared the character there depicted with such similar specimens as had come his way.

Malcolm, for his part, on receiving a copy of part of Leyden's translation of Tales of the Peris, undertaken almost at the start of Leyden's Persian studies on the advice of his instructor, and transcribed for Colin Mackenzie's perusal in the jungles of Mysore, not only formed a correct and ingenious view of the future progress of the story, but expressed an opinion of the work which gave Leyden much pleasure and induced him to complete it. Lack of materials prevented the prosecution of Leyden's plan to annotate some passages admitting of illustration to Europeans, whose ideas of the customs, manners and genius of Eastern nations were still deplorably vague, and from indisposition he did very little to the translation of "a few more tales...relating to the Peris more or less", which he had projected while scarcely able to amuse himself in any way during his illness. But by mid-April he had finished his version of the Tales themselves, comprising the history of Azur Shah and the beautiful Saman-ruh, with its inset stories of the rash Malec Muhammed, who loved and won Geti Afroz, the Queen of the Peris, and of the marvellous adventures of Roshen Zemir among snakes and demons and one-legged men; and although he found it difficult at first to accustom himself to the characteristic Eastern mixture of prose and verse, he probably enjoyed relating in lively, idiomatic prose, interspersed with varied verse, such wonders as the splendours of the Peris' aerial palaces and banquets, and the successive...
transformations of the incorrigible Malec into dove, water bird, ox, ass and dog.  

Closer exchange of literary or other views between Malcolm and Leyden was for the present impossible, Leyden's intended removal to Mysore being delayed by the "backsliding pace" of his convalescence; for his illness continued to harass him, being so little alleviated by air and exercise that even a short drive produced painful sensations. Leyden's mental activity and spirits remained unimpaired, however, his plans including a piece of collaboration (apparently unfulfilled) with an unnamed scholar, "not very communicative of his literary stores," on which Mackenzie gave him some cautious advice:

"Your promised Indian Recreations or any Recreations...will be very desirable - I cannot guess what your friends Plan can be; a treaty offensive & defensive probably; to strengthen his 'Asian Gold' I suppose by your Europe Steel; Yours will be the conducting of the Grecian Phalanx & Roman Legions into action; his the Native troops, whether talking Malabar or Sanscrit Tellinga or Canara; the supplies of forage & of stores; but tho I doubt not but you have sufficient literary Stores of your own for carrying on the war, yet agreeable to the maxims of sound Policy I would have you stipulate for free ingress & egress into your brother Potentates dominions; liberty to recruit at all times & a Garrison town put in your hands - these principles of reciprocal confidence & mutual advantage being understood I doubt not but you can go on very well to some useful acquisition."  

And on receiving "a wicked murderous blood-thirsty...tetchy inflammatory letter composed of...touch-wood and tinder" from Mordaunt Ricketts, with whom his correspondence had suffered "strange interruptions and reverses", Leyden replied in a doggerel strain of facetious defiance, using the signature of 'John Caspar Leyden' which he had begun to affect since coming east, apparently on the strength of his family's reputed descent from John Caspar of Leyden, and now used very frequently, both in private and official correspondence.  

"...no doubt you have heard that I am snugly laid up with my back to the wall And so martyred by the liver and the spleen (confound them!) that I am scarcely able to crawl. And knowing therefore that I have been bed-rid a long time, like a true blustering Hector You have at last plucked up courage enough to read me a curtain lecture  

1 MS. 26,599, ff. 2-60, the rest of the MS. containing Leyden's translation of The Story of Suliman & the Simurgh, from the Persian.  
2 Mackenzie to Leyden, Feb. 11, 1805.  
3 Leyden to Mackenzie, Feb. 10, 1805.  
4 Ibid. Mackenzie had borrowed Pliny, which was recalled, but received no reply to his request for a loan of Diodorus.  
5 Leyden to Ricketts, Feb. 1, 1805.  
6 Leyden to Ricketts, March 25, 1805.  
7 See p. 4 sup. for this family legend.  
8 E.g. to Lord William Bentinck, June 17, 1805; but never to Erskine.
And have made an exceeding good preachment about perfidy, falsehood, submission & repentance, all of them things I know but scantily
So I assure you, my dear fellow, though I highly applaud your preaching abilities, you might as well have preached to the Dragon of Wantley.
For be it known unto thee, if thou dost not know it already, that I never repent of any thing whatsoever, So to talk to me of a deathbed repentance you must have thought yourself devilish clever.
And what is more, had I been lying in my grave instead of lying on my death bed
A letter of defiance like yours, I fancy, had roused me up from the dead
But as you have roused all my dormant energies I will try to preserve my life
That if it be not God's mercy, & a thousand pities you may feel my dissecting knife
And as you are coming with such wicked and felonious intentions to defy an invalid to battle, Sir,
I boldly retort your defiance in your throat though you bring with you the formidable Morgan Rattler
And from this precious day to shew you that my word shall never be broken
I will wear a pair of red whiskers beneath my nose like a shoe brush by way of a token,
And if any man shall dare to touch a hair of my beard, he had better pull the beard of a tiger
As I hope to convince him in a satisfactory manner, when once I pull my trigger
And when once I come to the field of battle, as I neither give nor take quarter
The man that calls me out will get a wrong sow by the ear and find that he has caught a Tartar.
And to convince you that I am steel to the back, while the breath is in my body my buck I shall let you see
A little bit of a country song of mine to the Tune of 'Wha dare meddle with me.'

I am a Borderer born
And bred to fighting free
The blast I blow on my horn
Is 'wha dare meddle wi' me?!!!!...

I have a good old shield
Made of a tough bull-hide
Whoever calls me to the field
I warrant I quell his pride...

I have a gray goose quill
To write both fast and free
The fellow shall have his fill
That dares to meddle with me

I have a good stout brace
Of Pistols fair to see
Sure Providence has forsaken
The man that meddles with me...

I'm wearied with lying idle
A fight were game and glee
Then who dare meddle, dare meddle
Who dare meddle with me?

And so if you come in peace, Mr. Mordaunt I'm yours, with zeal most fervent
If not, I am the old red ruffian, John Caspar Leyden, not yours, but rather the old Devil's servant.
These spirited stanzas had perhaps been suggested by the story, related in a letter from home to John Malcolm, of how, almost exactly a year before, on the last night of January, 1804, when the mistaken lighting of a signal beacon at Hume Castle had sent a false alarm of French invasion over the Borders, the men of Liddesdale, after swimming the Liddel to reach their gathering-place, had marched into Hawick at day-break to the tune of 'Wha d'aur meddle wi' me': for on first hearing this anecdote from Malcolm, Leyden had leaped from his sick-bed, singing that air aloud with an animated countenance and with such "strange melody and still stranger gesticulations" as to make it appear that he was "raving in the delirium of a fever". Despite Leyden's threats, however, Mordaunt Ricketts visited Seringapatam with impunity, when Leyden was beginning really to convalesce, in company with his brother Charles, who took the opportunity both to leave Leyden some "Mythological Commissions to execute", and to show him a very fine drawing of his own of the great figure in the cave on the island of Elephantas and several of the desiderata of Edward Moor, "author of the account of Capt. Little's detachment", who was going home with the rash purpose of publishing "a Hindu Pantheon...without the aid of Sanscrit which is utterly impossible": the chief of which desiderata concerning the form of the Trimurti termed Vithoba by the Marathas and worshipped at Pandharpur, Leyden sought to supply by giving Ricketts an extract from a Marathi MS. in his possession which recorded the legend of Vithoba in most elegant language and the finest Marathi style of Leyden's experience.

Thereafter Leyden's slow and wasting fever grew so much worse that in a few days he had "the inexpressible consolation" of learning from Dr Anderson that his only chance of recovering his health lay in making a sea voyage. Knowing that this implied "the total dereliction" of all his studies, especially Sanskrit, Leyden proposed merely going to the coast instead, but was firmly assured by "the first medical authority in Mysore" that he could not hope to regain his health anywhere on land. For the present, however,

1 Scott, telling this story in a note to The Antiquary, ch. xlv, as an illustration of Leyden's "enthusiastic love of Scotland", dates it Feb. 2, 1804. Reith, op. cit., p. 227, misdates it as 1805.
2 Malcolm, in the Bombay Courier, loc. cit. Scott, loc. cit., (who has quoted Malcolm's account in his Memoir) varies the story a little. Robert Chambers included it in The Book of Days, I, p. 200; & it is often quoted, e.g. by Walter Carre in Border Memories, pp. 253-55.
3 Leyden to Erskine, May 28, 1805.
4 Charles Wilmer Ricketts, Sec. to the Board of Trade, Calcutta.
5 Leyden to M. Ricketts, Mar. 23, 1805, when in "confounded bad health."
6 Thought by Leyden to represent the destruction of the elephant demon by Virabhadrā.
7 Moor (ret. 1805, as Major) served against Tipu 1790-91 & wrote an account of the campaign, 1794.
he was "exhorted to proceed to Mysore without delay and try the
effect of a slight change of air for a couple of Weeks". 1 So the
end of February found him at last joining John Malcolm at Mysore, 2
where, becoming "rather better on the whole", although still sub-
ject to constant relapses, 1 he found life almost as tranquil as
at Seringapatam. 2 It was enlivened, however, by the company of
Leyden's host, whose duties as Resident were not onerous, and with
whom, although at a disadvantage from the "tedious intestine dis-
sensions which rendered laughter "apt to excite spasmodic affect-
ions" quite unconnected with wit or humour, Leyden enjoyed "a very
hard contest which should laugh loudest and secure the palm in the
jocose philosophy of Democritus and all that kind of thing". 1 This
amicable rivalry extended itself to verse-writing; for Malcolm, on
perusing Scenes of Infancy, of which Leyden had now received a copy
after long having "no idea what kind of thing" it really was, 3 was
moved to inscribe in the volume the next day a tribute to the
patriotic qualities of Leyden's poetry:

'Tis songs like thine that make each rugged wild,
And barren heath, to Scotia's sons more dear
Than scenes 'er which fond nature partial smiled,
And rob'd in verdure thro' the varied year...

While the clear Teviot thro' fair meads shall stray,
And Esk still clearer seeks the Western main;
So long shall Border maidens sing thy lay,
And Border youths applaud the patriot strain.

On receiving "this fine compliment" before breakfast, Leyden read
it over once or twice with much apparent satisfaction, and then,
feeling it impossible not to return some answer to such "condescens
ion...according to the Jockey phrase of 'Claw me, and I'll claw
thee';" 6 declared that, being thus attacked at his own trade, he
would neither eat nor drink before producing a fitting reply: as
indeed he did within half-an-hour, having retired to his own room
to compose a statement of his poetical aims and motives. 7-

Careless of fame, nor fond of praise,
The simple strains spontaneous sprung,
For Teviot's youths I wrote the lays,
For Border-maids my songs I sung.

Enough for me if these impart
The glow to patriot virtue dear;
The free-born soul, the fearless heart,
The spirit of the mountaineer.

1 Leyden to Mordaunt Ricketts, March 25, 1805.
2 Leyden to Sturt, March 29, 1805, when he had been staying with
Malcolm for about a month. 3 Leyden to Erskine, Nov. 27, 1804.
He had asked Erskine to send him copies of his poem. See p. sur
4 In MS. 26, 561, f. 72v, copy 'still clearer' is underlined, doubts
with reference to Malcolm's pride in his native Eskdale.
5 Malcolm, To the Author, On reading the scenes of Infancy, sts. 3 &
6 Leyden to Ricketts, loc. cit., enclosing these two poems.
7 Malcolm in the Bombay Courier, loc. cit. 8 Leyden, To Col. W.
Leyden was equally ready, too, to resolve an argument on a point of English history referred to him for settlement; for, demonstrating that his illness had in no degree impaired his most tenacious memory, he at once repeated verbatim, to the astonishment of all present, "the whole of an Act of Parliament in the reign of James the First relative to Ireland which decided the point in dispute", and which Leyden had remembered ever since studying it as a specimen of Jacobean style several years before, when "writing on the changes that had taken place in the English language". There were also graver subjects of interest in the study of Persian, which Malcolm had pursued zealously and successfully throughout his career, reading the language at Edinburgh with Leyden's Hebrew professor Moodie while on furlough in 1794-95, and thereafter losing no opportunity of learning more of all things Persian, and in the investigation of such points as the possible connection of the Lâks, a "curious tribe", with Kaempfer's Iesides and the Christians of St John; and in the field of politics Malcolm, as a protégé of Lord Wellesley and a supporter of his vigorous and constructive policy, gave the grateful Leyden "numerous lights" on Indian affairs, converting into actual knowledge what had been little more than conjecture in Leyden's mind, so that Leyden, who might, with a little more of such information, have become a politician of Malcolm's own forming, could discuss animatedly with both Malcolm and Mark Wilks such matters as the connection of Dr Anderson's public letter on the causes of the endemic febrile affections currently raging in Nether Ganjam with the "proposed exchange of a badly cultivated frontier district with a very irregular...boundary": a measure exactly in accord with Malcolm's own views, but liable to encounter at Madras the "remaining dregs" of that "piddling petitfogging spirit", once so prevalent and still "unevaporated", which took every chance to display itself with impunity, so that Leyden warned Malcolm trenchantly:

"...push the business with the utmost vigour and energy or you need never expect to hear of the whole island of Seringapatam forming one great city, Mysore another only inferior to it, and your highroad a little Hindu hell, the great place of penance for such unfortunate sinners as may probably be transmogrified into beasts of burden in future generations."

1 Malcolm in the Bombay Courier, loc. cit., illustrating how Leyden sometimes loaded his memory with "tumour".
2 As a lieutenant Malcolm had been Persian interpreter to the Nizam's troops in the campaign against Tipu in 1792.
3 Leyden to Malcolm, Feb. 11, 1805. Leyden had formerly drawn up accounts of these, but had lost the former. Kaempfer, Fasc. II, Rel. xi, deals with the 'Sabii, sive Christiani S. Johannis Baptistae."
4 Malcolm had been known in Bengal as "Lord Wellesley's factotum and the greatest man in Calcutta."
5 Leyden to Malcolm, March 28, 1805:  
6 Leyden to Malcolm, April 12, 1805.
Leyden was not to enjoy Malcolm's company and conversation at Mysore for long, however; for at the end of March, Malcolm, being then at Bangalore, sent word that he had received a "rapid summons" to Calcutta from Lord Wellesley. This Leyden construed, despite Malcolm's reassurance, to mean an extended absence, since he could think of no cause for Malcolm's recall to Bengal at that juncture which could "possibly be of very short continuance in its operation"; and it was indeed two years before Malcolm, despatched at the start of May, 1805, on another mission to Sindia, returned to Mysore after varied military, diplomatic and administrative service. Leyden was correct, too, in his further conjecture that Wellesley might desire to go home, as he actually did before the year's end; and Leyden, not liking "the aspect of things much at all" and fearing the outbreak of a general Maratha war, felt that this development ought "not to be admitted of on any account whatsoever", since in the present circumstances it would amount to "damping us to all eternity".

"It must now be laid down as a first principle that we have advanced so far that it is quite impossible to retreat and we cannot afford to lose an inch of either territory or influence in India without radically endangering all that remains, and there is no other person that would not to a moral certainty incur this danger very rapidly."

Altogether, the news of Malcolm's departure "struck a general damp" over his friends at Mysore, who had so far contrived to laugh a little occasionally, to keep their hands in during his supposedly temporary absence, but who now found themselves quite unable "to get on at all", so that Leyden, himself relapsing as fast as possible, regretted that Malcolm had not left "a positive and peremptory order to Capt. Little" to laugh heartily and with a good grace in Malcolm's stead: a thing which Little would never think of doing spontaneously, since, as Leyden assured Malcolm with stronger feeling than grammar:

'The sallies of the soul are o'er
The feast of Fancy is no more'—
Plump laughter will of a consumption die,
Mid Clapham, Little, Ingledew and I.

Malcolm's absence in Bengal, however, although thus socially depressing, was not without its literary compensations, as he would there have the opportunity to encounter such useful people

1 Leyden to Malcolm, March 29, 1805.
2 Malcolm returned to Mysore in April, 1807, having then seen Leyden again in Calcutta. See p. inf.
3 Leyden to Sturt, March 29, 1805.
4 Query: whether a copyist's error or a Scotticism? Leyden had earlier had his Scotticisms corrected by Richard Heber.
5 Capt. Thomas Little, 3rd Native Infantry.
6 Capt. William Clapham, 4th Native Infantry.
7 Dr. William Ingledew, Surgeon, Fort-St.-George Est.
as "intelligent Armenians" who could furnish extensive lists of their printed books and manuscripts, some of which might be bought at no great price.¹ So Leyden, still rejoicing at having found in Malcolm a man to whom he could declare his opinions fully and freely on all subjects, accepted with alacrity Malcolm's invitation to correspond with him; and, being interested in everything from ancient Persian histories of Kashmir² and "the language of Gurjistan" or Georgia³ to that of Cuttack and to anything relating to "Tibet Assam or Aracan not forgetting the Pali or sacred language of Ava and Siam",⁴ he requested Malcolm to let nothing in the form of a dictionary or grammar escape him, and to pay particular heed to Afghan history and the Pashto language,⁵ and to the Baluchis and their "totally different" tongue,⁶ from which Leyden was to translate an Address to the Courier Dove, describing a maiden who

...roseate perfumes sprinkles oft,
To mitigate the sultry day
While musk and sandal's odour soft,
Around her waist and bosom play.⁶

His interest in such questions as "How the sacred books of the Parsis whether written in Zend or Pehlvi came likewise to be found in Sanscrit" was reawakened by the possibility that his voyage in search of health might take him to Bombay, where he intended to "kick up a famous row among the Gubrs with their Pehlvi, Zend, Pahlevi &ca";⁷ and although nothing in these languages was likely to be discovered in Bengal, Leyden prepared a list of "Persian Desiderata" for Malcolm in the hope that he might come upon relevant Persian manuscripts, as well as on a "collection of... oddities from the dervish Abdallah" and the original of an uncommonly spirited fragment on the Marathas which Malcolm had shown Leyden in translation.⁷ He relied on Malcolm also for letters of introduction to such personages in Bombay as the Governor, Jonathan Duncan, who was reckoned both "an excellent Persian" and (a much rarer thing) "a Sanscrit man",⁸ and Malcolm's own brother and his wife, whom Leyden was eager to meet;⁹ and these Malcolm, having a warm interest in Leyden's views and plans, at once dispatched.

¹ B.M. Add. MS. 26,573 comprises an abstract of Armenian history made for Dr James Hare in 1810 by Seth Sam, an Armenian, from Fr. Michael Tchamchian's History (publd. Venice; Eng. trans. Calcutta, 1827). Viewed by Leyden as possible connecting links between ancient Persian & Hindu, and perhaps Chinese & Tibetan, histories.
² Leyden hoped to find curious historical documents therein.
³ Actually the sacred language of Buddhism.
⁴ Both are Iranian languages. For Pashto, cf. Address, ll. 9-12. (MS. 26,556, f. 21v; & MS. 3383, f. 45.) Not to be confused with the shorter Address from the Arabic (1819 ed., p. 240).
⁶ Leyden to Erskine, May 28, 1805. Duncan (1756-1811) was Governor of Bombay, 1794-1811.
By the time Malcolm's letters reached Mysore, however, it had become very doubtful whether Leyden would after all be able to make use of them in Bombay. Leyden's plan—a land journey to Madras being impossible without "almost inevitable perdition"—had been to travel via Mangalore or Cannanore to Bombay, and after a short stay there to proceed, according to the shipping available, either to Madras, up the Persian Gulf to Basra, or, preferably, with "all deliberate speed to Prince of Wales' island": there, if still alive, to "study Malay like a dragon" and to try to see such peoples as "the Macassars and the Bouggouses", who seemed to be "learned and polished as well as brave nations". His interest in Malay had already led him to hold much converse with the Rev. A.F. Clarke, chaplain to the garrison at Seringapatam and a Malay scholar, whose manuscripts Leyden later acquired through Lieut. Thomas Arthur, after Clarke's death at Mysore on March 25: an event which Leyden, although "very unpoetical" at the time and "not very well acquainted" with his subject, was to commemorate at Arthur's request, in verse faintly reminiscent of Gray's Elegy as "A man of peace amid the haunts of war", whose "modest worth" consistently showed forth "The pure religion which his tongue confessed". Leyden had then purposed to remain at Mysore for about another fortnight, and although regretting the inevitable interruption which his studies in Sanskrit, Kanarese, Telugu and Marathi would suffer on the voyage just when he had "mastered all their difficulties", he hoped at least, being "none of your crying philosophers", to procure a "Mahratta Dirge on the battle of Paniput" for translation on board ship, commenting: "it will be devilishly cramp if I cannot contrive to translate it." His plans were frustrated, however, by "another most violent attack of the liver accompanied with an unusual degree of fever", which confined him to his couch for ten days, giving him several times "the clearest idea of the process of death" in his experience, and preventing him from so much as sitting at a table or holding a pen until April 11; for by then he was obliged to acknowledge:

1. Leyden to Ricketts, March 25, 1805, Ricketts having asked Leyden to join Ricketts's party at Madras.
2. Leyden to Ballantyne, Oct. 24, 1805.
3. Leyden to Malcolm, March 29, 1805. Cf. sup. for "like a dragon". The languages of the Bugis & the Macassars are akin.
4. Leyden to Lt. Arthur, May 29, 1805 (B.M. Add. Ms. 25561.)
5. Arthur, an Engineer officer on the Fort St George Establishment was then an Assistant Surveyor under Colin Mackenzie.
6. Leyden, To the Memory of the Revd. A.F. Clarke, which he sent to Arthur, May 29; & he promised that in any future publication on Malay he would do Clarke's memory full justice.
7. The third battle of Panipat, Jan. 7, 1761, when Ahmad Shah Durani shattered the Maratha confederacy.
8. Leyden to Malcolm, April 12, 1805.
"I may now sing out with Job of patient Memory 'my days are gone with the swift ships' for the swift ships will be gone sure enough long before I can possibly reach Malabar and my days will probably be kind enough to go in quest of them for there is no possibility of my existing much longer on this side of the infernal regions, at least, where I am already so parched and broiled and shrivelled that there is no more soul in me than in a skinned potatoe."  

This attack indeed quite shattered Leyden's constitution, leaving behind so many spasms of the chest as to make him unable to "indulge in a hearty laugh for the whole world" and so unfitting him for such hilarious society as he had lately enjoyed; and its only compensations were the slender ones of having made Leyden too ill to be chagrined by the desertion of his munshis during the festival of Muharram (when he had nevertheless contrived to translate the "most delightful and interesting story" of the Hikaiat-Chehar-Derweish), and of having so "perfectly tamed and jaded" his spirits that had he indeed reached Bombay he might, without unduly restraining himself, have proved a greater favourite there than at Madras in his more high-spirited days.  

Having "recovered a good deal" by April 12, however, and being still resolved to leave Mysore for Malabar as soon as he could bear the motion of a conveyance, Leyden then applied formally for sick leave to Major Mackenzie, enclosing the medical certificate of April 1 in which Dr Alexander Anderson testified that a change of air was absolutely necessary to Leyden, who had been labouring under "a variety of complaints apparently occasioned by visceral Obstructions" for the past nine months, and expressing the vain hope that he would soon be able to recommence "with avidity" his researches with the Mysore Survey, which was progressing so fast that only three out of sixteen divisions of territory remained to be surveyed. Mackenzie duly forwarded Anderson's certificate to Madras on May 21 (by which time the unfortunate Anderson himself was dead), accompanying it with a copy of Leyden's letter to himself, and stating his own hope that leave would be granted without prejudice to Leyden's appointment and that the surveying parties would continue to receive medical help in his absence, as they had already done in the six months of his illness, on application to the nearest stations.  

1 The Book of Job, ch. ix, vv. 25-26: "Now my days are swifter than a post: they flee away... They are passed away as the swift ships.  
2 Leyden to Malcolm, April 12, 1805.  
4 Leyden to Mackenzie, April 12, 1805.  
5 Anderson died at Seringapatam on April, 1805. Cf. p. inf.  
6 Mackenzie to the Governor in Council, Madras, May 21, 1805. (Madras Public Diaries & Consultations, loc. cit.)
June 6, the Medical Board at Madras having viewed the case favourably, Mackenzie was informed that Leyden was granted leave of absence until his health should be re-established.¹

Leyden himself had so much taken this result for granted that he had left Mysore on April 22,² after two days' delay for lack of palankeen boys.³ Having lost almost at once both his way and all his followers to a man, so that he was left "actually without a horsekeeper to hold the horse", he calmly rode on alone and, coming to a Jain pagoda formerly mentioned by Mackenzie, which stood on a sheer riven rock of grey granite eighty feet high, he proceeded to examine in detail its situation, aspect and carvings; noting especially its great granite statue, the most asymmetrical Leyden had yet seen in India, and reminiscent, in its "solid massy strength", of Greek figures of Hercules.³ Being "terribly slow and... quite overpowered with the heat", Leyden "succeeded very ill" in an awkward attempt at sketching, and so had to resort to minute verbal description (of which he feared his reader could have spared nine tenths) in later seeking to persuade Mark Wilks that this statue, so conveniently near Mysore and Seringapatam, was indeed well worth visiting.³ At the same time too, Leyden sought, characteristically, to prevail upon Wilks to take a more active part in the government at Madras, where his "upright conduct and ability" were much needed, especially at a time when the British forces in India were being "disgraced by another Ceylon in the Wynaad"⁴ by Lord-Lake's failure to take Bharatpur after five costly attempts: a failure which so hurt the veteran Colin Mackenzie that he entertain ed serious thoughts of volunteering his services as an engineer in the campaign against Holkar, and would probably have accompanied Malcolm to Bengal had he seen him in time.⁴ Nor was there anything to keep Wilks from a more active participation in politics except "that lurking innate timidity" or want of self-confidence, always productive of "an anxious turn of mind", and almost the only weakness in Wilks's character, which would allow a much inferior man with greater self-assurance to "predominate" over him in "Falstaff's expression";⁵ for Wilks, most amiable in his "private dispositions" and zealous and devoted in public affairs, clear and correct in his ideas and wanting "neither a head to conceive nor a hand to execute", yet required someone in

1 George Kebble, Secretary to Govt., Madras, to Mackenzie, June 6, 1805. (Madras Public Diaries & Consultations, loc.cit.) Mackenzie told Leyden, Aug. 23, 1805: "I not long since forwarded Officially your leave approved of."
2 Leyden to Erskine, May 23, 1805. 3 Leyden to Wilks, Apr. 25, 1805.
4 Leyden to Malcolm, Apr. 12, 1805.
5 The Merry Wives of Windsor, II, ii, 294: "... I will predominate over the peasant..."
whom he had confidence "to stand at his back and occasionally tap him on the shoulder" with "'that's right - proceed - never mind the hue and cry": someone, in fact, like John Malcolm, who, supplying exactly what Wilks needed,"might have made him do anything", so that after Malcolm's departure from Mysore Wilks had been "scarcely half himself". So Leyden, taking something of Malcolm's mantle on himself, now exhorted Wilks to "prepare as if for the Asiatic Society" a paper on certain experiments, which, if once drawn up in form, Leyden hoped Wilks might be persuaded after all to publish separately. Three weeks later, too, congratulating Wilks on his reappointment to the Mysore Residency in Malcolm's renewed absence, Leyden declared his belief that both Wilks and Malcolm (who might, he hoped, succeed the "lamented" Josiah Webbe as Resident with Sindhia and so leave Mysore permanently to Wilks) could be employed in some more useful capacity; and he added, though in vain, the significant news that Lord William Bentinck, who had come east with "the firm resolution of being governed by nobody whatsoever", had already discovered 

"the necessity of having by him a man rooted and grounded disciplined and versed in Indian affairs and would now be very glad to listen to reason: - a word to the wise as the saying is".

Leyden's own way led through the little hill province of Coorg, "a rich and happy country" ruled by Vira Raja, the ally of Britain, who, when imprisoned at Periapatan by Tipu in his early youth, had amused himself by depicting in charcoal on his prison walls the overthrow of the Moors by the Feringis or British, distinguished as "Toppawallas or wearers of hats" and rendered in his drawings as dark-complexioned as their opponents. Leyden's desire to "scrape an acquaintance" with Vira Raja, who seemed "quite the modern fine gentleman", was gratified by letters of introduction from John Henry Peile, Secretary to the Mysore Residency, which procured Leyden a very hospitable reception in Coorg, at that period "quite the Versailles of Mysore" and "the fashionable resort of all the wit beauty...politeness...genius & science of this mediterranean region". The whole country, isolated as it was on the plateau of the Western Ghats, quite delighted Leyden; for, besides growing "sensibly stronger" in its air, he found its grotesque and savage scenery, with mountain-ridges

1 Leyden to Malcolm, April 12,1805.
2 Ibid. Perhaps in connection with Wilks's Report on the Interior Administration...of Mysoor (Fort William, 1805).
3 Leyden to Wilks, May 15,1805. Vira Raja escaped from Tipu in 1788, rebelled successfully against him, and made a treaty with the British.
4 Leyden to Mrs R. Smith, June 12,1805.
5 He became so in April,1805.
6 Leyden to Peile, May 5,1805.
suddenly glimpsed through the bamboos and high green peaks towering above forest-clad slopes and "narrow cultivated stripes", strongly reminiscent of "some very romantic scenes in the Scottish Highlands". Its inhabitants, too, "slaves of the Rajah but happy in having only one master", in whose praise they composed songs—

Come all ye jolly Coorg men
And sing Hey down derry
Rajendra is our chief my boys
And he lives in Markerry—

displayed a frank, open and bold demeanour, totally different from "the mean and cringing aspect of all the native Hindus" Leyden had yet seen, and very attractive to "a free born mountaineer" like Leyden, on whose soul "the glowing sentiments of a free spirit" fell-like dew. In particular, the Subahdar of Virarajendrapet, where Leyden stayed for one day (which he wished had been a score, from its good effect on his health), rejoiced Leyden's heart by greeting him with "such a shake of the hand as would have done credit to a Scotsman": an entirely unexpected action which drove quite out of Leyden's head a most elaborate Tamil oration which he was in the act of delivering, and for which he substituted at once "such a tug in reply" that if the Subahdar could not "understand a Scotsman's language very accurately", he would at least not "forge a Scotsman's gripe in a hurry". And the Subahdar pleased Leyden further by declaring himself willing and gratified to introduce into Coorg the European potato, of which Leyden, believing that it would succeed there very generally, and especially in the poorest hill soils, promised to send specimens on his return to Mysore. Much less prepossessing than the Subahdar were the members of the inferior race of Eravas, "poor wretches", quite black in complexion, of short squat stature, with no clothes excepting a rag round their middles and generally nasty and besmeared with clay, being labourers; and when the Subahdar sent for one of them, on Leyden's hinting that it would be acceptable to hear their language, identified by Leyden as "a dialect of Tamul, only a little corrupted in the pronunciation", and quite different from the Kodagu of...
the Coorgs proper, "The poor fellow seemed terribly frightened lest I should have eat him alive and certainly looked on me as the Devil or something worse." Nor was Leyden favourably impressed by "Padre Acosta a mongrel Portuguese of Goa", self-styled Vicarias Curgensis, who took every opportunity of "demolishing the bread brandy and biscuits" of passing heretics "under the pretext of self-mortification and asceticism" and who, following his own inclination rather than theirs, forced Leyden and his party "to give him some bottles of Madeira por los sacramentos; in return for which he rendered "a most lamentable hymn together with the Miserere mei."

Pressing on to the coast, however, Leyden had to leave Coorg, with its hosts of comfortable and happy-looking inhabitants, its abundant provisions and its neat houses, for the rich but neglected districts of Cotiole and Chirakkal, which formed a truly deplorable contrast, having been "allowed to run entirely to a waste impenetrable Jungle", pleasing enough from the aromatic scent of its forests and the festoons of brilliantly coloured flowers adorning equally the humblest creepers and the highest trees, but quite distressing in its desolation, being productive for neither agriculture nor commerce, and abounding in the remains of strongly-built houses and in innumerable wells of red indurated clay, so capacious, deep and elegant as to have been evidently the work of a flourishing and civilized people, and so solid as to have escaped the ruin which had overtaken every other edifice, "sacred or civil" above ground.

"You enquire for the name of some place of ancient or of modern fame - it is all the same - the uniform answer is to point to a heap of shapeless ruins uniform enough in their destruction. Verily this is the land of desolation and the curse of a great country and a fine race of people hangs over the head of some living sinners."

By the start of May, when he had finally left the confines of Mysore and reached the first post on the borders of Cotiole, Leyden was feeling "quite crushed to pieces having been obliged to ride nearly all the way; his travelling chair, despite its name, having proved "little better than a palankeen at best" and in the rain still worse. At Stony River, meeting Dr David White of Cannanore on a botanizing expedition, Leyden learned that a trip

1 Correctly described by Leyden as a mixed dialect midway between (old) Kanarese and Malayalam. Peile had given Leyden a purer specimen of the language than any Leyden could procure in Coorg.
2 Leyden to Pelle, May 3, 1805.
3 'ascetism' in MS. copy.
4 Leyden to Lt Thomas Arthur, May 29, 1805.
5 Leyden to Wilks, May 15, 1805.
6 Garrison Surgeon at Cannanore from January 8, 1796.
to Bombay was after all out of the question for that season. This news, not wholly unexpected, Leyden received with mixed feelings; for, although "a good deal chagrined" at missing a chance, which might not soon recur, of meeting his "esteemed and valued friend" William Erskine, of being "much entertained by the sage and facetious Sir James Mackintosh", and of seeing for himself how the members of the Bombay Establishment had "all grown literary men to the astonishment of every body in Mysore", Leyden felt that, though he would have undertaken the voyage had it been practicable, he would yet have augured very badly of it if he had "a particle of superstition" in him --"and everybody that plays at whist has more or less" -- since he had lost his old confidence in the maxim that one born to be hanged would never drown, and accordingly admitted:

"Whether I am to be hanged or drowned or taken by the French, I cannot make out for the life of me... I am naturally fond of journeying and voyaging to a degree of folly, but though the voyage to Bombay... presents every attraction, yet I do not know how it is but I have no appetite for it whatsoever."

If the delay caused by Leyden's relapse at Mysore had thus lessened his prospects of visiting Bombay, it had also saved him from having "inevitably" fallen into the hands of a party of Nayars who had made an incursion into Cotiole some twelve days earlier from their own unhappy and completely desolated mountain territory of Wynaad, which had "no subsistence left... nor even seed for a future harvest", and, after occupying the woods near Stoney River and attacking Veitoor, had been "so actively assailed by the Collector's peons and the Military" as to lose seventy men (about half their number) killed or captured. Leyden, although hitherto not "much au fait in their manners and history," was much interested in the peoples of Wynaad and especially in these warlike Nayars, "a bold fine-looking set of men much more prepossessing" in aspect than any other tribe in Leyden's experience; but as the men of this "very singular race" combined the manners of a polished, well-bred gentleman with drunkenness, "the independent pride of an American savage" and a fondness for treating their enemies "very genteelly" by first scalping and then crucifying them,

1 Leyden to Peile, May 3, 1805. 2 Leyden to Erskine, May 28, 1805. 3 Leyden to Wilks, April 25, 1805. 4 Leyden to Scott, Jan. 13, 1803. See p. sup. 5 Leyden to Mrs Smith, June 12, 1805. 6 Leyden to Mrs Smith, June 12, 1805. 7 Leyden to Arthur, May 29, 1805. 8 Leyden to Wilks, May 15, 1805. 9 Leyden to Sturt, March 29, 1805, when he asked for information on the Nayars and the languages of the peoples of Wynaad. 10 Leyden to Miss Kay, Oct. 25, 1805.
although sufficiently eager to observe them in their purest, un-
mixed state, was not sorry to have avoided such close and violent
contact. Nor could he catch even a glimpse of any of the Nayar
women; said to be very handsome and almost equal in number to the
men; for as they never worked as servants and lived, after their
custom, in "separate houses dispersed among the jungle", Leyden,
being in "bodily fear" of the long, sharp Nayar knives ("to all
intents and purposes excepting smoking tobacco...very little-
inferior to an Iroquois tomahawk") and recollecting the abundance
of enormously deep pits and wells where one could be cast dead or
alive with "very little chance of...resurrection till the last day",
reckoned it neither safe nor easy to seek them out.

Malabar in general Leyden found "irregular wild and savage in
appearance, consisting chiefly...of clustered hillocks and ridges
with intermediate stripes of valley" and resembling "a table
irregularly piled with cups and saucers", but very romantic, rich
and fertile, exporting much of its immense unfailing rice crop and
possessing deep red soil and luxuriant vegetation of bamboo and
teak, with cardamom, black pepper and wild nutmeg plants growing
like weeds in the jungle. It seemed also to be "the real country
of the Amazons"; its people, a stouter race than the Kanarese or
the Coorgs; and "said to be descended from the Devil bodily"
living under a matriarchal system by which inheritance descended
in the female line and each woman, having five or six husbands, was
consequently, according to Leyden, five or six times as happy as
any woman elsewhere; and as further proof that both the inhabit-
ants and their customs were "very different from those of other
Indian countries", Leyden noted that there modest women were "dis-
tinguished by going naked to the waist", while those of another
character dressed "in a manner that would be thought modest in
England", there being "no accounting for the vagaries of fashion".

In climate, Malabar proved unfortunately "the very Boeotia of
India", with a dank and foggy atmosphere amply sufficient, during
the monsoon, not only to "damp the energies of the brightest
genius ever...seen", but also, in conjunction with his own ill-
health, to reduce even the volatile Leyden to regretting, at least
temporarily, that he had ever left his "sacred natal clime", with
all its blissful associations of the prime of youth, to seek fame.

1 Leyden to Lt. Col. Macaulay, May 17, 1805. (B.M. Add. MS. 26,561.)
2 Leyden to Wilks, May 15, 1805. Claudius Buchanan, op. cit., p.105,
noted that the manners of the Nayars of both sexes were marked
by an "independent frankness" as were the Syrian Christians.
3 Leyden to Mrs. Smith, June 12, 1805.
4 Leyden to his father, Nov. 26, 1805.
5 Leyden to Mrs. Smith, loc. cit., x to Miss Kay, Oct. 28, 1805.
wealth in a strange country where now, his body being shaken by "the lightning shock Of sun-rays tipt with death", and his "darin' thoughts that soar'd sublime" quite "sunk in ocean's southern wave" he wandered exiled and forlorn, a prey to the fond regrets of memory, so that, contemplating a piece of Indian gold as he sat alone in his tent by night in the jungles of Chirakkal, he apostrophized the coin bitterly and poignantly:

Slave of the dark and dirty mine!
What vanity has brought thee here?
How can I love to see thee shine
So bright, whom I have bought so dear?
The tent-ropes flapping lone I hear
For twilight-converse, arm in arm;
The jackal's shriek bursts on mine ear
When mirth and music won't to charm.

By Cherical's dark wandering streams,
Where cane-tufts shadow all the wild,
Sweet visions haunt my waking dreams
Of Teviot lov'd while still a child,
Of castled rocks stupendous pil'd
By Esk or Eden's classic wave,
Where loves of youth and friendships smil'd,
Uncurs'd by thee, vile yellow slave!...

For thee, for thee, vile yellow slave,
I left a heart that lov'd me true!
I cross'd the tedious ocean-wave,
To roam in climes unkind and new.
The cold wind of the stranger blew
Chill on my wither'd heart:-- the grave
Dark and untimely met my view--
And all for thee, vile yellow slave! 2

Leyden did himself less than justice in this accusation; 3 for although in going east for the accomplishment of his "most favourite plans" 4 he had had more than personal concerns to look to, 5 he had left Britain influenced much less by Indian gold than by his consuming desire to become an orientalist second to none. 6 Two months later, indeed, he was able to aver that he was never haunted by visions of either palaces or cottages in Scotland and had given up "all thoughts of revisiting the Scenes of Infancy"; 7 but this mood of regretful despondency enabled him at least to compose a poem which, for all its tendency to rhetoric, displayed not a little "true genius and poetical feeling of the highest order", and

1 Cf. Leyden, To Sir James Purvis, II, 45-46: "While many a sun-ray, tipt with death, has fallen like lightning on our path."
3 J.C. Goodfellow accepts this, however, in his pedestrian verses On Leyden, I, 5: "Gold lured him o'er the ocean's crested tide".
4 Leyden to Heber, Apr. 7, 1803. 5 Leyden to Heber, Apr. 51, 1803. 6 Leyden to Heber, Oct. 24, 1805. 7 Leyden to Erskine, July 4, 1805.
8 Rev. Charles Colton, Lacon, Vol. II, pp.98-99f, quoted the whole of this ode as a footnote to art. cxxxiii on 'genius', being glad to enrich his "barren pages with so beautiful a gem", which comes "as near perfection as the sublunary muse can arrive at".
certainly deserves "a place in every Anglo-Indian anthology of verse" as an expression of the exile's longing for home.¹

Melancholy news, too, which he could at first hardly believe, awaited Leyden at Cannanore on the sea coast, where he arrived on May 6, to learn of the death of his friend and physician, Alexander Anderson, to whose care, under Providence, he so lately owed his life, and whose conduct to Leyden had from the first been "marked by those unostentatious acts of kindness, the extent of which is never discovered till it is too late to thank the author of them".² What Leyden could do was to write to Anderson's daughter, Mrs West, not to intrude on her sorrows, but to participate her regret, as one who had himself learned from absence and distance ("the things most similar to death in the world") that "a person can only have parents once in his life and that the loss of a parent can never be supplied"; and who consequently knew how she would soon feel the full extent of her great loss of "so good a father and so kind a friend"; and this he did, although uncertain whether "the etiquette of politeness" justified his action, despite his intimacy with the Anderson family at Seringapatam.² Despising the cant of feeling as much as he venerated the reality, Leyden felt that it would be "very idle to offer... any of the common consolations of friendship"; but it was not difficult to write appreciatively of a man at once so mild and amiable in private life and so firm and energetic in public affairs as Anderson, whose mind had been always directed towards useful and philanthropic projects, his benevolence being of "that unobtrusive kind which gradually and almost imperceptibly produces the strongest effect",² and his only fault "too great a degree of flexibility in his opinions, which was not temp:-orizing but want of confidence in his own judgment,"³ so that Leyden could confidently assure Mrs West that both in the Government's appreciation of her father's public work and in his patients' gratitude for his "goodness and kind attentions", she would discover "a calm and temperate but unfading joy, a joy of grief which will not soon pass away".²

Leyden was fortunate in finding at Cannanore another good medical friend in Dr David White, whom he had already met at Stony River, and under whose care he now put himself,³ fulfilling his promise to stay with White for a few days,⁴ and eventually remaining at Cannanore for a month, to have the benefit of White's

1 Edward F. Oaten on Anglo-Indian Literature in the Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol.XIV, p.335. He adds, ibid., p.340, that after Leyden's ode this longing was not expressed so well again until Sir Alfred Lyall wrote The Land of Incidents.
2 Leyden to Mrs West, May 10, 1805. 3 Leyden to Wilks, May 15, 1805, to whom he regretted that he could not now show Anderson his appreciation of his help. 4 Leyden to Peile, May 3, 1805.
advice, and to enjoy the sea-breezes, which, being "perfectly delightful" gave some colour to White's assertion that the air of Malabar would "do wonders" for Leyden. In general, however, the damp climate proved quite unfavourable both to mental activity and to "the moral feelings", which it reduced to a state of such "grievous inaptitude & bluntness" that Leyden, while admitting that as an invalid whose mind was as relaxed as his muscles and nerves, he could hardly "place his own stupidity to the account of the atmosphere", yet adduced as a sufficient reason for resigning himself to destiny without the trouble of an ineffectual struggle the "notorious fact that the slightest traits of wit or humour" had never been observed in Malabar during the monsoon. To the unvaried dankness and haziness of the air he was indeed inclined to ascribe every local ill, from the ferocity of the Nayar character and the desolation of the district by violence to the "dullness and insipidity of all earthly conversation" in Cannanore, its complete lack of anything but "manual wit", and the prevalence of the "shocking and infectious vice of scandal or rather slander", in which Cannanore excelled Seringapatam "as much as a coal pit does a saw pit". A "particularly pernicious effect" was discernible in the case of British ladies, who, although "(sometimes) the gentlest creatures in the world" invariably became little better than vixens or torma-gants upon reaching the Malabar coast, being affected, according to Leyden (who professed himself resolved not to marry in Malabar at least) by envy of the Nayar system of polyandry:

"...it is obviously impossible to prevent them meditating on the charms of a male-seraglio and as the poor souls have nothing in the world to amuse themselves with, it is not to be wondered at that they should frequently indulge in such contemplations."

And an unnamed friend of Leyden's own—perhaps the "Young Cleghorn" who had accompanied him to Malabar, having been ill of a fever—developed so "lethargic and comatose" a habit, for which he would submit to no medical treatment, that Leyden, viewing with misgiving his departure for Mysore at the end of May, doubted whether he ought not to be "considered as dead in-law" since, his character-istic simplicity having degenerated into "a woeful silliness and his usual slowness into absolute lethargy", he occupied scarcely one of his seven senses in perfection, but, becoming as deaf as a post, generally passed the day "in a kind of reverie, neither asleep nor awake, the living picture of the absent man".

1 Leyden to Macaulay, May 17, 1805.
2 Leyden to Peile, May 25, 1805.
3 Leyden to Peile, May 3, 1805.
4 Leyden to Mrs Smith, June 12, 1805. Cf. P. sup. on the climate.
5 Leyden to Miss Kay, Oct. 28, 1805.
6 Leyden to Arthur, May 29, 1805.
A contributory cause of social strain at Cannanore was the rivalry between members of the Madras and Bombay Establishments, "more elegantly distinguished by the appellations of Ducks and Chili Grinders alias Mullegatanni men"; for, "Sweet Malabar" being about to pass from the latter to the former government, "the heroes of Bombay", resolved not to lose it "without casting many a longing lingering look behind"; had treated Madras officers sent there a few months before as "the veriest interlopers coming to bereave them of the loaves and the fishes". At present, apart from various reports for which "the Bombayers" pretended to quote an overland dispatch —"Credat— Judaeus Apella!"— it was whispered among the Madras officers that "a grand fracas" was likely between Col. Macleod (residing in Cannanore for the rainy season) and the civilians of Malabar, which would probably lead to the "compleat extirpation" of the Bombay officials from the district where they had long been prophets, priests and kings: a prospect welcomed by Leyden, who disliked such features of Bombay rule as the imposition of an "arbitrary, exorbitant and unfair" rate of exchange at Cannanore, and the quashing of a promising scheme suggested by "a very active and intelligent young man" named Baber for the issue of passports to all traders in cardamoms and similar produce, as a measure against the Nayars. Meanwhile, at Cannanore, much attention was paid to "adjusting the precedency of divers ladies, the etiquette of visiting parties and the harmony of dinners and tiffing between the respective subjects of Madras and Bombay": a rivalry which interested Leyden the more since it involved his "intelligent physician", Dr David White, who, as the only Bombay man "worthy the countenance and support of the Madras government" in natural science (wherein he had nothing to expect from his own), had been reluctantly allowed to remain in Malabar only by the "officious interference" of Lord William Bentinck, for which Leyden feared White would suffer if the Bombay government ever again got him "into their clutches".

Leyden had his own social diversions also, notably a conference or two with his old acquaintance, "her Serene highness the Balia Bibi" of Cannanore, which suggested to him afresh that had that lady been less stricken in years he might have "turned out a

1 Leyden to Wilks, May 15, 1805.
2 Cf. the frequent echoes of Gray in Leyden's poetry.
3 Leyden to Erskine, May 28, 1805. Macleod went to Cannanore for the rainy season on May 25, having broken the Nayars more thoroughly than ever before & taken many of their principal chiefs.
4 The Head Collector at Cannanore had made the mohur pass there at 15 rupees, as against 12½ at "Sanvalore & 11 "up the Country", so laying the basis of a very nefarious traffic!.
5 Leyden added: "Perca acquota..." (Virgil, Aeneid, Bk VI, 1, 854).
6 Leyden to Pelle, May 28, 1805. Cf. pp. ssn...
mighty favourite if not 'King of the isles of the sea'; and led him to inquire hopefully whether the laws against stealing an heir:
less were "at all applicable to doings on the coast of Malabar", since her highness's grand-daughter might be a ward in Chancery; but although he had his first sight of the bread-fruit tree in the Bibi's garden, he did not go to see it growing in abundance in her realm of the Laccadive Islands, although this might have been very easily accomplished had Leyden obtained a boat a day or two after his arrival in Cannanore, and was made the more desirable by the fact that a Bombay officer who had already made the trip appeared quite unqualified to bring "any additional information from any quarter". Nor did Leyden, through "some secret admonition of providence" conveyed apparently by a "sweet little cherub that sits up aloft", embark on the one vessel which, contrary to his expectation, left Malabar for Bombay after his arrival at the coast: an ill-fated pattamar, from the wreck of which a survivor, a Bombay surgeon named Hewitt, came ashore at Cannanore on the evening of May 26 "like a water wraith drooping and dripping in a pair of long drawers and his shirt with his hair hanging in tassels about his ears", having escaped with difficulty by swimming for his life, which Leyden would have had "neither strength nor skill" to do.

Despite his uncomfortable feeling of being "cooped up like a duck in a horsepond" during the enervating season of the rains, Leyden nevertheless felt that, even without the benefit of a sea-voyage, his general health had greatly improved and his strength been in some degree recovered by his stay at the coast, even although by the end of May he was living in "daily expectation of another acute attack of the liver" (eventually "warded off with great difficulty"), and was expecting, with but too much reason, that a new course of mercury would be necessary for the treatment of his adhesions.

1 Leyden to Pelle, May 28, 1805.
2 The southern group of the Laccadives had remained under the suzerainty of the Raja of Cannanore, on payment of a yearly tribute, after the peace of Seringapatam in 1792.
5 Leyden to Erskine, May 28, 1805.
6 Leyden to Mrs. Smith, June 12, 1805.
7 Leyden to Erskine, July 4, 1805. (Ms. 971, N. L.S.)
8 I.e. of a district or a court; Leyden to Pelle, loc. cit.
his house, almost the most enviable in Leyden's experience and certainly far superior in romantic situation to anything he had seen in India, overlooking as it did an immense expanse of ocean on one hand and on the other a river like "a romantic winding lake embosomed in beautiful green woods" and a "hodge podge of hills and vallies" like an "incongruous assemblage of cups and saucers", with the "green spiry range" of the Ghats in the background. From the start of his stay in Cannanore, Leyden had made a good many inquiries to very little purpose about books in the native tongue of Malayalam, being interested in the connection between the languages of the Coromandel and the Malabar coasts; and he now enlisted in his search for such aids to study as Ziegenbalg's Malayalam grammar both Hodgson, who showed him a Malayalam-Latin-Portuguese dictionary compiled by a missionary, and Murdoch Brown, assistant to the Collector of Customs in Malabar, whom Leyden met for a few minutes in Hodgson's house. Leyden had indeed much need of help in this pursuit; for although he discovered such facts, as the possession by the Moplahs ("a very odd sort of people whose personal courage Leyden admired as still greater than the Nayars") of a distinct character of their own, used in accounts and family records but evidently not in books, he was hampered by the natives' complete ignorance of Sanskrit, their lack of accurate knowledge of Malayalam, which made it difficult for Leyden to get someone to read the language with him, and their general unreliability and indeed rascality.

"My Persian who despises the Hindostanis was wont to tell me that the blacker they were they were the greater scoundrels siyâd-e, hurrâmzâd-e, but here the tables are turned for he has found on this coast a race much whiter than himself the greatest hurrâmzâd-e in nature." "

Hoping to find in Brown a valuable source of information, Leyden began a correspondence with him, explaining that he had as yet only a very general acquaintance with the languages of India, and sending so many queries concerning Kanarese and Malayalam books as to make him ashamed of his intrusion on Brown's patience. And he found a still more valuable correspondent in Colonel Colin Macaulay, the British Resident at Travancore, who had already, by the agency of Mark Wilks, interested himself in Leyden's literary

1 Leyden to Peile, May 28, 1805. Cf. p. sup. for the simile of cups and saucers. And cf. Scenes of Infancy, pt. iii, l. 471: "bosom'd in woods..."
2 Leyden to Colin Macaulay, May 17, 1805.
3 Leyden to Murdoch Brown, June 3, 1805. (B. M. Add. MS. 26, 561.)
4 Ibid. Brown was in the Sea Customs Department.
5 Leyden to Ricketts, July 19, 1805. The Moplahs or Nappilas were fanatical Moslems.
6 These were in Arabic.
7 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 9, 1805. (MS. 971, N. L. S.)
8 E. g. on the existence of a kannarese dictionary compiled by missionaries & of Sanskrit books in the Malayalam character.
researches with great zeal and activity, obtaining rapid results so far beyond Leyden's most sanguine expectations that an expression of obligation seemed a more fitting acknowledgement than any apology for intrusion, and giving on occasion the frankest of opinions, as in his "Hypercriticism" of Leyden's Dirge of Tipu (sent him by Wilks), which Wilks refrained from showing to Leyden, much to the disappointment of the latter, who claimed to be, unlike the vatam irritabile genus in general, "by no means thin-skinned on the subject;" and to regard private literary criticism as equivalent to "having your coat brushed on your back and occasionally getting a rap over the shoulders with the back of the brush." Leyden maintained his correspondence also with Wilks himself, whose philosophical principles, keen discriminating mind and "very superior knowledge of the local and distinguishing features of Indian economy" were now to be employed, at Lord Wellesley's instance and to Leyden's pleasure, in investigating the history of Mysore; and he continued to write to Peile, from whom he learned, with interest but without envy, of Mysore's recent "immense accession of wit beauty loves graces charms and the Devil knows what," and to William Erskine, despite Erskine's "wicked and felonious silence" of almost six months.

Although writing thus promptly to Macaulay and Brown for fear of accidents, Leyden hoped to pay his respects to both in person unless the monsoon proved remarkably violent for by the beginning of June he was intending to proceed in a few days southward along the coast to Mahé and Calicut. This he proved well enough to do at a leisurely pace, although complaining that, despite the beneficial effect of the sea air, he was so greatly reduced in health, and his constitution so irretrievably shattered, that even if he recovered eventually, which seemed very unlikely, he would still be quite incapable of ever again fighting single-handed. So by June 12 he was at Tellicherry of the "antique towers," writing to Mrs Robert Smith after a year and a half's silence, for which he hardly knew whether to claim blame or credit although, never having been blamed hitherto for silence, he inclined to the latter, urging his merit in having refrained from:

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1 Leyden to Wilks, May 15, 1805.
2 Leyden to Macaulay, May 17, 1805. Wilks had asked Leyden to answer a paragraph in a letter from Macaulay to Wilks of June 1.
4 Leyden to Peile, May 28, 1805. 5 Leyden to Erskine, May 28, 1805.
6 Leyden to M. Brown, June 3, 1805.
7 Leyden to Ballantyne, Oct. 24, 1805.
8 Leyden to Erskine, May 28, 1805.
venting his "querimoniousness" in the usual fashion of a miserable, tortured, languishing invalid, by extorting "a sympathy of countenance, if not of feeling" from the almost equally unhappy hearer of his lugubrious complaints; for, considering it "a greater symptom of folly than of wit for a bilious and spleenetic man to commit his humours to paper"; he had "pestered nobody's feelings, invoked nobody's sympathy, and excited nobody's compassion", and indeed found more evidence of sagacity in having thus kept his "atrabilious humours" to himself than in now at last breaking his silence with a long and, he feared, uninteresting epistle. 1

Five days later, having chanced to read in a newspaper the text of Lord William Bentinck's Order of June 5 requiring the East India Company's judges and collectors to have a knowledge of Tamil, Telugu and either Kanarese or Malayalam; 2 Leyden, who had been speculating on the Supreme Government's intentions concerning the first three of these languages, 3 wrote a shorter but more significant letter to Bentinck, excusing the freedom of this direct communication on the ground of his particular responsibility to Bentinck as the sole mover of Leyden's Mysore Survey appointment, and seeking to place at the public service his knowledge both of these tongues and of Sanskrit, Marathi, Hindustani, Persian and the Moplah dialect, in most of which adequate instruction was hard to procure. 2 He was interested most of all in Kanarese, to which he had paid a good deal of attention, as a language which hardly any of the Company's officials knew reasonably well, and in which he had collected sufficient materials for the publication of a dictionary and grammar not much inferior to those in any Indian tongue; 4 and although such a publication was not at present practicable, no Kanarese types having been yet cast, Leyden undertook, if it became so and if Bentinck approved, to throw his materials readily into the requisite form, shrinking from no scrutiny and soliciting neither remuneration nor personal advantage. 5 At the moment, fearing that his plan must appear presumptuous in one so recently arrived in India, he begged Bentinck not to mention it while Leyden, being absent from Madras and unable to be put to the proof, might be exposed to "the impertinent observations of scientists and men of slender erudition"; 6 but by August he had

1 Leyden to Mrs Smith, June 12, 1805. 2 Leyden to Lord William Bentinck, June 17, 1805. These were the "4 grand languages" of Madras Presidency. 3 Leyden to Malcolm, March 29, 1805, asking whether these languages were "banished and proscribed" at Calcutta or, worse, handed over to "the protection of the Madras Government". 4 C. Ramaswamy, a translator of Mackenzie's, told Mr Doctor Lyden scorgin, July 18, 1805, that he was compiling a Kanarese dictionary. 5 Cf Leyden to Barlow, Jan. 2, 1807. 6 E.g. Alexander H. Kelso, Ct.B. sub.
amplified this scheme into an offer to provide the Madras Government within a year with a grammar and dictionary in two volumes quarto in any of the four prescribed languages, with no charge to the Government beyond the risk of publication, and also to translate on the same terms as much as might be desired of such works as the Sanskrit Smriti or metrical codes of law 'fitted to the local habits of the different provinces.' Governments being "too busy to attend to any of these things", Leyden received no answer to this proposal, and indeed expected none; but these representations helped to keep Leyden's name before Bentinck; to such effect that two years later, when a Superintendent was required for a proposed college of languages for junior civil servants at Madras, it was on Leyden that Bentinck's choice fell.

Leyden's immediate pursuits, however, were to be more active than academic; for, continuing his journey to Calicut, he found himself assailed so fiercely in turn by "all Mat. Lewis' Elementary kings" that he forswore them utterly, "'black spirits and white, blue spirits and gray;'" and expressed the suspicion that Beilby Hodgson might have hired some old Moplah crone of his acquaintance to let loose all these powers of desolation, such crones being probably "able to do as much mischief as the redoubted Lapland witches, who certainly are not a whit uglier." A little beyond Mahé, the Water King made a beginning by nearly sweeping Leyden, chair and bearers and all, into the gulfs of the ocean, and covering the sands so completely as to drive Leyden fairly into the jungle and delay him considerably: a "specimen of the politeness of his watery-majesty" which decided Leyden against making him any offering at the sacrifice rocks. Then the Cloud King pelted him incessantly as far as Quilandi, where the Erl King or lord of the jungles, "a prettily-enough disposed gentleman", took him up, behaving most respectfully until, near the mansion of Thomas Warden, chief Collector for Malabar, Leyden received "a very good drenching" when one side of his horse failed to come up as quickly as the other. Moreover, all Leyden's serpents had died of fatigue on the journey; his bullocks seemed likely to do the same; and when his books and papers reached him at Calicut, he found the

4 Leyden evidently collected specimens of these. B.M. Add. MS. 26577, ff. 82-98, has notes and extracts on Indian serpents, including those of Malabar; & the notes there in Leyden's hand include three dated Mysore, April 30, Palghatcherry, July 11, & Quilon, Sept. 8, 1805 on the dimensions and habits, etc. of snakes. Cf. p. sup. 5 By June 24, Leyden had not a bullock fit to carry a sackful of sketches to Hodgson.
latter completely soaked, and in drying them spoiled a great many, so that he felt under no obligations whatever to the Fire King, with whom alone he had still "to reckon scores".

For all its discomfort, this journey had led Leyden through picturesque country, the river scenery being particularly pleasing even amid showers and haze; but Calicut itself proved disappointingly dull in almost every respect. The incessantly stormy weather left him unable, after several days' residence, either to form any general idea of the place, or to confirm, from personal experience, the tradition that the sun had actually been known to rise at Calicut; and, "not in the least preferring the Utile to the Dulce", he soon became quite nauseated by the dull regularity of life there. Even the hope of paying his respects to "the Cut-wall and the Admiral, so famous in the Lusiad of Camoens" was frustrated by the discovery that the times were altered and "the tables turned with respect to both these sublime characters", the former being now but "a species of burrough-bailiff" and the latter merely the chief fisherman. The pleasure of availing himself of Thomas Keate's introduction to Charles Mackonochie, a most ingenious calculator of "the ordinates & co-ordinates of all kind of curves or any thing else of the sort", was marred by the fact that Leyden, being entirely preoccupied with thoughts of a Malabari dictionary, had brought Mackonochie a volume of the Repertory of Arts belonging to Beilby Hodgson instead of one of the Edinburgh Review entrusted to him by Keate; for this "notable sample" of absence of mind, which seemed venial enough to Leyden and indeed enabled him to begin what might be a twenty-years' correspondence with Keate on topographical and general subjects, so offended Mackonochie that he could hardly be persuaded to lend Leyden two numbers of the Edinburgh Review, which were rendered the more interesting by the general lack of European news, books and reviews. Leyden's first reaction to Calicut was thus altogether so unfavourable that, although declining on principle to repent of having left Hodgson and Keate, he was fain to console himself.

1 Leyden to Hodgson, June 24, 1805.
2 See the Lusiad, bks. VII-X. Colin Mackenzie, Aug. 23(?), 1805, hoped boldly that Leyden might "enjoy many pleasant hours with the mighty Cotal & the illustrious Almirante".
4 Leyden to Thomas Morris Keate, Registrar to Provincial Court of Appeal for Malabar & Kanara, June 24, 1805.
5 I.e. Malayalam.
6 E.g. on places of interest between Calicut & Quilon; & on a copy of the records of the former Court of Calicut adorned with sketches of all the criminals tried ther.
7 Leyden to Erskine, July 4, 1805.
8 Leyden told Hodgson, loc. cit., that he had "long laid it down as a general principle, never to repent of any thing"; so as to avoid having "both the Skaitth & scorn". Cf. p. sup.
with the firm, though vain, resolution to return to them as soon as possible. Calicut, however, proved to offer compensations enough to detain Leyden until the end of the first week in July. Mackonochie, although having "one fault of enormous magnitude" in the shape of a Grecian nose very well adapted for beer-drinking, proved skilled both in singing 'Tak your auld cloak about ye" "like a Scotchman" and, more practically, in furnishing data on the saw-mills at Beyapore, of which Leyden sent Colin Mackenzie an "amazing and sufficiently gratifying," although rather short, account. There were also such interesting people to meet as "Numbin a Malabar Physician," and such semi-professional opportunities as that of dissecting a male leopard: an operation which Leyden performed as carefully and thoroughly as his earlier dissection of a female black bear in the wilds of Mysore the previous year. Most important of all, Calicut, in contrast to the rest of Malabar, provided facilities for study which enabled Leyden, who had read scarcely "a syllable of anything" for months past, to resume his Sanskrit studies and pay some attention to Malayalam, wherein he had with much difficulty found someone to read with him, and although this circumstance did not quite induce him to terminate his wanderings at Calicut, it helped to raise his spirits to the pitch of writing a lively letter to the former "young smart sprightly" Sarah Sowle, now, as Mrs Walter Grant, metamorphosed into "a great lubberly housewife." Assuming that she would have had no objection to hearing that Leyden had despairingly cut his throat on finding himself "perishing piecemeal in a strange land" and so was "dead buried — perhaps something else...a very natural consequence of such preliminaries", he promptly assured her that, being "too tough a chap for anything of that kind", he would resolutely live to torment her, having exchanged his earlier resolve (sworn with his "greatest oath except one") never to write to her again for the "more humane" purpose of revenging himself within the present century instead of waiting till the day of judgment, when Sarah's transgressions would have accumulated beyond the point of forgiveness. And as one who had "only taken a trip to the verge of the

1 Leyden to Hodgson, June 24, 1805.
2 Leyden to Keate, June 24, 1805. He allowed that Mackonochie's nose might grace a statue better than a human being.
3 MS.26.580 has Leyden's notes on the output, etc, of these mills, with quotations from "Mr Mackonochie".
4 Mackenzie to Leyden, Aug. [73], 1805.
5 MS.26.580 f.61, has a note on Numbin, dated 'June 29'.
6 Ibid. ff.66-73 & 77-79 has notes, dated respectively 'Aug.- & July 1, 1805' of Leyden's exhaustive examination of the bear (on our return from the catarracts) and of tells Fardus.
7 Leyden to Erskine, Sept.9, 1805. Cf. P. sup. on Malayalam.
8 Leyden to Mrs Walter Grant, June 20, 1805.
In order to gain a greater relish for life, he expressed his good wishes under the guise of maledictions:

"You of course are growing old every day, & losing the relish for life – may the terror of women, old age, light upon you some day or other, & may it be long in coming that your misery may be prolonged in anticipation... As our relative situations are therefore so much altered you must be sensible that nothing but malice or revenge could induce me to take up my time in writing a married body like you, & you cannot wonder that I should hasten, as I do, to a close, wishing that all the evils wh. matrons dread may be your portion. May you long live in subjection to the tyranny of your husband, & may he not even condescend to be jealous of you, & to crown all may the pangs of childbirth be upon you, & may your first-born be none of your ugly sex."

This effusion Leyden signed confidently as "Your reviving & youthful Servant," and indeed the sunless climate of Calicut had made him appreciably stronger; but with every accession of strength went an additional tendency to inflammation, so that by early July Leyden was in daily danger of a fresh acute attack of liver. The amount of mercury which he had taken as a palliative by then, although "twice as much...as would salivate an ordinary man" and probably sufficient to demolish Leyden's remaining strength, was yet inadequate to induce salivation in his constitution; and he considered regretfully that, despite his strongly marked personal identity, it had left him a totally altered man, "a poor miserable looking sinner with high Scotish cheek bones substituted in the room of a tolerably well limbed springy friend of mine." The severe rains, too, had done him much bodily harm; but, "falling on a disposition of no ordinary degree of obstinacy", they had also hardened Leyden's resolution to brave them by proceeding to Quilon even over roads soft enough to make the expedition a "very bogtrotting" one. Finding the sea coast still blocked up by the monsoon, however, Leyden diverged from his direct course, on leaving Calicut, in order to see the ancient town of Palghat, to which he made a very rapid eighty-mile journey, in company with Thomas Warden and apparently in pursuit of Dr Sutherland Meek.

Leyden and Warden set out under such perilous omens that it seemed likely that their friends would soon have tidings of "the melancholy fate of two unfortunate travellers who broke their own necks or were barbarously murdered or were torn by wild beasts or perished by the visitation of God on the road to Paulghaut"; but to show, "the fallacy of all such prognostications", they

1 Leyden to Mrs Walter Grant, June 20, 1805.
2 Leyden to Wm Erskine, July 4, 1805.
3 Leyden to Keate, June 24, 1805.
4 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 9, 1805. Meek was a Surgeon on the Bombay Establishment.
5 Leyden to Wilson, July 9, 1805.
arrived safely on July 9, sound in wind and limb, Warden already preparing to leave that night for the Coimbatore races, and both ready to sing lustily 'Be blythe & merry be blythe & merry, the sonsy lads of Paulghautcherry.' Nevertheless, their journey had not been without its hazards. At a river crossing five miles south of Beypore, the surf-like regurgitation of the tide carried out to sea one of the party's "platform boats", so that an Arab servant of Leyden's was nearly drowned in trying to swim ashore, being dragged almost lifeless from the water by some fishermen. And later, Leyden and Warden themselves were saved from serious injury by the soft sand and "downy pavements" of the large town of Pudiengady, on which Warden "slyly contrived to measure his length at a round gallop in the gray of the evening" in "a secret and clandestine manner" for which Leyden gave him little credit, having already done the same thing himself "to the amusement of all beholders in the full face of the glorious sun of noon". Nor did this accident give Leyden any opportunity "to exhibit venesection"; for although he "instantly alighted with the rapidity of a rope dancer", groping for his lancets the while, it was only to see Warden get up quickly "shaking his ears", inquiring if Leyden had fallen too, and remarking, on learning that his friend had dismounted so as to "perform phlebotomy" on him, that he might save himself the trouble, Warden's horse being "in a fair way to perform that operation" by rolling on its rider. Both travellers were well enough, on the morning of their departure from Pudiengady, to walk about a mile out of the town to see an ancient Jain statue of a reclining figure nine feet long, now taken over by the Brahmans and housed in a small pagoda instead of a large stone one, as in the days before Tipu's invasion; and thereafter they pressed on at speed in the wake of the elusive Meek, of whom they "got scent" on the second day of their trip, keeping him in chase till noon and coming so nearly within hail as to fire "a shot across his forefoot to bring him to" but finding, on arrival at Calpura, that their quarry had left "with a favourable breeze just half an hour before".

"As the wind had slackened we were obliged to bring too [sic] for an hour or so when after serving out grog, we piped all hands and hoisted sail top & top gallant & sky-scrappers too when bringing up the wind with us we overtook the chase at Lacksicotta where though we were obliged to rough it we contrived to quarter upon the enemy. For my part I took Meek's "auld cloak about me" and slept on a large stand of plank. Mr Warden crept slyly into his couch and as for Meek himself we left him sitting in his shirt on the top of the table.

1 Leyden to Wilson, July 9, 1805.
2 Leyden to Ricketts, July 19, 1805. 3 'too' in the MS.
with a bottle of beer in one hand and a can in the other, singing with a laudable voice "We're no vera fu' but we're gayly yet".¹

The speed of this pursuit had given Leyden regrettably little opportunity to observe the beauty of the country between Calicut and Palghat, which, even in "the sombre season of the rains", could show, in sunny intervals between the downpours, landscapes as "fresh green & lovely as in a dewy summer morning in England"² but his general impression of it was most favourable. Traversing a shore intersected with inlets of the sea, on the banks of which magnificent "groves of tall cocoa-nut & dark green jaca trees intermingled with picturesque copses of the slender elegant Betel," the travellers crossed the Beypore river, noting the spray-dashed island at its mouth bearing the crumbling ruins of the Moplahs' original settlement on that coast, and came into the rich country of that "mongrel Hindu-Arab" people, who, although frugal and persevering in agriculture and commerce, were excellent swordsmen, given to rapine and robbery in turbulent times, and capable, when hard pressed, of an obstinate defence of untenable posts and of wild and desperate sallies which evoked the admiration both of British eye-witnesses and of the martially-minded Leyden, who reported to Mordaunt Ricketts:

"We have heard a great deal of Nair courage but it is certainly not to be compared to that of a Mapilla when he feels himself in danger...After being half roasted alive, in a wooden house burnt over them, ten or twelve Mapillas have stripped themselves naked & invoking Allah, with sword and shield have cut their way through the bayonets of a company of seapoys, every step a bound shoulder high, & every stroke wh. they struck mortal. A single Mapilla has-sometimes cut his way, in this style, through 20 Hairs."²

Beyond Pudiengady, too, stretched a rich and highly cultivated rice territory, affording a particularly delightful prospect of hill and valley, field and tree, watered by "the noble & magnificent river Paniani", excelled only by "the windings of the Forth & Nith in Scotland" and as famous locally as the Factolus or the Tagus in classical antiquity for its golden sands, washed occasionally for gold dust² by such of the lower castes as the Naindi savages, whose hideous hoarseness of voice, contracted apparently by "croaking all day long to frighten the crows from the rice fields" made a raven's scream appear melodious by comparison.¹ Thereafter, rice fields and betel topes gave way to rough mountainous country thickly covered with jungle, where large trees skirted the road until it emerged into the romantic and sequestered, though thickly populated, valley of Palghat,

¹ Leyden to Wilson, July 9, 1805.
² Leyden to Ricketts, July 19, 1805.
running east and west between "two immensely high and apparently impervious" mountain ranges which hung in awful majesty over the plains, their summits covered almost constantly with clouds, but emerging sometimes above the mists lying "like a solid sheet of snow" along the middle of the hills; so that Leyden thought he had never seen a prospect more grand or savage than that of the fantastic peaks, jungle-clad at the top, with foaming torrents rushing down a bare, sheer precipice of grey granite into the dense teak forests below. The "tall stately Palmyra" tree, from which the valley took its name, abounded; and Leyden, noting that both Palghatcherry and King Solomon’s Tadmor signified ‘the town of the forest of palms’, was moved in a facetious moment to conclude thence that Solomon had a knowledge of Tamil, and so to construct a syllogism (unacceptable perhaps to the "logical lads of Europe", but quite admissible in India) stating triumphantly: "Solomon understood the Tamal language, and he was wise: I understand the Tamal language, therefore I am as wise as Solomon".

The town of Palghat afforded literary and musical diversions of a kind, for Leyden met there a relative of Laurence Sterne’s Eliza, named Mrs Bell, who showed him two letters in the handwriting of that "Sentimental lady" concerning chiefly "some poney or other"; and on the day after his arrival Leyden produced a set of doggerel verses criticising Palghat’s musical pabulum with more frankness than politeness:

Talk no more of pathetic or magical strains
That our pleasures enhance and alleviate our pains
The companionlike fun of a glee or a catch
But touch me your Harpsichord key with a scratch
Scratch away, tink a tink, tink a tink, scratch away
And each fopling & beau will admire what you play...

Each musical Miss and each quavering singer
O! your music is nothing but lightness of finger
The jackals & wolves may be taught you to match
And like me to conclude with a terrible scratch
Scratch away, tink a tink, tink a tink, scratch away
O! the music of cats & of dogs has its day.

Leyden’s social and satirical career was cut short, however, by a sudden (though not unexpected) and most violent attack in "the lobe of the liver immediately over the stomach", which proved so

1 Cf. p. sup. for Leyden’s description of the mist on Mull.
2 Leyden to Ricketts, July 19, 1805.
3 See I Kings, ix, 18, for "Tadmor in the wilderness".
4 Leyden to Ballantyne, Oct. 24, 1805.
5 Mrs Elizabeth Draper, born in Anjengo whom Sterne met while she was in England for her health in 1766. Cf. p. inf.
6 Leyden, Journal from India to Penang.
7 Cf. Epistle to a Lady from a dancing bear, l. 1: "While beaux and foplings sipper awkish praise.
8 Musical Scratching, l. 1-6 & 25-30. (MS. 3383, f. 14.)
9 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 9, 1805.
extremely acute that Leyden believed he had never been in more immediate danger of dying, being at one point "almost in articulo mortis" with such violent hiccups and spasms of the diaphragm that there seemed "scarcely a possibility of holding out a couple of days by the ordinary routine of breathing". Having obstinately resolved on living, however, he "weathered the storm with very great difficulty" and although but very imperfectly recovered by August 6 was able ten days later to make a precipitate retreat from Palghat, after spending almost six weeks there "in a state of utter perdition totally incapable of supporting any kind of motion & consequently of getting again to the coast".

The stimulus to this grand effort by which Leyden at last "broke up like Lord Lake before Bhurtpore" and left Palghat was the news that a Bombay cruiser, the Wasp, commanded by Capt. George Walker, had happened to touch at Alleppey, some thirty miles down the coast from Cochin; for although still "in a very bad way indeed with very considerable danger of an abscess" forming in his right side, Leyden was encouraged by the renewed possibility of reaching Bombay to quit Palghat on the morning of August 16, plunging straight into the jungle in his "usual preposterous manner" to make a desperate push through the Cochin Raja's territories to the coast. This effort was in vain; for, although Col. Macaulay had actually arranged Leyden's passage to Bombay in the Wasp, Leyden proved after all too feverish to reach the coast until some three hours after the ship had sailed. Instead of dying of chagrin or hanging himself outright at this disappointment, however, Leyden metaphorically tuned his pipes and "played a spring to John o' Badenyon", reflecting that his fate was at least better than that of the commander of the fort at Palghat, Lieut. James Clarke, who, being ill of the liver, although "never reckoned in half so dangerous a way" as Leyden, had cut and run for his life from Palghat a day before Leyden, only to have his heels tripped up by death at Angadipuram at the end of August.

Nor was Leyden's journey, by the little frequented route of Trichur, the Cochin Raja's capital, by any means without its own

1 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 9, 1805.
2 Leyden to Ballantyne, Oct. 24, 1805.
3 Leyden to Ricketts, July 19, 1805; continued on Aug. 6, 1805.
4 Leyden to Colin Mackenzie, Aug. 21, 1805.
5 Leyden to Mrs R. Smith, Oct. 23, 1805. Cf. p. sup. for the siege of Bharatpur, which Leyden considered an "Indelible disgrace" to British arms. And cf. Leyden to Heber, Oct. 24, 1805: "I broke up to use a martial phrase from before Quilon".
6 Leyden to Wilks, Sept. 6, 1805. 7 Leyden, Journal to Penang.
9 Journal to Penang; Leyden to Wilks, loc. cit.; & East India Register for 1805.
interest. For the first twenty miles rich rice fields, well watered and lined with palmyra trees, gave promise of an abundant harvest, while the dim haze covering the mountains on Leyden's left lifted a little from time to time to display the "peaks, spires and summits" of the Ghats with a fantastic and picturesque effect, once revealing a stream in spate falling in an irregular cataract through a romantic scene of hanging rocks and groves. Then, soon after Leyden's first camping-place, twenty-five miles short of Trichur, the fields gave way to a country of rocky ridges and close jungle of flowering bushes and lofty teak trees, through which the narrow road led on to the Cochin wall and gate (inadequately guarded and falling into decay) and up a steep pass of "irregular shelves of grey granite hard & compact" which might have become a tolerable road, across a wild tract where traces of elephants abounded, and at last into a more cultivated plain of rice fields, pastures and clumps of short trees and bushes. Then, for the first time since leaving Malabar, Leyden saw buffaloes breaking up old ley ground with a plough so badly designed that all their superior strength, instead of turning up the new soil of deep, rich, ferruginous clay, produced a "mere scratching" two inches deep; and, although excursions from the direct route were "rather to be desired than attempted", he found interest enough in the observation of geological phenomena and of such groups as a herd of the Raja's tall, large and stately bullocks, and a party of Nayars under a Sirdar preparing to hunt "a royal tyger that had lately killed several Chirmers". Trichur itself, surrounded by a fifteen-foot ditch and a ruinous wall, and entered by a narrow gateway guarded by sepoyos, lay in low ground, looking like a park with large and tolerably neat houses, built singly and in rows, "intermingled with copse & lines of trees, in inexplicable confusion": a style of building which, although the houses were not "converted into fortresses & entrenched with deep ditches" as at Tellicherry and Calicut, made Trichur an exceedingly good specimen of a Nayar town. Incessant rain prevented Leyden from forming any clearer idea of it, however; and as he was not permitted to go very near the great three-storeyed pagoda which fronted the bazaar formed in the town's centre by "four imperfect rows of houses with an intermediate grove of Jaca trees", he had to view even that from a distance, before proceeding on.

1 Leyden to Mackenzie, Aug. 21, 1805.
2 E.g. the huldee, with a white flower and edible root; & the chua, handsome in flower, but unpleasant in smell.
3 Leyden gave Mackenzie, loc. cit., a detailed description of the mixture of red ferruginous argilla and calcareous earth which predominated for some distance after Paradise.
4 The trees reminded the Nayars of their native forests.
August 18 to Nazaren Angady, a community of some two hundred people, chiefly Christian, which boasted a church with a pastor reputed (although Leyden had no chance to put him to the test) to understand "Syriac but no Latin". The rest of his journey to Cochin Leyden performed by water, embarking, after "much frivolous delay", in a small canoe hollowed from a single tree and partially covered with bamboo mats, so that Leyden could hardly stretch himself at length in "a place very much resembling a hen-coop": in which uncomfortable conveyance, propelled by bamboo poles along the "water margin", he covered the forty miles to Cochin at an insufferably slow rate. By the next morning, the backwater along which he was travelling, from being at first only "a low rice bottom" dry enough to be planted in the season, had become a considerable river, infested with alligators, and flowing between banks lined with green and flowering shrubs through a "greatly improved" prospect of rice fields lying level with the water's edge and skirted by cocoa-nut palms; and by noon that day, Leyden reached his destination, in a miserable state of health.

The "quondam city of Cochin", lying extremely low on the point of the long, narrow, sandy strip of ground running between the fifty-mile backwater and the sea, showed little trace of the days when first the Portuguese and then the Dutch had won victories there, animated respectively by chivalry and by "the spirit of commercial adventure & the love of gain"; for by 1805 British "habits of destruction" had laid its walls, forts and public buildings as "flat as a pancake"; and the silted harbour and dangerous roadstead had lessened communication by sea. It was still a "European-looking" place, however, oblong in form, with narrow, regular streets and solid two-storeyed houses, the small clumsily-latticed windows generally fenced below with prison-like bars, so that the whole, well calculated to resist the sometimes intense heat, had "a wonderfully heavy & clumsy air", in some contrast to the houses' internal arrangements which, both in Dutch and in Jewish hands, displayed "a singular union of childish tawdriness and niggardly parsimony". The people comprised a mixture of slaves and freemen, the latter mostly half-castes claiming Dutch nationality, so that there was little distinction in appearance between the two groups; and although

1 Otherwise the 'Nazareno Bazaar'. Trichur had many Christians.
2 Leyden to Mackenzie, Sept. 21, 1805.
3 E.g. "a low species of mangrove" with shell-encrusted roots growing in the water, & a "small holly-like shrub".
4 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 9, 1805. 5 Journal to Penang.
6 ibid. Leyden provided the alternative simile of the walls of Troy, so as not to offend his readers' "heroica".
some of the Dutch ladies were "so like curds & cream" as to "make one sea-sick", being of a simple milky white complexion, with "golden frog like eyes"; they were mostly "vastly Oriental in the turn of their expressions" and completely devoid of delicacy, so that one whom Leyden attended in his medical capacity did nothing thereafter but talk of Leyden's "golden mouth" throughout his stay in Cochin. Much more to Leyden's taste were the Jewesses of Matancherry, one of Cochin's populous and extensive suburbs, who were both loving and affectionate and also "the prettiest creatures in the universial world, with their fine black eyes, linear eye-brows, & oval faces." But even they were "mortally given to the Cochin leg & the leprosy", which was "a terrible great pity", both ailments being disgusting and shockingly infectious; and their manners too displayed more simplicity than delicacy, as Leyden found when, venturing into a Jewish house in his medical character on one of the festive days preceding a Hebrew marriage, he was conducted by the pretty little bride through "an assemblage of Canopies fringes & lamps of all sizes & denominations" suggestive of "the feast of lanthorns", to behold all her paraphernalia with "the nuptial chamber ready swept & garnished" and the nuptial bed itself.]

Leyden's researches into the situation and traditions of the Jews in Cochin and its neighbourhood were generally pursued, however, by less embarrassing means. His chief interest was in the Cochin Jews' charter, obtained from the sovereign of Malabar and preserved in their synagogue "since the days of Methuselah", which he had formerly seen incorrectly copied by a German orientalist with an elaborate attempt at explanation through Hebrew and Chaldaic, and had also found oddly described in one of Forster's notes on the travels of Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, whom Leyden considered a blundering author of "nauseous & disgusting" arrogance, vanity and petulance, very little qualified, despite his effrontery, to give an opinion on Indian languages. Now, on August 23, Leyden saw for himself the "celebrated brazen tablets" on which the charter was inscribed; and having, three days later

1 Leyden, Journal to Penang. He commented on this tribute: "Mark that...never more mention my want of gallantry".
2 Ibid. Leyden referred to Leviticus for evidence that the Jews & their houses had always suffered from leprosy. (Cf. Lev. xiii-iv)
3 Ibid. But Claudius Buchanan found the wedding of a rich Jew's daughter a "very splendid solemnity". (MS. Eur. D. 122, ff. 117-18.)
4 Leyden to Ballantyne, Oct. 24, 1805.
5 Leyden to Macaulay, May 17, 1805. 6 Leyden, Plan, pp. 16-17, 19.
7 Leyden to Macaulay, loc. cit. A. C. Burnell, South Indian Palaeography, p. 40n; (2nd ed.) opined that Paulinus was lost unjustly ridiculed by Leyden and the early Calcutta Sanskrit scholars.
8 Note in B. M. Add. Ms. 26, 580, ff. 31-32.
submitted to "Mr Levi of Cochin" a list of fifteen queries on the history, religion, population and literary remains both of the White Jews of Cochin and of the Black Jews of Parur,¹ Leyden learned from him that a less well known charter granted to the latter and inscribed on a single tablet in a different and supposedly more ancient character was now in the synagogue at Matancherry.² Leyden's confidence in his own ability to decipher and translate these inscriptions was fully justified, the only difficulty arising from the mixture of characters in which the former, written in "an ancient dialect of Malayalam according in many respects with high Tamul," was set down;³ and he took a characteristically frank delight in his achievement, sending copies of the transliteration and translation to his friends,⁴ and informing James Ballantyne with pardonable triumph:

"...I set myself coolly down and translated the famous Jewish tablets of brass...Probably you may think this no more difficult a task than deciphering the brazen tablet on any door of Princes or Queen Street.³ But here I beg your pardon for, so far from any body, Jew, Pagan or Christian, having ever been able to do this before, I assure you the most learned men of the world have never been able to decide in what language or in what alphabet they were written. As the character has for a long time been supposed to be antediluvian, it has...been as much despairs of as the Egyptian hieroglyphics.⁶ So much was the diwan - or grand vizier, if you like it - of Travancore astonished at the circumstance, that he gave me to understand that I had only to pass through the Sacred Cow in order to merit adoption into the holy order of Brahmins. I was forced, however, to decline the honour...for unluckily Phalaris' bull and Moses' calf presented themselves to my imagination, and it occurred to me that perhaps the Nam-rajah's cow might be a breed of the breed."⁷

In thus prosecuting his inquiries more successfully here than among the Arab-Mappilas or the Syriac-Mappilas,⁸ Leyden to some extent preoccupied part of the ground to be traversed by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, who was then soon expected on that coast to

"...work out the salvation of the Nestorian heretics & conduct them within the pale of the Church of England, with whom they will accord as the Moon does with green cheese...to collate divers Hebrew MSS. which have no existence & to do several things equally clever,"³

1 List of queries in MS.26,561 f.117, signed "John C. Leyden".
2 Removed thither from Parur. Note in MS.26,560 f.31.
3 Leyden to [?Wilks], Sept.22,1805 (MS.26,561.) He describes the characters as a mixture of "Mutta, Collata & Arium" (Ibid.) Cf. Plan, f.22, where he notes the large number of such inscriptions in Malabar and (f.23) emphasizes their historical importance.
4 E.g. to Heber, Oct.24,1805, when Leyden was "really to ill to take the trouble"of correction; & cf. to Erskine, Dec.5,1805.
5 A feature of the New Town of Edinburgh as against the Old.
6 Burnell, op.cit., p.49n, says that these grants "like most other branches of S. Indian archaeology" were first attempted by Leyd
7 Leyden to Ballantyne, Oct.24,1805. In MS.26,553,1.87, Leyden notes the story of the King of Travancore's passing through a golden cow for this end & this effort proved abortive.
8 Plan, f.22.
a prospect on which Leyden commented gleefully:

"How much will he be surprised to find a superior ecclesiastical authority on the spot even the Right Rev. father in God the Presbyterian & Schismatic Col. Macaulay primate of all the churches of Travancore from Cochin even unto Cape Comorin be they Latin, Syro-Latin, Nestorian or Jacobite." 3

And although, over a year later, Dr Buchanan was to find Colonel Macaulay altogether kind and helpful, and to discover several interesting MSS., including a valuable one in Rabbinical Hebrew at Cochin, 4 it was perhaps with some sense of grievance that he later referred to Leyden "in the papers" in a manner which would inevitably attract notice and which indeed distressed the usually insouciant Leyden. 5

Interesting as Cochin was, however, it was extremely unhealthy, its air being dank with noxious vapours from the stagnant marshes of the surrounding sandbanks, 6 so that Leyden, after remaining there for several days too feverish to join his friend Macaulay at Verapoli; 3 at last found the position untenable 7 and moved on along the backwater through flat, sandy country, varied only by the line of the lake, to the large, irregular town of Alleppey, lately become the centre of Travancore's pepper trade, 8 which boasted an admirably safe roadstead, 9 and a royal palace little used by the Raja because the ground was not holy enough for the Brahmans to whom he was "entirely devoted". 6 There, having missed the Bombay cruiser on which Macaulay had arranged his passage, 10 he rested for a little, making some progress towards what he realized must be a slow convalescence, 11 amusing himself by watching the launching (made difficult by the shallow water) of two large grabs, and enjoying the hospitality of the Master Attendant, Schuler, "a Prussian of the race of the Wends or ancient Vandals" and an excellent linguist, who had left the Ile de France ten years earlier after helping to lead a loyalist insurrection, and whose wife was related to that Chevalier de Parny of at least one of whose Chansons madecasses Leyden made a pleasing translation. 12 Leyden was later to decide, with reason

1 'right Right' in the MS.  2 Cf. Leyden to Macaulay, Sept. 8, 1805: "To the most worshipful and tolerant father in God the Patriarch of the divided and disunited Churches of Asia..."
3 Leyden to Wilks, Sept. 8, 1805. 4 This was deciphered by two rabbis for Buchanan's use. 5 Mackenzie to Leyden, Apr. 30, 1807. 6 Leyden found Christianity on that coast "only the badge of a Cast & not a rule of conduct". 7 Leyden to Mrs Smith, Oct. 23, 1805. 8 Removed from Njengo to Alleppey at the Raja's request. 9 Leyden regretted that Bombay and Madras were less alive to its advantages than were the French and Arabs. 10 Cf. P. sup. It had sailed at dawn on the day when Leyden reached Alleppey at 10 a.m. "terribly ill as well as chagrined." 11 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 9, 1805. 12 See 1819 ed., pp. 221-22.
enough, that Schuler was not only a Vandal but "no better than a Goth"; but for the present he found him an interesting conversationalist with a fund of information on such various topics as the preparation of indigo, the traditions and language (very like "the broad Scotch") of the Wends, the general unreliability of Count Benyowski's Memoirs, and the geography and government of Mauritius and Ceylon. And when he went on down the backwater to Quilon, a small scattered Indian township lying in a position of some geological interest on a point of the narrow littoral strip; it was with Schuler that Leyden, in an unfortunate hour, left most of his travelling apparatus, including a "Cott and Mess Trunks".

As Leyden's journeys were "by no means performed either on a Moonbeam; a ray of the sun or a pair of seven league boots," and as there proved to be no substance in a later report that a boat for Bombay might after all touch at Alleppey or Quilon, the Wasp's departure terminated for good and all Leyden's hopes of reaching Bombay; but it also ensured, by way of compensation, that he should at last have the pleasure of meeting Colin Macaulay in person. Even this meeting was deferred, however; for Leyden found at Quilon not Macaulay himself, as he had hoped, but merely a letter explaining that the Resident was detained by indisposition at Pada Nellum. In the meantime, Leyden had some minutes' conversation with his old friend Dr Harris, whom he had defended so energetically in Madras and Mysore; and he inquired with much interest after the progress of the polyglot dictionary and Malay works in which he had encouraged Harris to persevere with. "...come to the field and fight! I will back you, if none else, & you may be certain will never turn my back on friend or foe; & even though India should be pre-occupied by another Malayan, England is not." Harris, however, who had already thrown up the game in Hindustani even with the cards in his hand, had done no more to these projects, being intimidated by John Shaw of Kedah's interest in Malay, so that Leyden, declaring "with a violent execration" that he would complete them himself if he lived a little longer and would "instantly write a Hindustani Grammar out of pure spite", Leyden to Penang. In MS. 26, 580, f. 33, Leyden noted: "Col. Cullen & Mr Schuler never boiled their indigo..." Voyages et mémoires de Maurice Auguste, comte de Benyowski; Paris, 1791. Only reliable, said Schuler, on Malagasy manners. A ridge of red sandstone came through the sand there. Sawmyaden told Leyden, Oct. 29, 1806: "...all your things &c. is in good order except the Cott & Mess Trunks left at Alapay..." Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 9, 1805. Leyden to Wilks, Sept. 8, 1805. Leyden demanded of Harris, ibid.: "...who the deuce is this Mr John Shaw? you must stand your ground...though a dozen of Shawes were to reside in Quila..."
was obliged to scold Harris both on this score and because he had transferred his affections from literature to a "new wife" whom Leyden had not yet seen. Quelle bête! en lieu d’enfanter des livres il a pris la partie d’enfanter des enfans."

To escape "the malediction of all whining sentimentalists", Leyden went to Pada Nellum via Anjengo, the birthplace of Sterne's, or perhaps rather Raynal's, Eliza: a collection of scattered cangalows on a narrow strip of sand, with an unentrenched fort manned by a havildar's guard useless for defence and hardly able to answer a salute, approached by way of the factory burial-ground after an undistinguished twenty-mile journey down the coast from (which and reded from mediocrity, in Leyden's view, solely by its being also the birthplace of Robert Orme, "the elegant historian of India...who shines among your Dows, Cambridge & Maurices like a diamond of Golconda among a parcel of pebbles from the brook". Two miles on across the backwater, Pada Nellum itself (the 'field of combat' where each September the Nayars from the inland woods met for a mock battle with bows and arrows before the feast of the worshipping of arms) boasted as beautiful a situation and as fine a view of water, wood and hill as any in Malabar: and it boasted also, in the person of the Diwan of Travancore, a dignitary of unclouded and open aspect and noble and majestic mien, who looked and spoke as became his royal descent, and who, besides informing Leyden that the "signification of the word kair" was 'the person who bears the sword' gave him, like the Subahdar of Virarajendrapet, "a very cordial reception with a violent shake of the hand that might have done credit to an Englishman". The Diwan was, however, "unhappily no favourite either with the wretched priest-ridden creature of a Rajah his master" or with the all-powerful Brahman, who fairly ventured "to assume the character of a young God almighty if we may be allowed to borrow one of the coarse expressions of Peter Pindar", so that, for all that he had seen and heard of that caste, Leyden would have formed but a "very imperfect notion of their pure unmixed hierarchy" without visiting Travancore. An "unlucky

1 Leyden to Milno, Sept. 8, 1805.
2 Cf. p. 227, Leyden Journal to Perang.
3 It afforded only one fine view, at a spot called the Red Hills.
4 Alexander Dux, Richard Owen Cambridge & Thomas Maurice.
5 pebbles in the MS. & Leyden, Journal to Perang.
6 Keith, op. cit. p. 237, misinterprets this as "Here I received from the Dowar the title of Kair (sword-bearer)".
7 Buchanan found him "a noble Mayr of...liberal mind".
8 Journal. Buchanan asked if "the ignorant Brahmus governed the Rajah".
relapse" prevented Leyden from seeing the Brahmans in their full pomp at the Raja's residence at Trivandrum, where they were influential enough to make the place uncomfortable for Europeans, claiming a distinct quarter of the city and a particular road for their own use unpolluted by profane footsteps, and sending a courier before them to clear the way: "procul este profani for one of the terrestrial Gods is passing along." But Leyden much doubted whether this rule would have been relaxed in his favour, even although his approach had been announced to the Diwan (no doubt by Macaulay) as that of "a prodigious Oriental Sastra" from the west, and although he himself "magnanimously challenged the whole race of Travencore Brahmins to dispute in any Shaster they pleased," claiming, as he always did, "to be reckoned of the real ancient race of Brahmins" now extinct in these lands.

As it was, Leyden, in a state of very bad health and very good spirits, was staying with the redoubtable Resident, who had perfectly convinced both the Nayars and the Nambudri Brahmins (whose ignorance was a byword) that his own little finger was thicker than the Raja's loins, and who was accordingly so successful in procuring manuscripts for Leyden that the latter, although rejoicing at this in his "Oriental capacity," felt his Border spirit of independence distressingly alarmed at the idea of continued friendship with one who had laid him under so many serious obligations at the very start of their acquaintance.

"This is what I call taking advantage of one with a vengeance & I should be strongly tempted to break off all farther connection with him, providing the thing were practicable, as I do not see the most distant probability of ever being on equal terms with him.

Macaulay's "uncommonly friendly conduct" had indeed already bought Leyden for ever, in the Hindustani phrase; and, despite the perilous position of the Resident's house on a ferruginous hill which attracted sheet lightning during the electrical storm of the monsoon, Leyden enjoyed his stay with this very singular and indeed puzzling man, who, although "acquainted with Samuel Johnson & other ancients of a remote period," yet contrived to be as young as Leyden in every conversation and often the younger.
of the two, and who combined clear and comprehensive ideas on politics and political economy with a "playful versatility of mind" which intermingled very naturally amusing anecdotes with philosophical reasoning, and a "prodigious memory & facility of speaking all languages dead & alive from the primitive Hebrew down to the gruff-half-created Hollandts". 1

Macaulay's concern for Leyden's welfare included a determination that he should make a sea-voyage in the first available vessel, as "his only chance of escaping immortality," 2 and to this Leyden agreed, in the knowledge that, although he would have preferred Bombay (to which he had already had his letters directed) to any other destination, 3 he had now lost all chance of going there and "very nearly all hopes of recovering anywhere". 1 So, on learning that a Moplah brig of eighty tons burden, the Louisa Valli ("titled in Arabic the Mukhlal, after some Quillia or other") 4 was on the eve of leaving Alleppey for Pulo Penang, to which Leyden had been recommended to go nine months before, 5 Macaulay made arrangements both for the brig to call at Quilon to pick up Leyden, and for Schüler to put Leyden's travelling equipment on board before she left Alleppey. Accordingly Leyden, abandoning his intention of revisiting Calicut via Alleppey and Cochin before sailing, 6 and reaffirming his conviction that every man's estate was governed by a particular and ineluctable fate, 7 left Pada Nellum with Macaulay's "Mittimus to Prince of Wales' island" in his pocket 1 being visited the day before his departure by one of the Travancore Brahmans, who, already astonished that Leyden had been accompanied by a Brahman 8 into Travancore, had his veneration no little increased by learning, in reply to his query that Leyden was going to pay his respects to "the Padma Padum or Lotus-foot in the Sulmala Dwipa" 9 Divided between satisfaction at having met Macaulay at all and regret at having had but a glimpse of him, and trusting (vainly) in Providence that he might return to Travancore, 10 Leyden had yet a pleasant and leisurely journey "up the lake", seeing nothing more marvellous than a

2 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 9, 1805.
3 Leyden to Erskine, July 4, 1805.
4 One of his staff of punds. Cf. p. inf.
5 Leyden to Erskine, Dec. 1, 1804.
6 Leyden to Richardson, [1805].
7 Leyden to Erskine, Dec. 5, 1805.
8 Leyden, Journal to Penang. = Leyden to Macaulay, Sept. 8, 1805.
9 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 22, 1805, adding: "...people seldom trust to providence when they have anything else to trust to."
large alligator, which appeared so agile upon land that, this being the country of metamorphoses, Leyden thought it likely that the creature might contain "the essence of some quondam Anjengo Resident". Macaulay's care extended to having a tent pitched for Leyden at Eduva, with everything in such excellent order that no more comfortable arrangement could have been made; but Leyden feared that his subsequent disobedient conduct showed that he had "no taste for the comfortable at all", as he explained in detail -

"I had felt myself very heavy all the morning, may even sometimes quite uneasy and was partly at a loss whether to attribute it to some ominous forebodings respecting my voyage, to regret at leaving Pedda Nellum or to bodily indisposition. After consideration however it appeared that regret would be the most poetical cause as being most seldom the real one. I attempted in vain to dispel it but not succeeding I instantly put it to the test of an excellent cup of tea. On arriving at the tent and finding myself still monstrous lubberly I thought I might as well try the sedative qualities of the couch. There I had no sooner thrown myself than I fell into a sleep as deep I believed as that during which father Adam had his helpmate extracted from his side. After sleeping four good hours I awoke much perturbed with very disagreeable sensations about the Praecordia and all that, and reflecting that any increase of symptoms would render it equally impracticable to return to Pedda Nellum or to proceed to Quilon and also reflecting that it had neither opium nor mercury at hand, I sprung up seized the bridle of patience between my teeth and instantly proceeded to Quilon where I arrived before I fully recollected that by this proceeding I had fallen under martial law and rendered myself liable to be court-martialed for disobedience of orders. If it be thought expedient for the sake of example to punish this with all the rigor of military law the offender requests that he may be instantly remanded back to Pedda Nellum to be held in close confinement under the custody of Madame Valli with the express prohibition of being allowed to converse in any lingo dialect or jargon dead or alive except French.

Thus by September 22 Leyden was waiting at Quilon, "a good deal indisposed & very full of Chagrin & ill humour" for the two "adequate pregnant & thoroughly sufficient" reasons that he had said farewell to Macaulay and that he was due to embark in two days' time in the Louisa Valli. Uncertain where he might "be drifted to" when once afloat, and completely devoid of confidence in the sea-nymph sisterhood, though he had sung them long and loud, he viewed the immediate prospect without enthusiasm, finding consolation only in the fact that the voyage would at least be on the right side of the Cape of Good Hope; for there seemed to him "something confoundedly ominous" in his friends' frequent and

1 Leyden to Macaulay, Sept. 22, 1805.
2 Apparently the morning of Sept. 21, 1805.
3 blank in the MS.; but he made much use of mercurv. Cf. sup.
4 Most probably the titular patroness of the Louisa Valli. (Leyden calls the brig so in his Journal, although to Wilks, Sept. 22, he refers to the Laura Valli.)
5 Leyden to Wilks, Sept. 22, 1805.
6 Notably in The Mermaid.
sinister references to a "European voyage" for which he had no
taste whatever, being determined to pursue his studies in India.1

"Whenever I dream, which is very seldom and never when I can
help it I always imagine and it has recurred a hundred times,
that I have performed this selfsame voyage and that I am
astonished at my own stupidity. Now is not this enough of it-
self: what the deuce should tempt you and every one else, to
talk of an European voyage which is exactly the thing above
all others which I have made up my mind never to perform
whatever risk I may run."1

So on September 24, although ill prepared for the voyage both
mentally and physically, Leyden embarked at Quilon, accompanied
by three servants, Persian, Arab and Malay,2 his Hindu pundits
having declined to "pass the ocean flood" with him;3 and without
delay the Louisa Valli took her departure for the eastern realms
of the "king of Quida" and similar "gentry skilled in the art of
Crees-drawing,"4 where Leyden was to find a new and fertile field
for his indefatigable cultivation of well-nigh "every species of
literary or scientific research".1

1 Leyden to Wilks, Sept. 8, 1805. He declared his resolution on
this point to be as "stable as the laws of the Medes & Persians"
2 Leyden to his father, Nov. 20, 1805.
3 Leyden to Lyaskine, Sept. 9, 1805.
4 Leyden to [Wilks], Sept. 22, 1805.
Once on board the brig, Leyden, who had embarked in haste, providing himself with "a few things at random by mere accident", lost no time in asking for the stores, goods and chattels which Schuler was to have sent on board for him: only to be shown instead to his horror and astonishment, a pile of some dozen pumpkins. These were indeed to be of use both as food and as the means of acquainting Leyden with an infallible Arab cure for jaundice; but as the surf at Anjengo, always heavy and then "nearly fatal", prevented Leyden from going ashore there to augment his supplies, he was obliged to proceed on a month's voyage with little equipment beyond the pumpkins, a single knife, fork, cup and saucer, a broken teapot and a couple of platters. Looking forward to repeating the petition for his daily bread more often and fervently than any other in the Book of Common Prayer, and reflecting bitterly that Italian, Turkish and Greek, which the unreliable Schuler spoke to admiration, must be "the three most deceitful languages in the universe", he declared this mode of travelling, without so much as a couch to sleep on or a gridiron to roast a pullet, to be the joint invention of himself and of "Necessity that terrible old bitch of a goddess"; and to form further proof of the great truths that none of John Leyden's actions was "reducible to or calculable from the ordinary rules of common life" and that even a man endowed with "all the wisdom of a Scottish metaphysician" gained experience in folly, as in all else, with the passing of time. Nor was Leyden better provided with aids to study, having left all his Malay books at Seringapatam and being not nearly so well versed in Sanskrit as he would have desired; but he was resolved that, although his opportunities might not permit the investigation of such ethnological questions as the origin of the races of the Malay peninsula and archipelago, he would strive to procure original Malay documents on the history of Malacca and of "the Hindu colonies of Madura & Bali". Meanwhile, resigning himself to the prospect of a "perverse pestilent voyage", immured hard and fast in an "abominable nasty dirty little Parsee Brig" far more horrible than Charon's skiff, he amused himself by beginning, on September 26, an account of his travels addressed in the first instance to Lord Ricketts; and next day, although the disagreeable effect

1 Leyden Journal to Penang. The shortened version of the Journal in N.L.S. M. 3383 has 'Cocoa nuts' instead of pumpkins.
2 Leyden to Wilks, Sept. 22, 1805.
3 Leyden to [Wilks], Sept. 22, 1805.
4 Particularly of its conquest by the Malas of Bali and later (1511) by the Portuguese. Leyden to Ballantsyne, Oct. 24, 1805.
5 The original Journal in N.L.S. M. 3383 is addressed to Mr. Mordaunt, but the name is deleted and a friend substituted.
of the surf's restless heaving was intensified by a dead calm, Leyden found compensation in the clearness of the air, which showed the coast of Travancore from Quilon almost to Cape Comorin and in the mild excitement of catching and examining "a fish of the Genus Remora," which, like a "Singular Crustaceous Fish" found earlier at Dhermaputten, had to be measured, sketched and described in detail.

By the fifth day of his voyage, Leyden was feeling "in a proper state to enact the sea-sick Minstrel looking anxiously out for Adam's Peak," but failing to see anything save "a few elegant turtles diverting themselves...very much at their ease;" which was more than he could say of himself. Having nothing else to do, he employed himself in "mastering our jovial crew...to find out what kind of animals they are;" discovering that his own was the only white face on board, if indeed it could still be termed white, being now rather "a kind of motely mixture between brown yellow and green" from the effects of sun, bile and yellow fever, and learning with pleasure that the ship possessed a pair of Arab colours for display should a French vessel be encountered: an event which Leyden thought by no means impossible, and which he would even have welcomed had not the French become "more like cannibals than Christians;" "with not the smallest vestige of their ancient politesse remaining." The crew, comprising an interesting mixture of races, proved to be "all as black as daemons, as impertinent as monkeys, as lazy as lizards, as nasty as polecats & as ignorant of navigation as cockneys"; so that Leyden doubted whether even Sindbad the Sailor, most of whose adventures had "occurred in these very seas," ever sailed with a more curious set. About twenty of them were Moplahs from Malabar, the captain was a Parsee and his second-in-command an Arab, and the steersman and two pilots were Maldivians, comparatively intelligent, although prodigiously addicted to sorcery, and so able to give Leyden some help in the inquiries concerning the Maldives and their people which he made at every opportunity permitted by a tempestuous passage, bad health and "very imperfect means of communication;" the Maldivians knowing even less Malayalam than Leyden himself, and suffering, in the narrowness of their experience, from a total want of names for objects and an "absolute

1 Sketched and described in MS.26,580,ff.74-75.
2 Leyden, Journal to Penang.
3 Leyden to Thomas Brown, Nov.5,1805.
4 Leyden to Erskine, Dec.5,1805.
5 Leyden to Mrs Robert Smith, Oct.23, [1805].
6 Leyden added as evidence Sindbad's account of King Mehraz: "the Arabic mode of pronouncing Maha Rajah, a title of the Rajah of Travencore" -- & indeed of rajas in general.
paucity'of ideas.¹ Six months earlier, while still at Mysore, Leyden had considered a "very favorable" prospect of visiting the Maldive Islands;² and although he had abandoned the idea because the Islands, from which return would have been impossible for several months, afforded no accommodation whatever for a sick man, he had remained interested in their people as a race of "hardy venturous seamen much more to be depended on than the Malays,"³ and had inquired into their customs, religion and language, being dismayed to find the last not a dialect of Tamil, but a tongue different from any he had yet encountered.⁴ So now he plied the Maldivians, and especially one from Minicoy, the northernmost island, with questions on every conceivable aspect of life in the Maldives, including the large supernatural population of "demons and spirits of all sizes and dimensions";⁵ and as his chief informant, though by no means distinguished for sagacity, was no unfair specimen of his people, having acquired some knowledge of the world in his seafaring, Leyden contrived, besides gleaning curious anecdotes on such subjects as the Bohra Moslems' parsimony and invincible love of gain,⁶ to construct a "pretty curious Vocabulary" of the hitherto unexplored language, and to amass a good deal of heterogeneous information about these low-lying multitudinous islets. Nor was this his only linguistic study; for, finding a Parsee on board who knew Gujarati well and Hindustani a little, Leyden took the chance to study the former and found it by no means difficult.⁸

By the morning of September 30, when Leyden was feeling that if the ship did not that day call at Galle (which she never did), he would have plenty of relish in the shape of hunger, but no bread, there was a doubtful report of the sighting of Adam's Peak, the supposed landing-place of Adam when cast out from Paradise;⁹ but Leyden, suspecting the alleged peak to be a cloud misidentified through the haziness of the air, preferred to concentrate on the doings of a gambolling herd of porpoises, sundry water-birds, including a small grey petrel flying very near the ship, a minor species of flying-fish and "a sea-snake of a beautiful violet colour."¹ The sea was roughening steadily.

¹ Leyden, Journal to Penang. ² Leyden to Malcolm, Mar.29,1805. ³ Leyden felt that the British should have paid more attention to the Maldivians, in whom France had found a "nursery" of excellent seamen. ⁴ Leyden to Erskine, Dec.5,1805. In his Plan,(MS.26,556,f.34) Leyden described the language accurately as a dialect of Sinhalese mixed with Arabic. ⁵ The islanders knew more of "the invisible regions" than of this world. ⁶ Especially regarding ghee and betel nut. ⁷ Leyden to Heber, Oct.24,1805; & cf. to Erskine, loc.cit. ⁸ Leyden to Richardson, 171802. ⁹ Leyden to Miss Kay, Oct.28, 1805, noted that Adam must have landed on one foot.
because, according to a Maldivian versed in "the knowledge of causes & effects", the ship had now passed from the smooth waters off Malabar, where the bottom was covered with cowries, to the stormy domain of "one of the kings of the Jin"; and the sailors, having "no confidence in their science", cautiously furled all sail, leaving their vessel "rolling and pitching a perfect naked hull on the water", and leading an Arab passenger to express the hope that God Almighty understood navigation, as the crew obviously did not. When about 5 p.m. the sea broke in, beating open the quarter-gallery, southing all on board, and leaving everything afloat, the sailors merely stared at each other in stupid wonder, while the captain began "to hand out prayers in Arabic with a laudable voice", ignoring Leyden's exhortation to hoist sail enough to steady the brig, which now sustained a terrible shock, most probably through striking a coral reef, although the Parsee mate drily disclaimed all knowledge of an occurrence stated to be the steersman's business. Next day the sea in which whales were blowing, was much calmer, though still "perfectly awake" after a most terrible night when Leyden had found it "impossible to rest between the raving & hissing of the waves & the barbarous dissonance" of incessant Arab hymns. But on October 3, Leyden's conviction that he was sailing in "the Ship of Fools so ingeniously allegorized by Barclay" was confirmed; for the "wiseaeres" of the crew, having refused Leyden's request to touch at Galle, now discovered an alarming scarcity of water, and decided, after a consultation which ingeniously established "that it was everybody's fault & nobody's" to steer right across the Indian Ocean to Achin. Meanwhile water was strictly rationed and rice boiled but once a day: a measure which caused general consternation and led Leyden to exhibit not "quite the patience of Job", swearing by his kris and pistols and "all that is terrible to drink the Nakhoda's blood" if the water failed. Nevertheless, although the Parsee invoked the element of fire to send water, while the Maldivians peeped through their astrolabes with increased earnestness, and a double set of prayers and hymns were recited with the greatest zeal and fervour, Leyden's remonstrances against the practice of furling sail whenever a cloud appeared were met with the explanation that any "tight breeze" would carry away the crazy mainmast: a comfortless but irrefragable reply which failed to distract

1 Leyden, Journal to Penang.
2 Leyden quoted a Persian story of a man who threw hot embers into a river to test whether it woke or slept.
3 The Ship of Fools of the Worlde (1509) translated by Alexander Barclay from Sebastian Brant's Narrenschiff.
Leyden from his admiration of that evening's sunset sky, suffused in the west with "the richest oriental tints & freckled with clouds of different colours, while the spotted horizon greatly resembled groves of palms rising from the waves". 

In any case, Leyden had other things to think of in the next four days, when the sea, generally deep green or violet in colour, ran high with sharp gales and showers; for on the morning of October 5, "a ship was descried at a great distance on the lee-beam", displaying no colours and making no great effort to come up with the Louisa Valli until late in the evening, when from the weather-beam she "made a sudden dart...like a leopard at a fawn" and almost caught up unperceived. 

At this, Leyden's shipmates showed themselves "even greater cowards than fools", all crowding on to the poop and attending to nothing but the actions of one of the Maldivians, who, having written a number of charms designed to increase the force of the waves, threw them into the sea, chanting an Arabic prayer leisurely and loudly. 

Encouraged when the pursuing ship, now within hail, dropped astern from lack of wind, the Maldivian worked himself into a state approaching convulsion, the others preventing him from falling overboard while he continued ecstatically to howl forth Arabic prayers "with loud noise and bodily contortions"; so that for a time everyone seemed to be going "stark staring mad". As the enchanter grew calmer and merely reiterated energetically 'bom! bom!' every rag of sail was hoisted despite the weakness of the masts, without much prospect of shaking off the pursuer: a situation in which Leyden was in his element as a man of action in the midst of a set of "cowardly wretches". 

Having little fear of discovery, from his "wearing a long red beard, a turban, and the other dress of a Mussulman, and speaking Arabic and Persian fluently", Leyden took charge of affairs, securing the brig's English papers and directing the supercargo to present only his Gujarati ones if they were indeed overtaken by a Frenchman; and he formed a "daring resolution" that in the event of capture he and five others should lie hidden till nightfall among the cargo's bales of cloth, and then overpower the hypothetical French guard of ten or twelve men divided into two watches. 

This was agreed to, despite a woeful lack of weapons. Leyden's own being supplemented only by "a single talwar and a

1 Leyden, Journal to Penang.
2 Addressed to God, the Prophet Ali and the imams. Leyden added a note on the four super-eminent Pirs of Islam.
3 Presumably his pronunciation of the Tamul pochum, 'let us go &
4 Leyden to Constable, Oct. 23, 1805.
5 To his father, Nov. 20, 1805. & to Erskine, Dec. 5, 1805. Leyden stated that he and "other five desperadoes" actually placed themselves "snug in a secret place of the ship" in readiness.
couple of kresses" and having selected for the attempt three of the boldest of the crew (two Moplahs and one Maldivian) besides his own Persian and Arab servants — "all bold fellows that would not be afraid of the Devil," Leyden retired to await the event in rest and darkness behind the dead-lights, leaving the crew to hold a council of war on the poop, where they debated the matter thoroughly and with tolerable courage until day-break. Then, assuming the masts of a vessel sighted on the weather-beam to be those of their pursuer, they effected a sudden volte-face, the commander, steersman and supercargo informing Leyden gravely that they would not tell a lie for the whole world, even to save their lives, and so would be neither "airt nor paht in the business:" a "paltry resolution" which tempted a disgusted Leyden to bury his dagger in their hearts. Fortunately recollecting, however, that this would serve no useful purpose; he contented himself with asking them to hoist their Arab flag, only to be told eventually that the only flag was one "inscribed with some sentences of the Koran, for raising the wind": a statement suspiciously like a downright lie, which confirmed Leyden's low opinion of the crew's pitiful conduct. All that day the strange ship on the weather-beam continued at much the same distance, a little ahead, of the Louisa Valli, wherein consternation increased or diminished according as she seemed to approach or recede until she was identified next morning as an Arab grab, quite different from the three-master sighted on the fifth. So the whole affair ended in anti-climax, apart from the production of Leyden's "fine & spirited address" to his Malay kris, "written while pursued by a French privateer off Sumatra", in which he expressed his resolve to give a good account of himself in combat, although the burning eastern sun had withered in their prime the nerves "that once were strong as steel"; leaving no vestige of Leyden's "former muscles of brass, which defied equally disease and fatigue".

Now let thine edge like lightning glow,
And, second but thy master's will,
Malay n'er struck a deadlier blow,
Though practis'd in the art to kill.

1 Leyden, Journal to Penang. He told his father, Nov. 20, 1805, that his party had "tomahawks & durks" his servants and he being "famously well armed". 2 Leyden to his father, Nov. 20, 1805.
3 Leyden likened it to that of a band of faint-hearted warriors who, hiding in a deep well from a party of Turkomans, pretended to be pigeons and not men by calling 'Coo-Coo, Coo-Coo'.
4 John Malcolm to Leyden, Nov. 5, 1807. In MS. 26, 556, ff. 18-19. Malcolm calls this poem "very spirited and very characteristic both of Leyden's muse & Malay usages".
5 Leyden, Address to my Malay Krees, 11.5-6 & 13-16.
6 Leyden to Harris, Dec. 3, 1804.
O! by thy point! for every wound
Where trace of Frankish blood hath been,
A golden circle shall surround
Thy hilt of agate smooth and green.

My trusty Krees now play thy part,
And second well thy master's will;
And I will wear thee next my heart,
And many a life-blood owe thee still. 1

The next three days brought more immediate danger from
the weather, the sea running so high, with violent rain and
squalls, and a typhoon in the offing, that the waves dashed
over the brig and into the cabin, drenching Leyden completely
and reminding him of Mir Jafar Zatulli's complaint, that his
"silly bark" had "fallen into a troublous sea". 2 The Maldivians
as usual furled the sails and let the ship drive before the
tempest, while they, with dreadful yells from the whole crew,
and with as much fervour as Roman Catholic mariners addressing
the Blessed Virgin, invoked "sometimes the merciful God, and
sometimes the two Kings of the Sea, and of the Desert forest",
who were brothers, "as in the Northern Mythology", the latter
corresponding to the Erl King; but as the brig was shipping
an alarming quantity of water, the crew had soon "to leave the
devotional part of the business to the steersman" and apply
themselves to the pump, working in incessant rain until they
seemed so nearly exhausted with cold and fatigue that Leyden
proposed recruiting them with a glass of gin. This suggestion
was well received until, overhearing Leyden mention sherab to
his servant, they declared with one voice that they would have
none of it, only to resolve at last, after a lively discussion,
that sherab, although untouchable as wine, might certainly be
taken (like poison on occasion) as medicine: a compromise which
Leyden felt would give him an excellent reason for drinking
wine all his life if he ever became a Moslem. 3

There had now been no sight of either land or sun for
four days, so that, the Maldivians' astrolabes being useless,
the ship's position was quite unknown. The sea had become
calm enough, however, to allay everyone's trepidation; and
immediately after daybreak on October 10, a coastline, hilly in
parts and veiled in clouds, was discerned on the lee beam. This
Leyden maintained to be the Achin coast of Sumatra, refusing to
be shaken in his opinion by the steersman's conviction that it
1 Leyden, Address to my Malay Krees 11:17-24. Sending Erskine a
copy of this Address, Dec. 3, 1809, Leyden opined that it showed
him to have "acquired the very temper & soul of a Malay who
values his creeds by the number of deaths which it bears..."
2 Cf. p. sup. for Zatulli. 3 Leyden, Journal to Penang.
was Penang, or by his charts with both coasts minutely laid down. These seemed indeed rather to support Leyden's hypothesis, and although a high swell with a dead calm prevented any approach to the coast to decide the point, it was established by observation (as visibility improved towards noon on the 11th) to be certainly that of Achin. So Leyden had the satisfaction of being proved right to enhance for him the great beauty of the evening, when the brig lay on a smooth glassy sea "as idle as a painted ship, upon a painted ocean," the western sky presenting a freckled network of brilliant golden yellow, gradually changing into a bright rose which softened with the gloaming, and the sea gently heaving without a ripple, showing towards the east "a clear violet and broken claret colour" and to the west fleeting shades ranging from whitish yellow to a deep brazen red which still flickered along the surface after the sun had set, until the sea became suddenly like clear green liquid glass. Next day found the Louisa Valli still becalmed in seemingly the same spot. No craft came out from the shore; her own boat was unfit for use, and as there was not even rainwater to drink and nothing at all to eat, the remaining rice having been spoiled by the sea, Leyden, who had been made "deadly sick" by anything he tried to swallow, reckoned it fortunate that he had been without appetite for several days past. Being thus between the devil and the deep sea (as Leyden considered they had been throughout the voyage), the crew had recourse to prayers and incantations, which brought neither god nor demon to their aid, so that it remained to determine whether the ship harboured some unlucky person or was under the power of a sorcerer. Leyden, as one of the three 'infidels' on board, strongly supported the latter hypothesis, but even the consultation of a book of spells belonging to a Maldivian and depicting a multitude of evil spirits, failed to discover their precise adversary; and further research proved fortunately unnecessary, as during the night the brig moved gradually toward the bold rocky shore, sailing along a narrow channel between the mainland and the nearest islets about ten on the morning of October 13, and arriving safely by noon in the spacious Bay of Achin, rather by the special favour of providence than by the deserts of her crew which were "particularly small in the article of navigation." The rugged coast, with its steep hills

1 Leyden, Journal to Penang.
2 Cf. Leyden's quotation from The Ancient Mariner, p.180 supra.
3 Cf. Lockhart, op.cit., IV, pp.303-05. For Scott's similar experience on his northern cruise of 1814.
4 Morton, op.cit., p.1, alters the position of this phrase.
of dark basaltine stone separated by jungle-clad ravines, gave Leyden ample scope for geological observation from a distance; but his desire to go ashore in the boat despatched that night for supplies was frustrated by the captain and his companions from fear of being detained by the civil war then raging in Achin between the young Sultan (said to be presently on board a ship of war in the bay) and his usurping uncle, who regarded all Europeans with great suspicion. So Leyden sent his Persian servant in- stead to obtain news; and when the shore party returned next morning, they had indeed a lamentable tale to tell of the prevailing "state of atrocious licentiousness and rapine", and of violent strife, with communications broken, gates guarded and villages burned. "Every person goes armed, and as there is no sub- ordination, might is right." So, being unable to go ashore to acquire such specimens as a piece of putung wood, used in dyeing red, Leyden contented himself with notes on such subjects as the Achin Malay speech, "reckoned a particular dialect, differing considerably from that of Malacca, Batavia, and Amboyna", and the prepossessing aspect of the Malays, "a fine, bold stout race of men not easily distinguishable in mien features and complexion" from the Nayars of Malabar.

Weighing anchor a little before sunset, and leaving Achin Bay just as an English three-master entered it, the Louisa Valli continued to be delayed by lack of wind, being becalmed again the next day; and most of the 16th, too, was spent in "sweltering... beneath one of the sultry suns of Sumatra" and cursing all the stars in the firmament, with special reference to Leyden's "own bitch of a star", until a good breeze sprang up at last about four in the afternoon. The sails were no sooner set, however, than the appearance of a large ship to leeward, apparently in full chase of the brig and nearing fast, revived all the crew's fears of capture by the French. The horrors of this prospect being aggravated by having been allowed "to sleep for several days", the men stood gazing at the oncoming ship, far too petrified to try to act the part of an Arab vessel, so that Leyden, recollecting the Arab proverb that 'Nature alone gives strength of mind', waited patiently for the commencement of prayers and the "pleasant spectacle" presented by the sailors' fervour of devotion, solacing himself the while with the thought that if carried to the

1 The boat had evidently been rapidly repaired. Cf. p. sup. Leyden, Journal to Penang.
2 Leyden, Journal to Penang. A principle once regarded by Leyden without distaste. (p. 122 ad)
3 For Leyden's liking for the Malays, cf. p. inf. - The Achinese, although of Malayan stock, are darker, tanner and less pleasant-featured than the true Malays.
Isle of Bourbon he would at least be able to examine its volcano and caverns, and resolved to grow superstitious like the Maldivians, and to swear, if now taken prisoner, never again to use a cormorant quill pen as at present. But all this was senseless, since by six o'clock the supposed pursuer had dropped considerably astern, so that with a favourable wind and friendly fortune the brig was "quit for this chance", and Leyden left in peace to hope that he might never again sail with mariners "so terribly addicted to saying their prayers", and to admire the "scene of enchantment" presented by the sugar-loaf Achin Hill, "flooded with softened crimson, by the rays of the setting Sun."

The only possible danger now, according to the informative Maldivian, would lie in failing to steer clear of "Tavai, the mountain of loadstone...at a vast distance in the direction of Mergui", which Leyden identified both with that which drew all the iron out of Prince Ajeib's ships in the Arabian Nights' Tale of the Third Calendar, and with that placed by Palladius among the Maniolese islands. This remote peril being avoided without difficulty, two days were passed in somewhat impatient contemplation of the beauties of the Sumatran coast while the ship moved slowly over the windless sea below an unclouded sky. By the 18th however, the crew in "great tribulation", had decided that this absence of wind was due to their neglect of a devotional act for procuring a fair wind at Achin, where they should have prepared victuals in the name of an Oulia formerly resident on a neighbouring hill, repeating the Fatteha after consuming the food, and assessing the Oulia's reaction by its condition. The method of expiating this neglect was doubtful, but it was proposed to hoist the 'sacred standard' of the Koran-inscribed flag, which was not to be used on "light occasions"; and when three yellow-tailed fish of the dolphin species were caught, the enterprising Leyden bought one for a Fatteha to be said in his own name, to which no objection was raised so long as the requisite payment was made. Some of the sailors stained their faces and painted their bodies to personate Ghouls...parading the ship in this strange plight to expel the evil detaining influence; and in the midst of "all this mummer" a booby, one of the gannet-like birds plentiful in the area, "came aboard and quietly suffered itself to be taken".

So Leyden felt that, according to the Arab saying 'Fortune favours fools', the most complete success might be looked for;

1 Leyden, Journal to Penang.
2 Tavoy Island in the Mergui Archipelago to the north.
3 Leyden has notes on various subjects from Palladius: e.g. "on the nations of India & the Brahmins" in MS. 26, 581, ff. 2-3.
4 Known as 'yellow tails'. But having a bright green aspect.
and indeed a favourable breeze did spring up shortly before sunset, continuing most of the night with a good deal of rain and most vivid flashes of lightning and promising progress in place of the former lagging "snail-pace of an old wife". In the morning, however, it became apparent that having got into some current, the ship was a "good deal" nearer the Sumatran coast than before: a circumstance which seemed to the crew the effect of enchantment, and which completely sickened Leyden, who, having finished all his fresh provisions, and fallen back once more on Schuler's "execrable pompions" felt that to get fairly ashore anywhere would be Paradise after the purgatory of this "cursed ship", which had become completely detestable, smelling all over like an open sepulchre, its water putrid and nauseous, its cabin filled with the tainted odours of rotten salt-fish and rice spoiled by the daily influx of sea water, and its normal population of myriads of cockroaches and ants augmented by legions of small scorpions. For the present he was obliged to solace his chagrin as best he could by making sundry doggerel translations from the Persian, and recording such miscellanea as the Persian, Indian and Arabian belief in "the Hydrographic doctrine of the Seven Seas" named from colours and harbouring such beings as the Biché ab, the beautiful child of the water living in a water-lily calyx in the green sea in Muggreb, and the Persian and Indian idea that the substance of lightning and thunderbolts was a valuable kind of iron, procurable chiefly from a certain mountain in Irak, and imparting an irresistible edge to scimitars and other weapons when mixed in a very small proportion with steel.

At last, on the evening of October 19th, after a "most listless, lifeless day", the ship bore away from Sumatra, not wholly free from the current, but with something resembling a breeze, while the seafire glimmered around like hail gloved dimly white in the depth of the sea. On hearing in the morning, near a rocky islet thickly populated with boobies, that the Malay shore was visible from the mast-head, Leyden concluded gloomily that they seemed doomed to experience a dead calm whenever land was glimpsed; but about 6 p.m. a good breeze arose, so that by the close of the evening the Louisa Valli was bearing past dolphins sporting with uncommon glee, leaving in her wake a long luminous trail as "the sea-fire seemed flashing quite over the plain of the ocean". A check occurred about 1 a.m., when a

1 Leyden, Journal to Penang.
2 E.g., mung beans being good kitchen; and on the gulf separating the blest and the unblest.
3 It was supposed to be crowded with small pits filled with moist cow dung, rice, and an unspecified third ingredient.
violent shower of rain with a little wind led the brig's "sage conductors" to clew up the sails and let her drive with the tide; and in addition to all other evils, Leyden was assailed in the night by a new enemy, the musk rat, which wakened him several times by producing "a vivid electric sensation" as it passed over his body. ¹ So by morning, not even the Maldivian's assertion that an island ahead was actually Penang could mollify Leyden, who, besides having been "terribly ill of revulsions of bile and liver" throughout the voyage, "without any of the conveniences... almost necessary to a European in these parts",² was by now heartily sick of dealing with a set of "tedious, tiresome semi-savages" with no idea of the value of time or of anything else,² so that he found it "inexpressibly mortifying and distressing... in this season of storms and tuffoons" to be at the mercy of such "senseless ignoramuses whose whole conduct from first to last has been an uniform tissue of absurdities"¹.

"Silly crazy creatures unfit for heaven or Hell. They are fittest for the sea-holms where the brown boobies dwell."

By evening the brig was at last very near Penang; but, darkness falling half an hour too soon, she lay at anchor in the island's lee all night, while a favourable wind blew, being thereafter met by a contrary one when about to weigh anchor.¹ Accordingly, the crew, who had too much nous to try to sail in the wind's eye, settled down quietly to say their prayers and wait till Providence should interfere on their behalf or a storm should sweep them away and dash them to pieces; and Leyden under went a little preparatory taste of the lingering suspense which formed one of the terrors of the Mussulman day of judgment, when mankind would spend 50,000 years "looking painfully up to heaven without receiving either information or order thence."¹ Between 5 and 6 p.m. on October 22, however, while the hills around the wide sheltered bay remained covered in haze, the Louisa Valli at last entered with much difficulty the busy harbour of Georgetown, where among other craft lay the line-of-battle ships, Rattlesnake³ and Dédaigneuse, newly arrived from their abortive encounter under Admiral Sir Thomas Troubridge with the Marengo ⁴, a circumstance which enabled Leyden to report immediately on the Louisa Valli's supposed French pursuer, after which a frigate was despatched forthwith.⁵ So, on a misty autumn

¹ Leyden, Journal to Penang. ² Leyden to Ballantyne, Oct. 24, 1805. ³ This had been one of the ships lying in Madras roads when Leyden arrived in the Hugh Inglis in August 1803. ⁴ On the evening of August 7, 1805, in Lat. 19° S., Long. 81° E. ⁵ Leyden to Constable, Oct. 23, 1805.
evening, Leyden had his first glimpse of Penang's low-lying, wooded capital, with Fort Cornwallis and Government House showing among its many trees; and by eight o'clock that night, after "the most shocking voyage ever...seen," he had the great gratification of concluding his journal on dry land in the comparative security of a kind of naval tavern, ringing with the hoarse bawling of sea-oaths and the rattling of the dice-box. Leyden believed, indeed, that he had derived considerable benefit even from such a "tedious, teasing and tormenting voyage"; but just at present it seemed to have ended nearly as it had begun, with all kinds of vexation, leaving Leyden in a most miserable state of health and so feeble and exhausted that had he not naturally had a great deal of life in him, he would have been strongly tempted to despair.

"My brains feel perfectly withered and dried up within my skull by incessant rocking and reeling. I am poisoned with eternal revulsion of bile and there is a cadaverous smell for ever in my nostrils and to mend matters I have got amid a parcel of half drunken half mad tearing tarpaulins who by way of being merry and blythe are kicking up such a row as is enough to confound heaven and earth amid which I bring to an appropriate conclusion this tedious and confused medley of an epistle worthy to be terminated amid such a rout and confusion."

There was currently considerable confusion also in Penang's public affairs. Since the death in 1794 of the redoubtable Francis Light, its first Superintendent of trade, who had acquired it from the Raja of Kedah in 1786, the island, lying seven miles off the Malay coast "in the sunlight and the sea," had languished under the regime of a Lieutenant-Governor, who also acted as an Agent to the Governor-General with the Malay States. Early in 1805, however, the East India Company's Court of Directors, perturbed by Penang's lack of prosperity, decided to restore its fortune by erecting it into a full Presidency, and appointed to implement this policy, a new establishment of twenty-six officials, who, with Philip Dundas, nephew of the great Henry Dundas, as Governor, reached Penang on September 19, 1805, after a five-months' voyage from Britain. A month later, there was still a good deal of uncertainty as the transfer of administration proceeded under such difficulties as an extremely high cost of living and a grave shortage of office accommodation and of assistant staff. So John Leyden, finding a confused sort of interregnum and indeed a kind of anarchy, prevailing in Georgetown, decided without hesitation...
that Penang, with its 12,000 inhabitants, quite as motley as those of ancient Tyre, was a most disagreeable place, especially as the members of the old establishment had mostly departed, while those of the new were still "ignorant of every thing". Having long regarded with a somewhat jealous eye "the all-sufficient gentry of Bengal," the most literary of the presidencies, Leyden now revived the idea of visiting "these Coquins" as soon as he recovered from the horrors of his late voyage and could find a ship with a crew less "desperately addicted to praying" as their sole resource in danger than his former shipmates. But despite this first unfavourable impression, doubtless intensified by his own "horrible bilious exhausted and lethargic state," Leyden was to spend almost three months in Penang, pursuing such linguistic and general studies as his very indifferent health permitted.

Leyden had feared that in the absence of the last Lieutenant-Governor, Robert Farquhar, of whom John Malcolm had given him a splendid account, he might feel "a good deal like a fish out of the water" at Penang; and his relations with at least some members of the British community were perhaps none too cordial, to judge from his later injunction to Olivia Raffles:

"...be sure when you ride out a evenings not to forget your surly friend. If you do I shall certainly not expect to be remembered in the Island except perhaps now and then for the discussion of the sagacious question whether I was most mad or humourous — Lord help weak and common understandings and enable them to get on as they say." But he discovered two redeeming features in the new administration: the presence of a kindred spirit in Thomas Stamford Bingley Raffles, the earnest, ambitious and far-sighted Assistant Secretary, and the existence of "a little Scottish colony" headed by the Governor himself. His fellow-Scots accorded Leyden the utmost attention, and in Dr William Dick he had a Scottish physician who did not hesitate to declare him a greater linguist than Sir William Jones; but it was with young Raffles, the Englishman whose tastes and sentiments much resembled his own, that Leyden became most intimate, spending nearly all his time as Raffles's guest at his bungalow of Runnimeede, where Raffles had set up house with his lately-married wife, Olivia, and his eldest sister, Mary Ann, a very pretty woman, who was to marry first Quintin Thompson, Paymaster and Storekeeper at Penang, and

1 Sir George Leith, A short account of Prince of Wales Island, 53.
2 Leyden to Erskine, Dec. 5, 1805.
3 Leyden to Mrs Smith, Oct. 25, 1805.
4 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 9, 1805.
5 Leyden to Heber, Oct. 24, 1805.
7 Leyden to Wilks, Sept. 22, 1805.
8 Leyden to Mrs Raffles, March 6, 1806.
9 Leyden to Scott, Nov. 20, 1805.
10 Dick to Scott, Aug. 23, 1819.
11 Cf. Lady Raffles, Memoir, p. 7.
then, on his death in 1809, Captain Flint, R.N.  Olivia Mariamne Raffles, née Devenish, and the widow of Jacob Cassivelaun Fan-
court, was no ordinary woman, but altogether the great lady, accomplished and clever, with dark eyes and lively manner; and Leyden, accustomed to complimenting such ladies in Scotland, was soon addressing to her little notes and flattering verses.—

"Mr L. sends Mrs R. a pair of Vols. as Peter Pindar would say and requests to know as he has quite forgot unluckily whether he promised to dine wt. Mrs R. today or to morrow. Mr L. is afraid this request will convey no very favourable idea of the accuracy with which he keeps his promises since he forgets them so lightly. This he is forced to admit.

For Promises as writers mention
Serve but to mark the minds intention
Now since we never think it strange
To find our best intentions change
Should promises like rope or halter
Confine intentions ne'er to alter??"

and again:

O'er Nona's grave to Nona's shade
Tom Moore funereal rites has paid
But I beneath Malayan skies
Shall bid her like the phoenix rise
In grace & sweetness all the same
But let Olivia be her name
Let Greek Anacreon claim the West
Here Persian Hafiz reigns confest.

Olivia too numbered among her accomplishments the writing of verses, commended, and on occasion corrected, by Leyden; but she was also of an eminently active and practical turn of mind, busying herself all day long so that she never rested for a moment. And although herself in poor enough health to require medical advice from Leyden and later to be styled his "dear quondam patient" she found a further outlet for her energies in nursing Leyden, who, after recovering vastly in the first three weeks at Penang from his initial exhaustion, found the climate on the whole, for all its erroneously high reputation as the finest in the East Indies, too hot by day and too cold by night, and soon suffered a relapse which entailed a tedious convalescence confining him entirely to the house.

1 Thomson died aet. 25, leaving three small children.
2 Assistant Surgeon, Madras Establishment; he married Olivia in 1793 and died in 1800. Olivia married Raffles (aged 23 & 10 years her junior) in March, 1805, after his Penang appointment.
3 Abdulla, Hakayit Abdulla, translated J.T. Thomson, 1574.
4 Lord Minto to Lady Minto, May 31, 1811.
5 Leyden to Mrs Raffles, 1806 (1). 6 Leyden to Mrs Raffles, 1806 (2). (A different note, signed 'J.C.L'.) For 'Nona', cf.
7 E.g. four lines beginning "Fond love is like a cup of magic power"; and "an exceeding good imitation of Moore's manner".
8 Leyden to Mrs Raffles, March 6, 1806, in which he hoped for good news of her health. 9 Leyden to Scott, Nov. 20, 1805.
10 Leith, op.cit., p. 17, describing it as sheltered, wet and hot.
11 Leyden to Erskine, Dec. 5, 1805.
To "get rid of the ennui" of thus having abundance of time on his hands without the strength for such outdoor pursuits as natural history, Leyden began vigorously to study Malay, which had already interested him, although he had as yet neither heard nor read a word of it, and which he professed to find childishly easy: a profession supported by the fact that when two sons of the King of Kedah arrived on business from the mainland and no interpreter could be found, Leyden, being called in by Philip Dundas on Dr Dick's suggestion, astonished those present and fully justified his pretensions as a Malay scholar by carrying on a long conversation with as much apparent ease as if he had been speaking English. Leyden had a fellow-labourer in his host; for Raffles, being keen to acquire a first-hand knowledge of the people among whom he was to work, had begun the study of Malay on his voyage out, and now pursued it so effectively, even under the heavy pressure of his routine duties, which virtually involved the organisation of the new government; that within two years he became the Presidency's official Malay translator. The character of the Malays, so often censured as indolent, vindictive and treacherous, made a strong appeal both to Leyden and to Raffles, who, discerning something admirable even in their piracies, was so interested in their customs as to set about compiling a code of Malay laws. On this subject Leyden, despite his former doubts of the existence of any native sources "except a few Addât Malayu" and of any written notices apart from those in William Marsden's History of Sumatra, was to give Raffles encouragement and advice, offering to lend him books, instructing him on such points as the selection and indexing of manuscript sources, and exhorting him:

"Go on and prosper my dear fellow, the work will not only be very desirable in a literary point of view but will... do every thing possible for your reputation at home."

And although Raffles's major work on the laws and usages of the Malay tribes was still on his hands fourteen years later through

1 Leyden to Richardson, [1806]. 2 Dr Dick to Scott, Aug. 23, 1819.
3 Leyden to Scott, Nov. 20, 1805.
4 Sir Reginald Coupland, Raffles of Singapore, p. 13.
5 Leith, op. cit., p. 50, where he expressed his pleasure that there were few Malays in Penang. 6 Lond., 1783.
7 Leyden advised the complete indexing of all MSS., the selection of the most ancient for the text, "or if there are great variations..."
8 Leyden to Raffles, March 7, 1806.
his preoccupation with official duties, his paper On the Malay nation and its maritime laws, compiled after further research while on leave at Malacca in 1808, was received with acclamation when read to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta in 1810.1

Leyden himself, finding in the Mälays' "feudal notions and habits... much in accordance with his own feelings of honour and independence,... was at once alive to their true character and interests", and accordingly espoused their cause with all his characteristic ardour and enthusiasm.2 Realising that in Malaya, as in India, authentic history could be dated only from the introduction of Islam, he yet felt that the popular tales and wild traditions of the Malays shed on their earlier career glimmerings of light which, though faint, were worth pursuing "in the absence of all other lights", since they could explain many of the peculiar institutions and customs of a people who seemed to have the greatest claim on the consideration and attention of his own countrymen.2 So, seeking to make the English reader better acquainted with this "shy, reserved, mercurial, attractive" race, Leyden was induced to undertake the translation of the Malays' chief literary work,4 the fifteenth century Sejarah Malayu, a compilation of their most popular traditions, embodying parts of the older Chronicles of Pasai and of the Hikayat 'Iskandar' describing the fabulous adventures of Alexander the Great;4 and this work, after occupying a considerable portion of Leyden's time at Calcutta, was eventually published in 1821, with an introduction by the like-minded Raffles, albeit without the intended and desirable addition of historical and explanatory notes.5

The world of colour and violence which the Annals depicted was one after Leyden's own heart, peopled by princesses "pleasant and sweet... as the sea of honey, bright as the full moon when brightest;" and by rajas, "paramantris, suda-sidas,... hulu-bangas bandaharas and lacsamanas, dressed in brilliantly hued and patterned garments, accoutred with garlands, fans and weapons, feasting on rice with turmeric and roasted fowls, exchanging gifts of flowered stuffs and golden chess-boards, of jewelled trees and exotic birds, debating deep points of theology, and amusing themselves with horse-riding, elephant-hunting, pellet-bo

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1 Published in Asiatic Researches Vol.XII pp.102-58.
2 Raffles, Introduction to Malay Annals,pp.v-vi.
3 Coupland, op.cit.,p.10.
5 Raffles, op.cit.,pp.vi-vii. Almost the only approach to a note in the text as published is the glossing of 'kankung greens' as 'convolvulus repens'.
6 Malay Annals,pp.155, 330 and passim.
and football\(^1\) and with firework displays of crackers, "lanthorns, gongs, drums...dancers and sword-players of every description".\(^2\) It was a world at once of elaborate ceremony and etiquette, and of manners simple even to crudity, where it was an accomplishment for a high-born beauty to be "excessively clever at opening pepper-pods with her teeth";\(^3\) of splendid palaces with fretted roofs "gilded over with fluid gold", and of barbarous punishments, where a fleeing thief might be hacked "in twain by the waist", and a conspirator "impaled horizontally with his wives and children";\(^4\) of enchanted rice-fields, "gleaming and glittering like fire", with golden grain, silver leaves and brazen stalks, and of battles and sieges when warriors ran amuck "with their whole soul" so that "blood flowed like an inundation", and the sound of the weapons of the hosts was like the day of judgment;\(^5\) of mountain gardens beyond woods of "spontaneously melodious" bamboos, where fabulous birds, flowers and fruits laughed and talked, and of extortion, abduction and sudden death, where a murderer might himself be treacherously stabbed to the heart through the back in a duel\(^6\) or brained with an elephant hook, an offender against court etiquette be suddenly cut down with a single blow, and a falsely-accused official and his family be assassinated at the Raja's jealous pleasure.\(^7\) Leyden, retaining all his old delight in the marvellous and romantic, had here to deal with such wonders as the finding of the fair child Pogalang in a betel-nut pod,\(^8\) the descent of the Raja Suran into the sea in a chest of glass fixed to a golden chain and his return astride a flying sea-horse;\(^9\) the destruction of the huge serpent Saca-timma, the despoiler of crops,\(^10\) and the ravages of the fierce sword-fish, which, springing ashore, decimated the population of the coast at Singapore, stabbing, beheading and rending asunder on every side;\(^11\) And his relish for the fantastic comes through the generally jog-trot style of Leyden's translation in his rendering of such episodes as the slave Badang's winning of

1 "The Moloco Prince was very skilful at foot-ball...A hundred hundred times would he receive the ball on his foot, and keep it up without falling..." (Malay Annals, p.231.) 2 Ibid., p.255.
3 Ibid., p.287. A pantun (p.237) on this lady, "the gem of Bengal, calls her "She who is skilful in splitting pepper pods''.
4 Ibid., pp.192,222 & 344. 5 Ibid., pp.21,57 & 362-55.
6 Ibid., pp.277-79 & 190. The murderer's opponent, when reproached with treachery, merely said, "of what use is fidelity to a wicked man like you", and stabbed him once more.
7 Ibid., pp.318-19 & 338-45, the latter telling a peculiarly distressing tale of oriental tyranny and treachery.
8 Ibid., p.208. Cf. the Biché ab of Leyden's Journal (p. sup.)
9 Malay Annals, pp.15-17. The Raja acquired a wife and children beneath the ocean. Cf. Leyden's The Mermaid (p.
the gift of strength from a fish-eating spectre with a long beard, eyes red as fire and "hair coarse and matted as a basket;" 1 the petrifaction of the blood of the murdered Tun Jana Khateb, commemorated in the enigmatic pantun:

Tough is the duck of Singhora,
The Pandan leans on the Tui tree;
His blood was shed at Singhapura,
But his body lies at Langcéwi;

and the great combat in which the dust ascended to the heavens, darkening the brightness of the day like an eclipse, between Raja Chulan, whose host was like the sea rough with waves, with standards like a forest, feathered spears, and armour plated with scales, and Raja Suran, before whose armies the forests were converted into open plains, the earth shook, the hills moved, "the lofty grounds became level...the rocks flew off in shivers, and the large rivers were dried up to the mud", the darkest night being "illuminated by the light of their armour like the lustre of the full moon" and the crash of thunder being drowned by "the loud noise of the champions and warriors, mixed with the cries of horses and elephants". 2

Besides thus making good progress in Malay 3, which he was disappointed to find unconnected with Chinese, although useful in the study of Siamese and Burmese, 4 Leyden also paid some attention to Javanese, which he believed to be a dialect of Sanskrit, very little corrupted, 5 and "broke ground in the Tai or Siamese", to which he hoped to add, before leaving Penang, Burmese and Mon (spoken in the Pegu district of Lower Burma), 3 so that there would then be no language "from the point of the Promontory of Malabar to that of Malacca, the dialect of Bengal itself excepted", of which Leyden would not consider himself to possess "a respectable knowledge". 6 He learned besides something of Pali, although handicapped by the ignorance of Penang's talapoins; and having tried in vain to find someone who would keep him in mind of the Deccan dialects by reading them with him, he was obliged to fall back on the mixed Arabic and Tamil dialect of the Moslems of the Coromandel coast, less for its own sake than to preserve his already very fair knowledge of Tamil proper. 4 Then, reckoning that he had only five more languages to

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1 Malay Annals, pp. 54-56. The spectre, whose vomit Badang had to eat to obtain strength, was, curiously, afraid of being killed.
2 Ibid., pp. 82-83, & 813. Cf. p. 192 sup. for the armies.
3 Leyden to Erskine, Dec. 5, 1805. (MS. 971.)
4 Leyden to Richardson, [1806].
5 Raffles to Phil. Dundas, July 6, 1806; quoted by Lady Raffles, Memoir, p. 12. — Ravi (old Javanese) has more Sanskrit words than any other language in the Malay archipelago.
6 Leyden to Scott, Nov. 20, 1805.
learn before reaching Chinese, to which he had given some
thought even before leaving Scotland,¹ and at which he meant
to stop,² he carefully reconnoitred the ground, finding that
two years' hard study would be needed for a modest knowledge
of the written character, to which there corresponded at least
fifteen spoken languages quite unrelated to one another.³ For
the present, hearing that a Chinese play was to be acted on
November 18, Leyden "determined though perfectly ignorant of the
language and without an interpreter to observe what similarity
existed between the Chinese and Hindus in their Scenical
representations and what was the effect of the singular language
of the Chinese" in "Oratory and displaying passion," and he found
a language which he would not have guessed to be monosyllabic
from the actors' pronunciation, in a scene reminiscent of
"Thespis and his waggon", with extravagant gesticulations and
formal combats, and in particular with one very agile character
in black whom Leyden much suspected to be a "caricature of
Hunimant".⁴ Had Leyden indeed acquired a knowledge of Chinese
he would have considered himself "nearly able to speak to any
man in the whole world in his own language, a thing which one
may venture to say without vanity has scarcely been done since
the time of Nimrod and the other builders of the tower of
Babel".² As it was, he made every effort, in company with
Raffles, to increase his knowledge of the peoples of the eastern
islands by conversing with the "singular mixture of strangers",
mostly from the archipelago, to be found in Penang; and in
studying their dialects as an "obvious means of determining the
cognition of the different races", he amassed sufficient mater-
ial to make short radical vocabularies of the chief dialects.¹
And, possessing by nature and practice a remarkable dexterity
in analysing a language and reducing it to its elements, in
grasping its main grammatical rudiments and flections, and in
apprehending, as if intuitively, the characteristics of kindred
dialects,⁵ he made such intensive and skilful use of his short
time "to the east-ward"⁶ as to produce for publication not only
A comparative vocabulary of the Barma, Malayu, and T'hai langu-
ages," but also a dissertation On the languages and literature
of the Indo-Chinese nations,⁷ which indeed traversed a remark-
able range of oriental lore.⁸

¹ Leyden to Richardson, [1806]. ² Leyden to his father,
Nov.20,1805. ³ Leyden to Heber, June 8,1806.
⁴ Note by Leyden in B.K.Add.MS.26,568, f.15.
⁵ Wm Erskine, op.cit. ⁶ Raffles to Wm Marsden, March,1809.
⁹ James Morton, to Leyden, Dec.13,1808.
In collecting his materials for this pioneering and necessarily imperfect sketch\(^1\) from Achin and other parts of the Sumatran coast and from the Malay peninsula, as well as in Penang itself, Leyden, despite the now familiar handicap of indifferent health, lost no opportunity of correcting, chiefly from native sources,\(^2\) his former vague ideas on the languages, literature and "filiation" of the eastern tribes.\(^3\) So, although somewhat embarrassed by the difficulty and novelty of his task, he felt justified in later submitting his findings to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta as a sort of interim report,\(^4\) which, being an attempt to introduce order into an extensive, intricate and confused subject, might serve sometimes to indicate the proper method of investigation even when itself falling short of it;\(^3\) and for all his expressed diffidence, he did not hesitate, on occasion, to dissent from the opinions even of such eminent authorities as William Marsden and Sir William Jones.\(^5\)

In the course of his survey of the character, "mutual relation" and literature of fourteen Indo-Chinese languages, ranging from Malay to Pali,\(^6\) Leyden contrived to touch on such interesting topics as the Malay fondness for the enigmatic quatrain of the pantun, with its "oracular brevity" of image and application, often puzzling to Europeans;\(^7\) the national character of the "ancient, brave, and martial" Buggese, compared with whom the continental Indo-Chinese peoples and the Chinese themselves appeared as "an ass, caparisoned in stiff and gilded trappings" beside a generous courser;\(^8\) the "Cheriträs, or romantic fiction of the Siamese, with their "wild and singular style of fabling" and store of marvels;\(^9\) and the savage manners of the Battas of Sumatra, who practised the "horrid custom of anthropophagy" both upon criminals and prisoners of war, and as "a pious ceremony" upon their own aged and infirm relatives.\(^10\)

And he availed himself gleefully of the opportunity afforded by a reference to

1 Leyden, On the... Indo-Chinese Nations, p. 159. He would have hesitated to lay the sketch before the Asiatic Society, had he had any immediate prospect of renewing the discussion.
2 Not always quite such as he would have liked, however.
3 Leyden, loc. cit. The dissertation was reprinted from Asiatic Researches, in Trübner & Company's Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China, I, pp. 94-171. (1839.)
4 He hoped later to treat some of its subjects more minutely.
5 E.g. he held the "express reverse" of Marsden's opinion that Malay owed nothing to Telinga or Tamil. 6 Leyden grouped these as 6 polysyllabic and 7 monosyllabic languages, with Pali treated separately as the learned language of Buddhism.
6 Leyden quoted five of these, with translations, pp. 161-82.
7 Leyden, op. cit., p. 192. He compared them with the Japanese.
8 Ibid., pp. 243-91. E.g. an alligator in love with a princess.
Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaei's observations on Pali and its affinities, made in Paulinus's "usual petulant, inaccurate, and desultory manner", and obtruded on the public in a "coarse, acrimonious, and offensive way" to enlarge upon the philological and psychological shortcomings of a "superficial, and virulent" writer, whose works seemed to Leyden to abound equally in error, arrogance and ignorance. It was his main task, however, to indicate the nature and significance of the languages in question; and this he did with judgment and address. Considering always the practical as well as the philological and literary bearing of any linguistic study, and sharing to the full Thomas Raffles's keen interest in the extension of British influence to the eastward, Leyden stressed the need to pay attention to the languages of such states as Cochin China, whose relations with Britain might soon become more intimate. And at the same time, knowing that success in major inquiries might well depend upon thoroughness in minor ones, he took due account of such ruder dialects as "the lingo of the [Batta] man-eaters" which had none of the literary interest of Pali or the political, economic and commercial importance of Malay, Burmese or Siamese; for as Leyden subscribed to, so he practised, the principle that in the search for so "interesting and satisfactory" a thing as truth, no pains should be spared even in the smallest matters.

For all his deep interest in the languages, peoples and affairs of the eastern islands, Leyden was by no means forgetful of his friends in Scotland. On the very night of his arrival in Penang, finding that the Revenge, an extra Indiaman, had put into the harbour in distress, he had resolved, although feeling "almost on the verge of non-existence" and consequently writing in a feverish and nearly unintelligible style, to make one more well-nigh despairing effort to establish contact with Britain for not one of his friends, "Proh Deum!—Mr Constable excepted", had sent a reply to any of the fifty-seven long letters which

1 Alias Joannes Philippus Werdin, or Weedin, 1748-1806.
2 In his Musei Borianii Velitris codices manuscripti...Siamici, Malabarici, Indostani, etc. (Romae,1793.)
3 Leyden, op.cit., pp.278-79. He declared that Paulinus's Vyacarana (Romae,1804) had killed its author's vain pretensions to oriental learning, and cited especially his confusion of I & t but Burnell, op.cit., p.36n, notes that Paulinus was "most unjustly" ridiculed on this ground by Leyden and others.
4 Raffles and he had "but one soul" in the matter. (Raffles to Dr Thomas Raffles, Oct.14,1819.) Cf.p.
8 Leyden, 'Indo-Chinese Nations, p.221. 9 Leyden to Heber, June 8,1806. 10 Leyden to Thos.Brown, Nov.12,1806. 11 Leyden to Brown, Dec.1,1806.
Leyden had despatched to almost everyone he could think of. This apparent epistolary desertion of him in his "sore distress" had indeed perplexed and irritated Leyden so long and so unbearably that by the summer of 1805 he had convinced himself that he had become indifferent on the subject, and desired no more than to hear from his parents and "perhaps another person in the world"; and although he justly suspected this curious apathy to be merely "another modification of chagrin" and one of the "old irrational whims" of which his "numskull" was extremely tenacious, he was sufficiently piqued by his friends' vexatious silence to resolve to make a dead pause for at least a couple of years in his own writing, once his fiftieth letter was completed. On confiding this purpose to William Erskine, however, Leyden had been utterly "amazed, astonished and confounded" to learn that, so far as Erskine knew, no-one at home had heard from Leyden since before his departure from London, so that his whereabouts and his very continuance in life, were unknown to his friends. Having despatched from Mysore a "multitude of letters and parcels", including over five hundred pages to Heber and Scott alone, Leyden found this circumstance past all comprehension, although infinitely preferable to the idea that his friends had heard from him and yet remained silent, since he had not "bated a single atom" of his ancient regard for them, and could scarcely believe that they might have "performed such an operation" towards himself. But now, recognizing that all his proceedings must thus appear "completely a riddle", he contented himself with observing that he could hardly deal with the situation when nobody wrote to inform him of it, and determined "to write out the hundred complete": after which, if he still received no replies, he would "write no more, except in crook-backed characters". Having kept ample notes, he could recommence the story of his travels wherever necessary, if once he knew where to begin; and, finding it irksome to write the same thing over and over again, especially when he could scarcely hold a pen, he began to consider "preparing a little digest" from his journals for the use of such of his Scottish friends as he could find.

1 Leyden to Thomas Brown, Nov. 5, 1805.
3 Leyden to Wm Erskine, July 4, 1805.
5 Leyden to James Ballantyne, Oct. 24, 1805. Leyden had actually written several letters from Portsmouth. Cf. p. sup.
6 Leyden to Janet Brown, Oct. 25, 1805.
7 Leyden kept complete copies of many of his letters, made both by copyists and sometimes by himself, as in E.M.Add. Ms. 28, 661.
as still recollected, that there was ever such a person as John Leyden. Meanwhile, however, although so giddy and febrile that he expected to write neither sense nor a legible hand, Leyden wrote letter after letter, writing in his first three days in Penang to Mrs Robert Smith at Calcutta, where he himself hoped soon to be; to Archibald Constable, of whose hospitable hearth he had often thought longingly after "a damnable march under a burning sun" in Mysore; to James Ballantyne, with remembrances to Ballantyne's "good motherly mother" and to his brother Alexander, who was requested, for Leyden's sake, sometimes to play 'Jingling Johnnie' on his flageolet "on a Saturday night, precisely at eight o'clock"; to Richard Heber, for whom Leyden's "sentiments and affections" remained unaltered by place or time, and to Janet Brown, from or of whom, through "some influence of uncommon fatality," Leyden had heard nothing since coming to India, although he had indeed learned earlier that his "favourite, Jesse was very poorly" about the time of his departure from England.

Had all his European friends resolved upon an obstinate silence, as they seemed in fact to have done, Leyden, being convinced that his "ancient attachments" would not be easily broken, would still have trusted with the most perfect confidence to hear from his "Dearest Life", Janet, who had herself probably been, as Leyden professed to realize with "intolerable regret and chagrin" in as uncertain and anxious a state as Leyden himself for the past two years. This silence of his "dearest soul", while failing to shake Leyden's confidence in her, had irritated Leyden "almost to madness", beyond all the general lack of news from Scotland, and made him "a thousand times curse pen ink and paper" and the day of his birth. So he now urged her, with more vigour than tact, to write without waiting punctiliously for his letters, reminding her that delay in communications made it impossible to establish quickly a correspondence once thoroughly interrupted, and stressing that in his severe illnesses of the past fifteen months he had been utterly disappointed in that hope of hearing from Europe which had formed the only alleviation of his actual suffering.

1 Leyden to Scott, Nov. 20, 1805. 2 Leyden to Heber, Oct. 24, 1805. 3 Leyden to Mrs Smith, Oct. 23, 1805: the date also of his letter to Constable, although Leyden told Heber, loc. cit., that on the day of his landing (Oct. 23) he had been too fatigued on coming ashore to lay hold of a pen. 4 Written in reply to a "very brief note" from Constable written two years before. 5 Leyden to Ballantyne, Oct. 24, 1805. Lockhart, op. cit., V, p. 256, calls Alexander (the third of the brothers) "a fine musician and a most amiable and modest man". 6 Leyden had (needless) fears that Heber might have been interned in France. 7 Leyden to Janet Brown, Oct. 23, 1805. 8 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 15, 1804. 9 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 9, 1806.
"For God's sake consider this most fatal circumstance & do not let anything prevent you from writing me & write me at large... be perfectly assured that neither distance nor absence can have any effect but on strengthening my affection. I regret to tell you that they have had one effect in converting what was long my dearest pleasure into pain; during your absence, it is only your letters that can alleviate it. I am not a person to cry, but I have gazed at a little lock of yellow hair that always accompanies my wanderings till my eyes have been swollen & stiff. Forgive me my dearest soul if I cannot throw my words into any form that does not convey some mixture of chagrin. I am full of chagrin & full of anxiety & full of all kinds of present regrets & former recollections. I cannot write to you as I feel... This fatal illness has woefully interrupted my plans but I have struggled with it and have not lost so much ground as most persons would have done in my situation. Indeed the idea of hastening our union has stimulated me to exertions during illness which would have been pretty severe for a person in health... God bless you my soul's life sometimes think of him who is Ever most affectionately & unchangeably Yours..."

Ten days later, too, Leyden addressed still more vehement requests for news to Janet Brown's brother Thomas, his urgency being increased perhaps by anxiety for Brown's health, of which he had heard adverse reports; for Leyden had always reckoned Brown's tenure of life more uncertain than his own, just as he considered that in his mental faculties Brown was "a cutting instrument of uncommon keenness but of too fine an edge", there being "some things to be crushed with a sledge hammer & some to be cut with a razor".

"My Dear Friend for so I must term you till I can learn another epithet in spite of your obstinate perverse and perplexing silence, you may thank your stars that a long and most severe indisposition with the constant fear of the Devil before my eyes for more than a twelve month has tamed me a good deal or you had had a chapter of Curses of at least several pages in length to encounter by way of commencement... are you all drunk or mad or what in the name of ten thousand devils has come over you all... For God's sake... lay aside your ceremonials and write me whenever you can... Curse me if I am not furious at you.- You sit dead still with your pens and ink horns before you... and make no use of them to the benefit of this part of the world. You may perhaps take it into your head to write me some day or other, when it is more than probable I shall have passed away. We have abundance of diseases here, and I have had my share of them having lain panting many a day and many a night with spasms of the diaphragm without a single idea in my head but how I might best husband my breath for the next inspiration. Write me if you would not be damned eternally, and haunted by my Ghost, as long as you live for haunted you shall be you may depend on it, Confound me if I submit to such usage...dead or alive?"

1 Leyden to Janet Brown, Oct. 25, 1805.
2 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 9, 1805.
3 Cf. p. 150 sup. for Leyden to Brown with threats of curses.
5 "Drappagem" in MS. copy, Ibid.
6 Leyden to Thomas Brown, Nov. 5, 1805.
More politely, Leyden besought Miss Helen Kay of St Andrew to vouchsafe him a full and particular account of life there; for, his letters to Dr John Hunter and Dr James Brown having elicited no reply, Leyden now took the opportunity at once to renew contact with Fife and to discharge a mournful duty owed by one European to another in "this heathenish country" by sending Miss Kay a copy of a tribute paid to the deceased brother of a friend of hers by Dr David White of Cannanore.

Having had no tidings, to his great regret, even of his own family, Leyden feared, with reason, that they in turn might have heard nothing of him but a vague report of his serious illness; and, feeling that if he could but have the satisfaction of putting his parents "in a way of living creditably and easily and as they wished, he would have neither anxiety nor fear for this world or the next, Leyden much desired to transmit to them £200 "to assist...a little in these troublesome times". This indeed had to await an opportunity of safe conveyance, as had Leyden's plan to send his mother enough silk for "half a dozen of gowns and as many cloaks" by some means which would avoid the "London Custom-House" with its demand for "a ransom...almost equal" to the value of the goods. But for the present Leyden could give news of his own welfare and recent activities: of how being now "as strong as ever" in his life after lying ill in one of Tipu's palaces in Mysore, he was engaged in translating Sanskrit texts "as old if not older than the days of Abraham"; of how "the Persian Ambassador Colonel Malcolm who was born near the Langholm where his relations reside" had treated Leyden "in the kindest manner and like a true friend", as indeed had everyone whose esteem was worth having; and, above all, of how Leyden liked India and hoped to succeed there to his heart's content, regretting only that he had not reached it sooner.

To Walter Scott, too, of whose welfare he had heard from Philip Dundas, the head both of Penang's government and of its Scottish colony, Leyden declared unequivocally, in a letter written on the same day as that to his father: "I am quite delighted with India and if I could fairly recover my health...should

1 Leyden to Miss Helen Kay, Oct. 28, 1805.
2 Ibid. White had attended the death-bed of this man, surnamed Watson, who may be the Capt. Watson who had gone to the Wynaad before Leyden could see him at Calicut, but whose lady Leyden admired there with her "little white tiger". (To Keate, loc. cit.
3 Leyden to his father, Nov. 20, 1805.
4 Surely an exaggeration, although Leyden was feeling rather better just then. Cf. p. inf., to Scott.
5 Cf. pp. 387, 389, sup. for Malcolm and Tipu's palace.
have very little inclination to revisit Europe in a hurry".1 so little, in fact, that, although "thoroughly well assured" by the most experienced physicians that he had no chance of recovering his health on any land in India, Leyden had already refused twice, in the face of urgent advice, to revisit Europe, having "no idea of leaving India for this long & many a day".1 News from Europe was another matter, and the usual request for it was repeated to Scott with mock solemnity:

"I conjure you by the great God who stood 300 millions of years between heaven and earth and whose body is as resplendent as a diamond by the most holy and powerful Devil who performed penance for ten million of years in the furnace of fire-sacrifice standing on the crown of his head on the point of a spear till his soul was as white as a skinned potatoe, by the self-moving quoit which administers justice by cutting off the heads of all offenders & by the prayer of the enchant ed saw which of its own accord divides the ribs from the backbone of those who are devoid of pity and compassion; and what I dread infinitely more than all these put together I conjure you by the liver & the spleen and the flux and the fever who have embraced me most fraternally for these fifteen months, in short I conjure you by all things dead or alive to write me if it were only to tell me how you are and what you are doing... If I die of this bout I have ordered myself to be scalped and the scalp to be sent to be hung up in your cottage as proof positive that you have brought down my grizzled head with sorrow to the grave. You shall not want a ghost depend on it to grace your Gothics and I am devilish likely to make my debut some evening at your writing table with a spring that would do credit to Gilpin Horner himself, to the utter astonishment of both Camp and you."2

So strongly, indeed, did Leyden long to pay again a morning visit to the cottage at Lasswade that he was even ready to cry at the thought of "the good, the kind, the sweet, the dear Mrs Scott"; and it was with some pathos that he remembered "Earl Walter"3 and "the young lady3 who did not use to think me quite a raw head & bloody bones as all children great & small have resolved to do. I can tell you the imps of India will not come near me one of them. In short they are very little better than their mothers poor dears the Terrestrial celestials here who have neither got legs nor arms for any useful purpose as you have in Scotland."4

For the adornment of the cottage itself he had already amassed a collection of Indian arms and armour, including shields of paper, wicker and tortoise-shell, the skins of a leopard and of "a very bloody-minded royal tiger", "creasses waved & plain & poisoned, ...polygar daggers for forward foining", Nayar knives of "an intermediate breed between a coal ax and a tomahawk," and two

1 Leyden to Scott, Nov.20,1805. Cf. pp. - sup. for Leyden's aversion to the idea of making a voyage to Europe.
2 Ibid. Leyden later refers again to Camp as "determined in shaking hands with me". Cf.pp. 84 & sup. for Gilpin Horner and for Leyden's determination to haunt his friends.
3 Walter (b.1801) and Charlotte Sophia (b.1799) Scott.
4 Leyden to Scott, loc.cit. Cf.p. sup. for the celestials.
notable swords, one the former property of "Jungle-Moottoo the
invulnerable Mapilla chief who cut his way through a battalion
of seapoys single handed after being half-roasted in a house ...
burnt over his head," and the other an immense weapon six feet
long and "cross-barred on the handle;" which, "when once set againgoes like a sword mill" and cuts you out a line through the enemy
fourteen feet broad over which you may drive a corn waggone, but
which required such skipping and agility in its "management and
weapon schawing" that there would be no fun at all with it unless
Leyden were present to demonstrate its performance, at which he
had been very dextrous before his liver trouble. 3 How to transport
these articles, however, was a problem which "greatly distressed"
and apparently baffled even their resourceful collector; for the
only one which seems to have arrived in Scotland (perhaps to the
relief of Mrs Scott, if to the disappointment of her husband) was
the agate-handled kris addressed with such fervour by Leyden"off
Sumatra," which was duly delivered three years later by James
Purves, Leyden's old schoolfellow. 4 For the present, Leyden
could and did transmit questions and comments on British, and
especially Scottish, literary matters, his interest in which was
undiminished by his oriental enthusiasm. From Constable he had
requested copies of Alexander Murray's edition of James Bruce's
Travels,"when published", 5 of the new series of The Scots Magazine
from the time of Leyden's own connection with it, 6 and of The
Edinburgh Review to date, giving warning that his means of send-
ing payment were uncertain, and that he would provide himself
with the desired volumes should they come in his way. 7 The third
volume of The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, Sir Tristrem,
and even his own Scenes of Infancy Leyden had not seen; 8 but even
in Penang he had found William Godwin's edition of Chaucer (in
which, from his oriental reading, he ventured to suggest at least
one emendation) 9 Walter Scott's The Lay of the Last Minstrel,with
which Leyden was "quite pleased", believing that it would prove

1 Cf. p. sup. for Leyden's admiration for this exploit.
2 This "execrable machine", with a note on its use in Europe, 
appears in Leyden's The Cout of Keelar, st.48.
3 Leyden to Scott, Nov.20, 1805. 4 See p. sup. for Leyden's
Address to this kris, & pp.19 sup. & inf. for Purves
6 Leyden had lost his own copy of The Scots Magazine for the
first year of its new series in London.
7 Leyden to Constable, Oct.23,1805.
8 Leyden to Feber, Oct.24,1805.
9 Godwin's The Life of Chaucer (which Leyden saw at the Dundases)
appeared in 1805. Leyden (to Scott,loc.cit.) suggested that in
Trollus and Criseyde,III,1,933, At pulcarnon... should read"As
pulcarnon" "pulcarnem" being an Arabic title of Alexander the
Great's. - Cf.F. Robinson's edition of Chaucer's.
a very general favourite, and ten numbers of The Edinburgh Review, in which he discerned Scott's hand "in an instant" in the reviews of Southey's Amadis de Gaul, James Sibbald's Chronicle of Scotch Poetry, and Colonel T. Thornton's A Sporting Tour through the Northern Parts of England, the facetious notice of the last particularly delighting him. The Review in general, however, he condemned as "perilous combustible stuff" which had filled "all India with horror and stifled in embryo more publications than you can readily guess. We are astonished here that the authors have not long ago been formally confuted by rapier and pistol. For my own part as it betrayed symptoms of hostility in the review of the Minstrelsy when I was yet in London I have sworn on a second attack to serve it as the Caliph Walid served the Koran by sticking it up on a Malay spear and riddling it full of holes by pistol bullets."  

As the close of 1805 approached, Leyden found that he was more liable than he had supposed to nostalgic thoughts. Christmas in Penang proved a half-familiar festival, with Europe's "wintry wreaths and ancient thyme" laurel, rosemary and holly replaced by the saffron-tinted champak flowers of love and the glossy, spreading leaves of the "still-green Banana tree"; in which Leyden, enjoying the hospitality and kindness of Thomas and Olivia Raffles, found a sweet emblem of the soul at ease and of the heart "expanding frank and free". And the season moved him to address to Olivia a poem in which, by beginning "Dear Nona," he broke his promise to her that she should certainly "never be be-Nonaed" by him: for Mrs Raffles was reputed to have been, in the days when she was still Olivia Devenish, "one of the beauties to whom Anacreontic Moore addressed many of his amatory elegies." So Leyden, in praising a set of her verses as "an exceeding good imitation of Moore's manner" with "a little incorrectness especially in the second Stanza" but with "all the enthusiasm of real feeling" in the last, had acknowledged: "...to tell you a secret..."
I don't like Nona at all at all. Indeed I am not perfectly certain that I am not a little jealous or so of Moore and his everlasting Nona, who should arise again in the east as Olivia.\textsuperscript{1}

The New Year, however, that season of Scottish junketing, which Leyden had often spent happily with the friends of his youth in days when "a passing lay" sufficed to banish any painful thoughts\textsuperscript{2} induced more melancholy reflections, which Leyden embodied in a Dirge addressed to Olivia on January 1, 1806, and sent by her husband, after Leyden's departure, to the Prince of Wales Island Gazette with a note, signed Amicus, extolling Leyden's "distinguished talents and enthusiastic feelings," and concluding:"The stranger is gone, but we cannot forget".\textsuperscript{4} In this Dirge of the departed year Leyden remembered with pleasure the beautiful country he had passed through in Mysore and Coorg,\textsuperscript{5} in Malabar and Travancore, since the beginning of 1805 had found him lingering beside the Cauvery, a man sick and "unblest on holy ground"; and he rejoiced that

\begin{ldest}
...in this eastern isle,
Girt by the green and glistening wave,
Olivia's kind endearing smile
Seem'd to recall me from the grave.\textsuperscript{6}
\end{ldest}

But, although his affections burned now "with purer ardour than before", Leyden felt himself a lonely man, like "one that hath been long time dead;\textsuperscript{7} so that he preferred walking pensively at night by the shell-strewn, weed-covered shore to joining in "the festive mirth and glee" of dance and song.\textsuperscript{2} For soon Leyden would have only memories of the gracious Olivia and his good friend, her husband:

Each morn or evening spent with thee
Fancy shall mid the wilds restore
In all their charms, and they shall be
Sweet days that shall return no more;

and, feeling with all his old keenness the relentless swiftness of time's flight, he looked to the future with foreboding:

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

Foredoom'd to seek an early tomb,
For whom the pallid grave-flowers blow,
I hasten on my destin'd doom,
And sternly mock at joy or woe.

\begin{ldest}
1 Leyden to Mrs Raffles, loc.cit. Cf.p. sup. for Nona and Olivia, & for the verses "of Nona's grave..." which appear in B. M. Add. Ms. 26,551, ff.5-6, with Olivia's lines, 'Fond love...' & with 'Nona' poems by Moore. 2 Dirge of the departed year, passim.
2 Cf. the italicising of 'that friend' in Dirge, 1. 66.
4 Latinised into 'Lyssura' & 'Curge'; cf. scenes or infancy, passim.
5 This stanza was inscribed on Olivia's tombstone.
6 Cf. Raffles to W. Ramsay on Olivia's death. See p. inf.
The immediate future, however, held nothing more inviting than a voyage to Bengal, recommended by Leyden's "medically minded friends" at Penang and begun on January 17, 1806. As early as the winter of 1804, Leyden had had thoughts of visiting Bengal, even although his ill-health then made it seem likely that he would die of dysentery before he could "get beneath the Ghauts," and although he greeted with derision a suggestion made by William Bird that Leyden should "come to Calcutta and engage in literary pursuits" in the most literary of the presidencies:

"I protest it is quite impossible to describe what I suffered when I read this. I durst not laugh as my whole chest and bowels were at that time affected with the most painful and dangerous spasms but how to refrain from it seemed quite impossible had I not had the account of your late Examination by me, from which I endeavoured to persuade myself that you actually were busy bodies in the College of Calcutta contrary to the received opinion at our presidency as well as throughout the kingdom of Mysore."  

Now, without intending to spend more than perhaps two weeks in Calcutta, he had decided to "have a rapid peep" at its inhabitants and especially "to look at the Oriental lions, &... to observe how many cubits a body must add to one's stature in order to encounter them on equal terms": a feat rendered less difficult by the fact that, with the exception of such "supereminent" orientalists as Wilford, Colebrooke and Blaquiere, "the brood of literary giants" appeared to Leyden to be "on the wane," and one which Leyden much desired to compass, being willing cheerfully to "risk a hundred pounds for... an opportunity of entering the lists with the all-sufficient gentry of Bengal."

Before encountering these giants in the flesh, however, Leyden had to undergo a voyage of three weeks, again with a non-European crew. On January 16, as a parting gesture of friendship, he performed the pleasant duty of writing a letter introducing Thomas Raffles to William Erskine as "a new friend", situated, like Erskine, in a society lacking men of literary interests and thinking habits, and as one whose correspondence would afford Erskine both pleasure and information, especially on the subject of the eastern islands. And the following day saw him embarked

1 Leyden to Richardson, [?1806].  2 Leyden to Erskine, Nov. 27, 1804.  3 Leyden to Bird, Dec. 1, 1804.  4 Leyden to Wilks, Sept. 22, 1805.  5 Ibid. In the MS. copy "is on the wane" has been substituted for "has considerably decreased".  6 Leyden to Erskine, Sept. 9, 1805.  7 Leyden felt that this was a duty owed to one another by old and tried friends, particularly in "a heathenish country like India where friendship is not a plant indigenous to the soil". (Cf. p. sup. on the duty owed to deceased acquaintances.)  8 Leyden to Erskine, Jan. 16, 1806 (MS. 971, N.L.S.) This letter reached Erskine only in 1810, almost five years after Leyden's death. (Endorsement of the letter by Erskine.)
in the Santo Antonio, in company with a crew made up mainly of Macao-Portuguese, who had spent their lives trading among the eastern islands and who proved to be quite as addicted to prayer as the men of the Louisa Valli had been. So Leyden, doubtless to his dismay, found their vespers "as regular as the Fateha of the Mahometans", although the effect of the Ave Marias recited at six o'clock each evening varied from the ludicrous to the solemn. Once a "poor Lowry" living in the round-house was sent below in disgrace for joining in "too pervertly"; rather in the manner of Jean Baptiste Gresset's Vertvert; but the general effect of these "evening orisons", with their undeniable poetic tendency, was to move Leyden to compose a Portugueze Hymn to the Virgin Mary which lends some support to the rather curious view that Leyden's poems are marked by "exquisite melody":

Star of the wide and pathless sea,  
Who lov'st on mariners to shine,  
These votive garments wet, to thee,  
We hang within thy holy shrine.  
When o'er us flash'd the surging brine,  
Amid the warring waters tost,  
We called no other name but thine,  
And hop'd when other hope was lost.  
Ave Maris Stella!

Nevertheless, Leyden's Presbyterian principles, although less rigid than in the days when Scott had amused himself by giving them a little "exercise", permitted his addressing "not a single saint in the Calendar... nor yet a single goddess or nymph". So, in default of any "sweet little Saint" of his own, Leyden selected his "dear sister" Olivia Raffles as his patroness for the voyage; and, congratulating himself on thus preferring a living saint to a dead one, he proceeded to pay his dues to her by writing a letter on his first evening at sea, as Penang was fading from sight in the darkness and the crew were recommending themselves fervently to St Anthony, as their ship's patron. Feeling, "without wishing to cast any reflections on the wisdom of the islanders of the modern Barataria", that Olivia might by a slight exertion rival in Penang St Anthony's miracle of preaching "with great zeal and fervour to divers asses till..."
their long ears betrayed powerful symptoms of devotion", he urged her first to try her hand at miraculously enlivening the dreariness of what promised to be for him a most tedious and insipid voyage, without any chance of adventure unless Providence sent "some French privateers or others" to provide it.¹

"Most travellers by land or sea are of a different way of thinking, and maintain that no adventure is a lucky adventure, just as no news is reckoned good news by all our insipid, half-alive, half-vegetable acquaintance. I confess honestly I like to see some fun, and to see every possible variety of situation as well as of men and manners. If it be possible, however, to overcome the irksomeness of light winds, a heaving cradle of a sea, and a barren, sweltering, tropical voyage, I flatter myself that I have adopted the best possible method by associating them with all the pleasant recollections which I horded up at Penang in the society of you and your amiable husband."¹

Leyden accordingly retired during vespers each evening to enjoy these recollections of Penang which were to form his only amusement in the next "plaguy listless month" of voyaging: but he was forced after all to reckon his patroness "pretty ungrateful" and "a bad hand...at saintship", on finding that his musings filled him, not with joy and gladness, but with such melancholy that he "could do nothing all the livelong day but sing 'If I were in Kilkenny I would think myself at home' - to the great edification of the Portuguese who undoubtedly took it for a heretical variation of the 100th Psalm."²

There appeared, indeed, so little real difference between the remembrance of past pleasures and that of past sorrows, the former being pleasant and mournful and the latter mournful and pleasant,³ that the two seemed "much about much", with little distinction between "the recollection of my dear Olivia and the lady whom I hate with the most perfect aversion"; ² but without doubt regret at the loss of Olivia's society predominated even over the recollection of Leyden's pleasure therein, and he besought her fervently to believe no ill of him in his absence save on his own testimony,⁴ since, if he had ever the courage to become a villain - scoundrel and rascal being "too pitiful to mention" - he would also have the courage to own himself one, although the danger was remote so long as he had the honour of Olivia's friendship.¹

Leyden had physical as well as emotional discomfort to encounter on this tedious voyage, suffering both from an inadequate diet and from "a wicked relapse" which almost deprived him of his little remaining activity, although it by no means impaired his

¹ Leyden to Mrs Raffles, Jan. 17, 1806.
² Leyden to Mrs Raffles, March 6, 1806.
³ Leyden recollected reading of "some such distinction in a volume of Sermons", but owned that the epithets could easily be reversed.
⁴ Cf. his similar requests to his father & to Janet & James Brown.
mental energies. Once Penang, with its mountain\(^1\) throwing "a shade of wild & gloomy grandeur over the slight appearances of cultivation", had faded finally from sight on January 18, the ship's course lay past steep and verdant islands, behind which stretched the flat Malay coast, foreshortened by the lofty blue hills of Kedah, and showing the mouth of the River Praya, scene of the British victory of 1791\(^2\) execrated as an act of treachery in the Malay dirge, *The Fight of Praya*, of which Leyden made a vigorous translation:

Warriors, o'er each ridgy tomb
The mournful marjoram shall grow,
And the grave-flowers pale shall blow,\(^3\)
Sad memorials of your doom!\(^4\)

And by the time the islands known as the Two Brothers\(^5\) were reached next day, Leyden had "reconnosited" the crew in his usual fashion and determined to make use of the fact that the first officer had been to Cochin China and knew something of the language.\(^6\) More mental pabulum was needed, however, especially as the light breezes of January 20 bore the ship forward with no land in sight and no object to attract the attention beyond a school of playful porpoises and the purple beauty of the evening sky.\(^7\) So Leyden sought diversion in the study of Portuguese (a language by no means new to him)\(^8\) and read little else throughout the voyage, perusing, besides the poems of Camoens and De Matos,\(^8\) the prose of "some very pretty sentimental novels", defective indeed in plot, but with a "laudable taste for the terrible": a style generally termed "a Gothic or German innovation & the Devil knows what", but one in which the Portuguese, so long ranked "at the fag end of literature", seemed to have preceded the British.\(^9\) In particular, he applied himself to the pathetic *Aventuras do Marquez de Renoncour*,\(^10\) which, besides introducing "a variety of episodical tales" and inculcating respect for noble rank and the propriety of "taking the holy Sacrament in the last extremities", afforded horrific passages "worthy of the most sombrous German pencil", one of which Leyden transcribed for Mrs Raffles's benefit with the complacent observation that it would appear very strange

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1 Later named Mount Olivia, after Mrs Raffles.
4 Dua Soodera.
5 In his Indo-Chinese Dissertation on the Anam language of Cochin China and Tonkin, Leyden noted that he had met several people who could "speak the vulgar language by rote", but no learned Cochin Chinese. (As Res., X, p.262.)
6 Leyden, *Journal from Penang to Calcutta*, addressed to Olivia.
7 Cf. p.61 sup. for Leyden's earlier Portuguese studies.
8 Journal, and Leyden to Mrs Raffles, March 6, 1806.
9 *Liston, 1792*. 
to some of their friends, to whose opinion he was entirely in-
different. 1 For the rest, the novel's nominally French characters
were actually "Portuguese all over", being depicted "exactly as
the French paint other nations by dressing them in the author's
own habit"; but Leyden, believing that a nation's intimate char-
acter and genius are always most perceptible in its lighter
literature, gave it his close attention for the three monotonous
days ending on January 22. 2

On the morning of the 23rd, when the ship passed the grey,
scrub-covered Little Andaman, at some four miles' distance, the
sea-stock of Penang pineapples, on which Leyden had so far sub-
sisted, 3 gave out, so that he was obliged to betake himself to
fasting and consequently reached Calcutta with "a more mortified
aspect and lanker cheekbones than ever St Anthony" had in the
midst of his severest penance, and with a somewhat envious atti-
dude towards his shipmates, who, having prayed assiduously and
lived as merry as the day was long throughout the voyage, arrived
in possession of "a certain degree of amiable sleekness and
rotundity of phizz". 2 What little appetite Leyden had was indeed
effectually quelled by the ship's diet of cockroaches and soy; 3
for the Macao-Portuguese revelled in rice, curry and "greasy
messes", differing little in their eating from the people of
India, but being greasier in everything, and having, besides a
strong partiality for insects unsuited to "an English stomach", an
appetite for pork which accorded well with the mixture of
Chinese blood indicated by the little, oblique, swinish eye of
many of them. 2 So Leyden opined emphatically:

"...next to French cookery there is nothing so terrible as
Portuguese, for their grease and their rotten & black caviare
and their pork in all possible forms, which attacked me in
every possible disguise till plain professed & avowed bacon
seemed the charmingest thing in nature; and above all their
horrible Chinese style of dressing fowls with cock-roaches
and soy, - heaven defend us! if I would not sooner eat a
young devil grilled & peppered & larded with a tolerable
quantity of brimstone." 4

This apparently unpalatable diet, however, agreed so well
with the crew that Leyden could not but envy "the childish
vivacity" with which, without falling into any turbulent joy
"inconsistent with the greatest regularity and method", they
"seemed to feel as much enthusiasm from the thrumming of a
wretched guitar as your cognoscenti at the divinest concert". 4

1 The passage described a man's nightmare of being turned into
a tree and assailed by phantoms in a haunted grove. To these
friends Leyden said: "Huyva como lobo mas gam me mordes como
cam?" 2 Journal, Penang to Bengal. 3 Leyden to Heber,
June 8, 1806. 4 Leyden to Mrs Raffles, March 6, 1806.
At eight o'clock each evening, "all musical hands were piped to the cabin," where "the captain and his officers ranged themselves with the common sailors; albeit on seats a little higher than the floor, to chant Portuguese and Malay verses by turns, Including doubtless some of the pantun which Leyden could translate with strangely haunting effect:"

The oyster beds of Indergeery
Fine cockle sands of Indergeery
I'll sell myself and never weary
To live a slave at Indergeery;

and again:
The mint in summer grows long and slender
The wild mint love and the rue
Love me Love if your heart be tender
But if you love me love me true.

Interspersed among these verses was a good deal of horse-play, with the rapid recitation of awkward phrases in a circle, in which the man who "first missed his ney-word" was "pricked down for the next song, but such singing & such guitarring you never heard even from your humble servant of melodious memory the music of a pair of tongs and a frying pan were nothing to it". It sufficeth however, to enable the sailors to pass their time more cheerfully than their English counterparts would have done, with the pleasing result that it would have been extremely difficult to find a British ship with "less quarrelling and angry words... either among the officers or seamen".

After passing the Andamans, the Santo Antonio made fair speed until the 27th, when, the wind gradually failing, a profound calm ensued which lasted till the end of the month, while the ship drifted on with the current towards the Orissa coast across a fine bay possessing a unique "silvery calm", especially beautiful on hazy mornings when the sea lay almost motionless, like a wide field of molten silver spreading far out to blend with the grey horizon, or was suddenly furrowed by long blue ripples or agitated as if by a gentle shower of rain. Nothing of more moment occurred than the brief appearance of a large unidentified ship on the 30th, until, on the evening of February 2, land was sighted from the masthead. The next day was spent in coasting slowly before light and flagging winds, until False Point was passed on the 4th, and Cape Palmyras on the night of the 5th, a pilaf schooner being sighted about noon next day, and the pilot received on board in the evening. Leyden's attention

1 Leyden to Mrs Raffles March 6, 1806.
2 Winstad, The Malays... pp.157-60, points out the kinship of the "elliptical art" of these verses to Chinese poetry.
was caught successively by the spectacle of the mingling of the "blue waves of the Ocean, the light-coloured mixed current, and the white and turbid stream of the Ganges," and, on the morning of the 6th, by the desolate entrance to the Hoogly, with frightful breakers to the west, and to the east the dark, low, thicket-covered island of Sagar, until lately the scene of human sacrifice where, in January of each year, lower-caste Hindus had devoted themselves or their children to the surrounding sharks and crocodiles in honour of the goddess Kali. The Government had indeed restrained these "bloody or rather suicidal" practices in 1802; but Leyden was to describe them vividly in retrospect in verse which lacked neither rhetorical force nor grisly detail in its portrayal of the fanatical mother throwing her infant to the sharks without a tear, of the grey-bearded victim crowned with red flowers and "wildly drest" in crimson garments, and of the merciless Kali herself:

Dark Goddess of the iron mace, 
Flesh-tearer! quaffing life-blood warm,
The terrors of thine awful face
The pulse of mortal hearts alarm. —
Grim Power! if human woes can charm,
Look to the horrors of the flood,
Where crimson'd Ganga shines in blood,
And man-devouring monsters swarm. 9

The Santo Antonio's leisurely voyage was further impeded on February 7 by a strong and apparently continuing north wind which kept her from progressing much beyond Kedgereee, so that the impatient Leyden, finding that the passage of the river "displayed very little novelty being quite a low flat jungle full of tigers", determined to proceed by boat. Accordingly, after spending a sleepless and most uncomfortable night on the river, he at last reached Calcutta at daybreak on the 8th, "almost in time to hear the guns fired in honour of the conclusion of the Mahratta peace." 4

Being extremely chilled both by indisposition and by the damp night air, Leyden found the cold of the unusually bitter weather quite intolerable, and felt, as at Bangalore, a strong and lasting inclination to associate the idea of cold with that of massiveness of structure; for, having been long accustomed to "the slight gingerly fabrics of Mysore, the bamboo wigwams of Coorg, and the palm-thatched, mudwalled huts of the Malabars and the Malays," he was more surprised than pleased by his first sight of Calcutta's 1

1 Leyden, Journal. 2 Mrs Graham, op. cit., p. 132. Her description of Sagar and of the rites of Kali's devotees tallies closely with Leyden's. 3 Leyden, Verses written at... in 1807, 11, 28-32. These appeared in the Edin. annual Reg. for 1808, 1, pt. 2, pp. xxxviii-ix, which took them from The English Minstrels, II, pp. 140 et seq. 4 Leyden to Raffles, March 7, 1806. 5 Leyden to Mr. Raffles, March 6, 1806.
"massy and splendid edifices",¹ although willing to acknowledge that the city's architecture vastly exceeded anything on the coast, the public buildings being even "inferior to nothing in Europe itself".² Leyden was to find the social atmosphere if anything still more frigid: a situation for which he was not unprepared, having been informed, on leaving Madras, by Captain James Leith, the Military Judge Advocate General, that if he pursued his intention of visiting Bengal he would meet with a hostile reception as the supposed author of "some severe Strictures on the 6th Vol. of the Asiatic Transactions" which had irritated the older members of the Royal Asiatic Society by their presumption.³ Leyden's immediate reaction to this warning had been to countermand Sir Thomas Strange's proposal of writing to Sir John Royds concerning Leyden's election to that Society's membership;³ and, the incident having rendered more critical his scrutiny of the Society's proceedings, he approached its territory in a spirit of emulation, reckoning its members by no means invulnerable, and echoing "old Goliath of Gaths amiable request... 'Give me a man that we may fight together-".⁴ This desire was so amply gratified that it was to cost Leyden "a good deal of battling" before he prevailed against the widespread jealousy and ill-nature with which he found himself assailed while he was still almost too ill to contend against it.⁵ It was not for nothing, however, that he boasted his Border blood and fighting prowess;⁶ and so effectively did he establish himself in the "oriental capital"⁷ that it was to become the scene of his studies and conflicts, not for a few brief weeks, but for the next five crowded and successful years.

1 Leyden to Heber, June 6, 1806.
2 Leyden to Mrs. Raffles, March 5, 1806.
3 Leyden to Erskine, Nov. 27, 1804.
5 Leyden to Erskine, June 1, 1807. (MS. 971, N.L.S.)
6 In 'I am a Borderer born': see p. sup.
7 Leyden to Raffles, March 7, 1806.
Calcutta had come a long way since its foundation by the resolute Job Charnock at the end of the seventeenth century. The splendid, if not strictly regular, modern buildings which had begun to rise in 1757 after the sack of the old town in the previous year were in keeping with the city's position as capital of Bengal and seat of British India's supreme government and judiciary; and if every Englishman, conscious that the suburbs held a cosmopolitan population of Jews, Hindus, Chinese, French, Germans, Spaniards, Americans, Portuguese, Dutch, Arabs and Persians, evidently prided himself on being "outrageously a John Bull", it was not to the prejudice of any serious matter or question of justice, in which all men were strictly on an equal footing. The British population, larger than that of Madras or Bombay, showed also more variety of character and greater intellectual refinement, so that Calcutta society, although not free from the characteristic Anglo-Indian faults of avarice, prodigality, ignorance and vulgarity, afforded at least some reminders of cultivated life in Britain. Leyden's "true and steady friend John Malcolm accordingly judged it expedient to entreat Leyden, on the very day of the latter's arrival, to try to make a good impression on entering that society and in particular to "learn a little English, and be silent upon literary subjects, except among literary men"; but the belligerent Leyden, who had been mistaken for an Englishman at least once in past years "from his pronunciation and strange and somewhat loud tone of voice", replied with scorn,

"'Learn English! no, never; it was trying to learn that language that spoilt my Scotch, and as to being silent, I will promise to hold my tongue, if you will make fools hold theirs.'"

Nor was this condition of his silence apparently fulfilled, since five years later Leyden was still an inveterate talker, liberally mixing "the words of learned conversation with...native phraseology and forms of speech" so that in idiom and still more in pronunciation he was "as faithful to the 'Scenes of Infancy' as if he had never quitted Te'ot water; or seen anything more like a ship than a pair of troughs in Cocker's haugh pool."

Leyden was soon to find, however, that he could not neglect

1 Mrs Graham, op.cit., pp.132-33. 2 Ibid., p.139. 3 Ibid., pp.135-34. 4 Leyden to Scott, Nov.20, 1805 5 Wm Laidlaw, recollections, B.5. (Cf.p. sup.) 6 Lord Minto to Lady Minto, May 1811; quoted in The Scotsman for Oct.22, 1861, and thence by Tulloch, Scenes of Infancy, ed.(1875), p.29. Cf.p., inf.for Minto on Leyden's conversation.
Malcolm's well-meant advice with impunity. The Bengal climate proved so perversely unpleasant that, after suffering intensely from cold in his first two weeks there, Leyden next found the last remnants of his activity being wellnigh consumed by the start of the hot season,¹ and being thus "obliged by indisposition to decline almost every invitation," he had not even attended the Governor-General's levee during his first month in the city.² He accordingly saw for a time too little of general society for him to form any competent estimate of it; but as he began to go out more in the spring and summer of 1806, he encountered, except from "two or three of the chief literary characters", a very "uncommon want of both candour and cordiality" which Leyden frankly ascribed to jealousy³ and which was to cost him months of contentation before he could declare triumphantly: "I have finally trampled all my enemies under my feet. The most learned have declared for me compleatly &... the Governor⁴ is very favourable."⁵ Nor was the battle won without loss; for although Leyden gave his address, on going to Calcutta, as "Care of Mr Robert Smith" - the genial and brilliant 'Bobus', for whom he had believed one's regard could not possibly diminish⁶ - he was obliged to admit three years later, when asked by William Erskine for an introduction to Smith:

"There is nothing that I can do in Bengal that shall be left undone for you I can promise to introduce you to La Minto & all the literateurs, but for the great buffalo Smith you must look to Macintosh to pave your way there as he & I are on no terms at all and I have declined visiting him since the first six weeks I was in Bengal."⁷

Chief among the literary men who received Leyden with the most creditable liberality and frankness⁸ were Henry Colebrooke, "by acclamation and general consent" acknowledged as the leading Sanskritist and indeed Orientalist of the day;⁹ John Harington, who shared Leyden's interest in Chinese, and whom Leyden was later to describe patronisingly as "a very good well-meaning man and no bad scholar";¹⁰ and Henry Forster, the "amiable and interesting"¹¹ James Forster's brother, on whom Leyden lost no time in calling and who, discovering Leyden to be "an amiable young

¹ Leyden to Mrs Raffles, Mar. 6, 1806. ² Leyden to Raffles, Mar. 7, 1806. He hoped to attend the levee for the first time on Mar. 9. ³ Leyden to Erskine, June 1, 1807. ⁴ Sir George Hilaro Barlow, Acting Governor General, 1805-7, after Cornwallis's death. ⁵ Leyden to Mrs Raffles, Oct. 1806. ⁶ Leyden to Erskine, Dec. 5, 1805. ⁷ Sir James Mackintosh, who found 'Bobus' "always merry and always kind". (Mackintosh to Richd Sharp, Nov. 6, 1804.) ⁸ Leyden to Erskine, May 15, 1809. (MS. 971.) C. 9. ⁹ Colin Mackenzie to Leyden, Apr. 30, 1807, on Colebrooke. ¹⁰ Lord Minto at Fort William College, Feb. 27, 1808; quoted by Roeck: Annals, p. 164. ¹¹ Leyden to Thos Manning, Feb. 10. ¹² Dr Robert Anderson, endorsing letter of Aug. 20, 1806, from Jas. Forster to himself.
Man...of talents and enterprise", became to him both a friend ready to show Leyden as much attention as "uncommon pressure" of work would allow, and a link with home who could correct the reports of Leyden's death "confidently current" from time to time in Britain. For the rest, Leyden's old friend and chief, Dr. James Anderson, was within easy distance of Calcutta by mid-April, 1806, having rented an excellent bungalow with "every convenience" at Barrackpore, where he hoped to have the pleasure of Leyden's company among the varied and pleasant scenery which made the place almost "the only paradise of English taste in India". And there was also the recurrent solace of correspondence with the Raffleses who could be relied upon to provide sympathy and encouragement.

To Olivia, who was suffering in the spring of 1806 from a bad attack of liver trouble, Leyden sent fine compliments and light-hearted accounts of his own doings, reserving for her husband his comments on the weightier matters of public and literary affairs: for although Leyden felt himself less fully in touch than formerly with public events, he was yet able to give some account of the political situation both in India in general, where Sir George Barlow was steering a temporary and cautious course between the policies of Wellesley and of Cornwallis, and in Bengal.

"Now that both Wellesley & Cornwallis are off the field the people begin to regret their first head and to declare that the equal of Wellesley never was in India - some go so far as to say never will be. The general outline of Bengal politics is peace! peace! all over! in order to recover their disordered finances - the temporary government in every branch of it may therefore be expected to be a system of save-alls and candle-ends.... On your new government they look with a very parsimonious eye, I can tell you, and I have good reason to believe that the Supreme Government here has represented home their decided disapprobation of the measure... The Persian ambassador is expected round very soon and people are very curious to know what airs he will give himself; he has been extremely insolent at Bombay."

Nor did Leyden ignore the course of events in Europe. The news that eighty thousand Austrians had been "totally demolished" at Austerlitz by Napoleon made him stamp and rail "at all the first-born not of Egypt but of Austria", although he trusted that the Russians would yet "pour in like an inundation on the French".

1 Henry Forster to James Forster, Feb., 1806; quoted by James Forster to Dr Anderson, Aug. 20, 1806 (Adv. MS. 22. 4. 14.)
2 Forster was then working at the Mint from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m.
3 James Forster, loc. cit., took great pleasure in assuring Leyden's friends that, although "very poorly", he yet lived.
4 James Anderson to Leyden, Apr. 18, 1806.
5 Raffles to Leyden, May 24, 1806.
6 Cornwallis died Oct. 5, 1805.
7 The elevation of Penang to the status of a Presidency.
8 Aga Rubbi Khan, MSS. 26, 561 & 26, 586 have translations of amatory poems by him.
9 Leyden to Raffles, March 7, 1806.
10 He apparently did not know the Russians were at Austerlitz.
To offset this, however, there were the tidings of Trafalgar:

"Nelson too has died as every brave man would wish to do, rocked asleep in the arms of his greatest victory. I hope we may say with Chevy Chase 'I trust we have - five hundred good as he. The destruction of 20 ships of the line is a grand stroke, and will tend to revive the drooping Volunteers of Leadenhall Street &c."1

And Leyden celebrated this "grand stroke" in the Verses on the death of Nelson which Malcolm considered the best of his Indian poems,2 and which was to provide lines to adorn one of the library windows at Farell, Governor Jonathan Duncan's residence at Bombay on the occasion of a jubilee fete held there in the summer of 1810.3 Neither his interest in such great matters, however, nor his poor health distracted Leyden from attending to Raffles's requests for such books as an Arabic and Persian dictionary and a Sanskrit vocabulary,4 although his indisposition indeed retarded his efforts to some extent, so that he had to report:

"Not having been much out, I have not yet arranged for the different works to be sent to you periodically nor have I been able to attend to all your Commissions: but I have picked up in Auctions and elsewhere as many books as possible for you which you will receive very soon; some of them I have not had time to examine very accurately and in one or two instances there are sheets defective which I must first have supplied before sending you. They will amount to a little more than 300 rupees."1

And in return he received from the like-minded Raffles news both of life in Penang5 and of Raffles's inquiries in the fields of Malay geography, ethnography and culture:6 fields which naturally attracted less of Leyden's own attention after his move to Bengal.

Uncertain how long he would remain in Calcutta, where he had certainly not been made to feel welcome, Leyden thought now of returning to his own presidency of Madras,7 now of performing at last his long-intended voyage to Bombay;8 and it was even rumoured in Penang, on the strength of a letter from Leyden to John Oliphant there,9 that Leyden hoped to return to that island; an idea which Raffles deprecated, despite his own and Olivia's pleasure in Leyden's company, and which he had indeed refrained from suggesting, knowing "the only Cause" that could incline Leyden to entertain it,10 and feeling that "if we urged it we..."11

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1 Leyden to Raffles, March 7, 1806. 2 Malcolm, Bombay Courier. 3 Sir James Mackintosh, Journal to his wife, June 9,1801, with a Bombay Courier describing the fete. (Mackintosh, op. cit., II,p.23) 4 Raffles thanked Leyden for the former, May 24, 1806, and said that he would be "able to get on" when he received the latter. 5 E.g. of Raffles's helping Woodford, a protégé of Leyden's. 6 E.g. his discovery of an old Malay chronological cycle. 7 He told Heber, June 8,1806, that he awaited only Malcolm's return to Calcutta before himself returning to Madras. 8 Cf. P. ini. 9 Warehouse Keeper & 2nd in Council at Penang 10 Apparently the failure of Leyden's plans in Calcutta.
could be the means of your coming perhaps against your better Instincts". ¹ By the end of July, however, when he was emerging, greatly weakened, from the second course of mercury and antimony undergone since February, Leyden had moved no farther than to Chinsurá, the old Dutch settlement twenty-four miles up the Hooghly, where he spent some ten weeks of the summer, suffering much from "another terrible attack of the liver and bowel com-
 plaints", which rendered him almost unable to write,² and still more from the persistently distressing state of his eyes, which for the past three months had been as bad as possible, the sight of the left eye being very nearly lost.³ This last condition Raffles thought to have its compensations, observing to Leyden:

"... few men have made so much use of one pair of eyes as your self - & the human Intellect will not bear too much light tho' your active mind will never be at rest, still it will be without so many new objects for thoughts as it would be obliged to receive otherwise." ⁴

And Leyden himself cheerfully believed that on the whole his "original force of constitution or the vis medicatrix naturae" or else the issue in his right side was slowly triumphing over all his Indian ailments: which, for all their severity, had produced little fundamental change in him, apart from a hardening and sharpening of his mental and physical features:³-

"... as to my condition and my self love I believe neither of them have suffered much mutation in India for either the better or the worse, excepting that by solitude, & pain and the constant prospect of the final catastrophe, most of the features of my mind have become harder & more prominent and almost as well marked as the lank jaw-bones of a lean Scotch face, and as the amiable never was my forte any how, I believe any feeble traces of such a quality are now erased compleatly. Moreover my nose is as sharp as a razor and looks wondrously acute in a looking-glass, my eyes are swell-
ed out of their sockets and as dry as a bead, my auburn locks that once were bright and curled are lank and of an exceeding ly natural grizzle my teeth are as black as any calx of mercury that ever was seen and my whole aspect is very cat-
mountainous. So that you see clearly it is impossible for any of your Parsees to be a whit more savage or barbarous, and as it is impossible to be in more danger in one time than at another when one is never sure of outliving the present course of the day or night, I dont see much difference whether the time is employed in fighting the French or in saying your prayers." ³

Being accordingly indifferent to the hazards of a voyage in wartime to Bombay, Leyden revived his plan of proceeding thither "with all due speed", facetiously promising William Erskine, who

² A stock complaint with Leyden, sometimes exaggerated.
³ Leyden to Erskine, July 29, 1806. ⁴ Raffles to Leyden, loc. cit.

He ends: "God bless you again and may you be as happy and great as a true... friend like Thomas Raffles can wish you..."
had remonstrated upon Leyden's folly in having thought to hazard his life in defence of the Louisa Valli, that he would not

"...think of sinking capturing or cap-siziný any French privateer, frigate, sloop, brig, galley, galliot, galloon or Man of war, during my whole passage, it being always, and it hereby is, excepted, & guarded against that such privateer privateers, small or great craft of the enemy shall on no account or cause insult, assail, menace or put in bodily fear all or any of the limbs members and appurtenances unto me appertaining and belonging by virtue of all the articles of war - articles which though Sir. J.M. & you seem to set but small store by, are of great authority & credit on all the high seas."

From Erskine's ingenious and argumentative epistle on the subject Leyden deduced that Erskine and he had egregiously mistaken their vocations when the former, tender-hearted and with "veins full of the milk of human kindness" became a predatory jackal of the law, and Leyden, having by nature "all the ferocity of a Malay rooted grounded inured and engrained" within him, set up as a preacher of peace; and being neither converted nor confounded by his friend's rhetoric, he announced his purpose of advancing upon Bombay in order to continue the discussion "hand to fist" and to explore the caves of "Kanara Elephanta &c" if Erskine would risk doing so with so fierce a companion.

Leyden pursued this purpose so far as to book his passage to Bombay on returning from Chinsura to Calcutta in the early autumn, but in the five days intervening before the date of his embarkation he was prevailed upon, by the entreaties of John Malcolm and Henry Colebrooke to undertake the preparation of a number of Arabic translations and of "some papers relative to the Dekkan its languages and tribes". Demanding as it did the dedication of all Leyden's time for the next two months, even to the point of interfering with his correspondence with the Raffleses, this task entailed the keen disappointment of the further postponement of Leyden's plan to visit Bombay; and he accordingly accepted it with great reluctance. Being far-sighted and ambitious, however, he must have realized that his present

1 Endorsement by Erskine of letter from Leyden to himself, July 29, 1806.
2 Sir James Mackintosh.
3 Leyden to Erskine, July 29, 1806.
4 Dated March 16, 1806, Erskine's letter had gone to Penang and "made the Tour of the high seas" before reaching Leyden in July.
5 Leyden to Erskine, loc. cit., protested against Erskine's attribution to him the opinion that the figure in the cave at Elephanta represented, not Vira Bhudra, but the birth of Krishna.
6 Leyden to Erskine, June 1, 1807.
7 Leyden to Mrs. Haffles, Oct., [1806].
8 Writing in haste to Olivia on "God knows what day" of October, 1806, Leyden, being then much in Raffles's epistolary debt and anxious for news of Penang, promised to see "one of the prettiest letters in the world as soon as possible.
9 For its postponement a year before, see p. sup.
"detention" in Calcutta, inconvenient as it was, would not be without its compensations. So he settled to his work, still with vain hopes of eventually reaching Bombay; and, having already suffered much from the Bengal climate, he left Calcutta itself (a place at that season unendurably hot) to live for five weeks in its vicinity, spending most of the time with Captain George Gall of the Eighth Native Cavalry and on the whole coming "extremely well round again" in health, so that he contrived to be as merry as he could, albeit not altogether as he would.

Unappreciative as he was of Calcutta in general, Leyden had from the first been favourably impressed, and indeed surprised, by the excellence of its facilities for oriental studies, and in particular by the College of Fort William, founded in 1800 by the enterprising Lord Wellesley to supply the deficiencies in oriental learning of the East India Company's young and often partially educated 'writers'. The lecture-rooms of the College, situated in the "writers' buildings" to the north of Government House, had indeed the aspect of "a shabby hospital or poorhouse" in strong contrast to the adjoining architectural splendours; and the College itself, having survived the E.I.C. Directors' attack on it in 1802, was now functioning, under Barlow's frugal administration, on a scale less ample than that planned for it by its lavish and strong-minded founder. Nevertheless, having the benefit of the co-operation of Bengal's most eminent scholars, the College exerted a most stimulating influence upon Calcutta's intellectual life; and Leyden, attending its fifth public disquisitions within three weeks of his arrival in the city, had been "very much gratified" by the standard of scholarship displayed. He had by then, in his unfailing eagerness to make use of every opportunity of study, already gathered about him a few pundits and set vigorously about recovering his Sanskrit and attacking "like a lion" Wudya, Bengali, Pashto and Gujarati;
and by April he was able to draw up, for the satisfaction of some of his literary friends, a prospectus of his studies, designed to show the mutual relations of the languages dealt with, the connection of each with Indian literature, history and antiquities, the advantages attending their study, and the means of facilitating their acquisition. This paper was favourably received by such "names of the first celebrity in Oriental literature" as Harington, Colebrooke, Malcolm and Colonel David Richardson, and although Leyden, always unwilling to expose his work prematurely, declined to lay it before the Supreme Government until he had made some further researches, he felt justified, by the beginning of June, in claiming to have made himself known to Calcutta's literati "so as at least to be recognized in future". Now, four months later, John Malcolm, maintaining his steady interest in Leyden's literary plans, realized that more of Leyden's papers than he imagined had been shown to Barlow, along with letters on the nature and object of his oriental studies addressed by Leyden to Richardson. It was therefore decided, although Malcolm was no friend to Sir George Barlow, but rather an opponent of his parsimonious measures, that Leyden should forthwith prepare for presentation as "a public paper to Government" his survey of the "Dekkani, Indo-Persic and Indo-Chinese languages", and Barlow himself, a man of cold, distant and formal manner, on whom Leyden placed no reliance whatever, was pleased to intimate his desire for this to Leyden in such flattering terms that Leyden began to feel fairly confident that his future settlement in Bengal now depended entirely on himself.

It was not until the New Year, however, that Leyden actually submitted to "the candour of Government" his Plan for investigating the languages, literature, antiquities and history of the Deccan and of the Indo-Persian and Indo-Chinese nations, to which, rather than to those of Hindustan proper, his attention had been directed by force of circumstances. And with the two-hundred-page memoir, shrewdly characterized by Colin Mackenzie as "the ingenious Approach of an accomplished Engineer to capture the Works or some Outpost of the College", went a covering letter.

1 Leyden to Barlow, Jan. 2, 1807. (B.M. Add. MS. 26,566, ff. 3-4.)
2 The recipient (1806) of a long undated letter on Leyden's literary plans. For Richardson's death in 18, cf. p. inf.
3 Cf. Leyden to Bentinck, June 17, 1806. See p. sup.
4 Leyden to Heber, June 8, 1806. (A letter written in haste at 11 p.M. to assure Heber that Leyden was still in the land of the living.
5 Leyden to Erskine, June 1, 1807.
6 William Hickey, Memoirs IV, p. 322.
7 Leyden to Mrs Hallett, Oct. 1, 1806.
8 Mackenzie to Leyden, April 30, 1807.
to the Governor-General, expressing Leyden's satisfaction in being able, despite his disadvantages of experience and situation, to submit these plans (which he viewed as "only the embryons of others more extensive and important") for the Supreme Government's judgment on their value and significance at a time when these might be "most perfectly ascertained".\(^1\) Claiming (surely with his tongue somewhat in his cheek) to be actuated solely by zeal for "public utility and the abstract interests of learning" and not by any desire for personal or pecuniary compensation, Leyden stressed that he did not seek to rival Sir James Mackintosh's recently promulgated plan for the compilation of a comparative vocabulary\(^2\): a plan with which Leyden's own had indeed but "a very small and incidental connection",\(^1\) although he had, for his own amusement, gone through Mackintosh's vocabulary translating its words into upwards of twenty languages.\(^3\) Conscious that in a field so wide and unbeaten as that traversed in his Plan he could not hope to have guarded completely against all causes of error, Leyden yet believed that any slips might be for the most part fairly attributed to the handicaps of ill-health and inconvenient situation which had precluded his availing himself of either public support or "the exertions of private friendship".\(^1\) And he was able to declare that, although obliged to leave behind in Mysore and Malabar a large number of his manuscripts and materials, including many in "no small degree of forwardness", he had still enough by him to give an adequate idea of his progress, most of his proposed works being capable of being finished within a given period, and one, an Introduction to the Malay, Birman and Siamese languages, comprising a grammar and radical vocabulary with dialogues and specimens,\(^4\) being ready for printing almost at once, if the English character only were used.\(^1\)

Leyden's method in this very comprehensive Plan was to deal in turn with each of the more important languages in his three groups, noting its provenance, character and history, its style, alphabet, orthography and grammar, its affinities and dialects, and, although not exhaustively, its literary monuments and the amount and quality of work already done on it: a concluding section indicating the "comparative utility" of the chief languages and the works most useful in their acquisition. He thus,

1 Leyden to Barlow, Jan. 2, 1807. Colebrooke, a consummate judge in such things, became a Member of the Supreme Council in 1807.
2 Mackintosh explained this plan (based on the EEspress Cather-ine's) to the Bombay Lit. Soc. on May 26, 1806. Cf. pp. inf.
3 Leyden to Erskine, June 1, 1807, when he offered to send copies of those words which he had reduced to the English character.
4 For Leyden's Comparative Vocabulary of these, see p.
although not producing "a laborious work of... learned materials"¹, covered an immense amount of ground, much of it virtually unexplored; and this effort to bring his pursuits to public notice was by no means without its ultimate result, although for the present, as Leyden had himself expected, it failed to fulfil Mackenzie's cheerful hope that it might capture for Leyden "not only a Ravelin but the Citadel" of Fort William College.²

"This terrible Memoir² was of course stared at by Government & submitted to the College Council, whence it was returned to the Secretary of Government with an eulogium that would have done honour to the Admirable Crichton or J. Bonaventura Hepburn himself but what was worst of all with their unanimous recommendation that I ought & should instantly be placed on the establishment of the College with a proper salary and in the order of succession for the first vacant professorship but as this was incurring a certain and immediate expense the wise Govr. hesitated and delayed till letters from the Court of Directors arrived reducing the establishment half a lac of rupees when he announced that the business must lie over. On this Colebrooke and Harrington sic represented that the monthly examinations encroached heavily on their time and requested that I might be appointed acting assistant to Edmonstone and them. This would certainly have been flattering to my vanity eminently & perhaps I should have accepted a smaller salary than on any other terms, but while the matter was in agitation Col Malcolm was obliged to proceed to the coast and I finding that there was no end of delays instantly withdrew the paper under a pretext of reforming some part of it and shall take very good care to prevent its appearing under the present reign."³

This special effort apart, the first half of 1807 saw Leyden working with his usual energy on a multitude of projects, both in compiling vocabularies, dictionaries and grammars, and in translating into English as many oriental texts as his eyes allowed him to deal with.³ In the summer of 1805, knowing that William Erskine had thoughts of producing "Grammatical Institutes" of either Marathi or Gujarati,⁴ Leyden had warned his friend that in "a just view of the subject" the question was not whether Leyden or Erskine could write the better grammars and dictionaries, but simply whether either would have any chance of publication at all, there being no demand for anything of the kind in Marathi, and indeed no Marathi types, in the Presidency of Madras.⁵ Two months later, however, when hoping vainly soon to join Erskine in Bombay,⁶ and when greatly enraged for some reason "at these

1 Mackenzie to Leyden, April 30, 1807.
2 It ran to almost 200 pages, comprising four sections.
3 Leyden to Erskine, June 1, 1807. — According to a note by Leyden in MS.26,566, f.3, the Memoir was withdrawn on Jan. 11, 1807, although this seems to allow very little time for "delays".
4 Leyden to Erskine, Nov. 27, 1804, when he urged Erskine first to gain a knowledge of the "radical language" of Sanskrit.
5 Leyden to Erskine, July 4, 1805.
6 He asked Erskine to have "a Mahurratta man at least" in prospect as a helper in their studies.
Coquins of Bengal", Leyden suggested that if there were "any probability of escaping the ruin of Grammar and Dictionary makers... already... so fatal to orientalists", it would be "a devilish dexterous thing" to anticipate the Bengal literati in both Hindu-stani and Marathi: to which end, having a good quantity of materials in both (albeit ill-arranged from lack of health and leisure), he would seriously have proposed that Erskine and he should collaborate in publishing at least the elements of both languages, had he himself not been "greatly rusted" therein, and "taken quite unprepared" without assistance and with most of his relevant books and papers left in disorder at Seringapatam.¹ And by the middle of 1807, offering Erskine copies of any materials germane to his subjects, Leyden was requesting a very minute account of the state of his friend's plans in Marathi and Gujarati: "for I think between us we ought now to get up Grammars & Dictionaries..."² He had by then himself almost completed copious grammars in both these languages, as well as in Wudya, Punjabi and Kashmiri, and, besides compiling and translating various dictionaries, grammars and vocabularies,³ had amassed considerable materials for treatises on the dialects of Hindustani and of "the mountaineers of India & its confines, especially... on the E. of Hindustan proper".² His work on Arabic had included the writing of more than one paper on Arabic dialects,⁴ and among his translations into English were "a kind of wild historic poem or Natuk composed by Guru Govind Sing [sic]... on his own adventures" and "about 200 pages from the Dassimi Padshah ke Granth of the Seeks, for the use of Col.Malcolm..."⁵

Always ready to supply his friends with copies of relevant papers (probably with the dual purpose of entertaining them and of keeping himself and his work in remembrance), Leyden sent to his old acquaintance in Madras and Mysore, and especially to Colin Mackenzie, who enjoyed postal privileges,⁶ copies both of his philological essays and of translations of such works as

1 Leyden to Erskine, Sept.9,1805. There were by then "types to be had" (presumably at Bombay) in both Hindustani & Marathi.
2 Leyden to Erskine, June 1,1807. -B.M.Add.MS.26,598 (91 ff.) comprises a Marathi Grammar, apparently compiled by Leyden; & among various materials on mountain languages, MS.26,597 comprises a Bhagalpura Hill Vocabulary.
3 E.g.an arrangement of 25,000 Marathi words "as the bones of a Dictionary", translations of a Prakrit grammar from Sanskrit & of a Cingalese one from Dutch, and the composition of a "Comparative Grammar of Malay Birman, Siamese and Cochinchinese".
4 Cf."...I wrote another paper on the Arabic dialects of 100 pages Folio)(to Erskine,June 1,1807). 5 Ibid. Malcolm acknowledged this "Sikh paper" on June 17 (1807). 6 M.Add.MS.26,585, contains several translations of Sikh works, including Govind Singh’s Sri Bichetra Natuk. 6 Mackenzie to Leyden, Apr.30,1807.
a history of Mysore and accounts of its rajas and dignitaries. Not all that Leyden sent came to hand, indeed, owing to his tantalizing habit of committing his "valuable papers to the un-certain winds... and all the horrors of the Sands and Shoals of the Ganges" instead of to the overland public post, so that such friends as Strange, Ellis and Wilks were sometimes "vexed at their packets not casting up", and Mackenzie himself, all his excuses for Leyden exhausted, was left waiting with hopeful impatience for copies of Leyden's journals, translations, personal papers, and linguistic and descriptive sketches. With what he did receive, however, Mackenzie, who was persevering with his own collection of South Indian inscriptions despite official neglect, was very well pleased, deriving unfailing "satisfaction, improvement and unfeigned pleasure" from all Leyden's "intelligent and interesting" communications; and although, having currently no European helper in his survey work, he regretted that Leyden remained "far distant", he by no means allowed that distance to lessen his concern for Leyden's welfare.

Knowing that the East India Company's Court of Directors viewed the cost of the Mysore Survey as "an Eyesore" and desired its total suppression, Mackenzie, in communicating to Lord William Bentinck his "idea of the eventual reduction of the Ex-pence", had suggested that, as Leyden's appointment as naturalist had been approved by the Directors, it might be continued apart from the Survey and even perhaps enlarged in scale by being applied "in a different direction". And now, being eager for Leyden to obtain some permanent situation in his "own proper line" which would give him adequate command of his own time and pursuits, Mackenzie informed him somewhat uncertainly:

"There is something hinted of an Academical Establishment at Madras; but I scarcely suppose it will be an object of Literary Ambition any thing that can be done there & I verily believe that tho you would rather be the first man in a village than the second man in Rome; yet you would find the liberal Establishment of Fort William superior to any limited Scale of a Madras College - Yet for my own part I could wish you to be on the Coast; & I was not without hope that Malcolm might devise some mode of effecting it".

1 Mackenzie identified this as the Persian version of a history compiled for the Sultan by a Brahman from ancient Kanara papers.
2 B.M.Add.MS.26,585,ff.71-85, has a translation of an 'Account of the Rajahs of Mysore from the Persic'(itself translated from the Kanara); & ff.87-106, of an account 'Of the Rajahs & Dala-ways... from the Mahratta'(which appears also in MS.26,578).
3 Mackenzie to Leyden, Apr.30,1807. - It is unlikely that this particular packet, which included copies of Leyden's "Certificates and other papers" & a "Journal by sea" ever arrived.
4 Cf. Mackenzie to Leyden, Nov.23,1807:"I can assure you all jok- ing apart your letters are ever desirable & few things give me greater pleasure."
Mackenzie need not have been so diffident. Malcolm indeed would rather have advised Leyden against returning to Madras with its faction-ridden government, but Leyden himself, since the withdrawal of his Plan from the Supreme Government's consideration, and the non-arrival in Calcutta of Lord Minto, Barlow's successor as Governor-General, had allowed his views to be directed once more solely to his old presidency of Madras. For a continuation of his work as naturalist he had probably no great desire; for in prudently sending a copy of his Plan to Lord William Bentinck, by the hand of John Malcolm, he had taken care to point out that, although "tolerably well recovered," he was still pronounced by his medical friends at Calcutta to be "totally unfit for Jungle service." Nor did he renew the plan for becoming interpreter and surgeon at one of the Mahratta courts (doubtless under the auspices of Malcolm) which had earlier seemed to him worth pursuing should the Mysore Survey be concluded. But the prospect of becoming the head of an "Academical Establishment" for the teaching of oriental languages, on however limited a scale, was a very different matter. That such an establishment should be set up at Madras for the instruction of the Company's junior civil servants, was the considered opinion of the Finance Committee of the Presidency, and Bentinck, agreeing entirely with his Committee's report on the subject, visualized something on the lines of a military institute, where the young 'writers' would pass their mornings in study, so that their education and the public business could advance together at "no material expense" beyond that of hiring a house (which might be also the Superintendent's residence) and of paying the salaries of the Superintendent and his native staff. As Governor, Bentinck was to have the general supervision of the college, and he had no hesitation in deciding that the office of Superintendent would be "particularly appropriate" for John Leyden, for whom he desired to secure a position giving ample leisure for research. To his "first-rate talents", including an ability to acquire languages probably equal to that

1 Malcolm to Leyden, Nov. 5, 1807. The spirit of faction at Madras was notorious, under both Bentinck & his predecessor, Clive.
2 Leyden to Erskine, June 1, 1807. Minto, appointed in November, 1806, reached Madras on June 20, 1807, & Calcutta in late July.
3 Mackenzie (to Leyden, Apr. 30, 1807) expected a perusal from Malcolm of all Leyden's "papers on the languages".
4 Leyden to Constable, Oct. 23, 1805. Cf. Mackenzie to Leyden, 1806, "An Appointment to...some of the Residencies would suit your turn and pursuits..."
5 Minute by Bentinck, Sept. 27, 1807. (MS. 25, 561, ff. 133-34.)
6 Fort St George, Letters Received, Dec. 24, 1807 to Aug. 5, 1808; Vol. 35, Par. 29.
7 Mackenzie to Leyden, Apr. 30, 1807, having learned this in hurried converse with Malcolm, told Erskine, loc. cit., that Bentinck had sent him "a memorial in his own hand" to this effect.
of Sir William Jones himself, Leyden added "an amiable disposition and good moral Character." He had already expressed a disinterested desire to help the cause of oriental learning in Bentinck's Presidency; and his linguistic progress at Calcutta was attested (through Malcolm) by such scholars as Henry Colebrooke and Neil Edmonstone to be astonishing. So, a direct enquiry on the subject by letter to Colebrooke having produced a most satisfactory reply, Bentinck proceeded to lay his proposal before Leyden himself, believing that in thus giving Leyden an opportunity to pursue his studies he would benefit oriental literature and science in general. And Leyden, confident in his possession of "a superior knowledge of Indian literature, manners, mythology, religion and laws to any man in the Madras Presidency very decidedly," accepted the offer with alacrity, embarking for Madras at the beginning of June, on his return from a short excursion to Chinsura, without waiting for the Governor in Council's final approval of his appointment.

This step was rendered less rash than it appeared by the fact that Leyden had more than one string to his bow, having learned from John Malcolm that he might be able to act also as Government interpreter in Tamil and Telugu, and from his medical friends at Madras that they had tried to have him appointed in the order of succession to the Secretaryship of the Medical board.

"I have generally been at open war with these gentry but have considerably more interest there than formerly. If the half of all this occurs I shall be more lucky than I generally am but I imagine they can hardly all fail and I shall still have the alternative of Bengal if things do not succeed to my wish." It was precisely in "the alternative of Bengal" that the salvation of Leyden's career was to lie; but at present, looking once more towards his old Presidency of Fort St George, he found himself with financial and other arrangements to make.

In his hasty departure for Penang in the autumn of 1805, Leyden had left behind him in India not only literary materials and equipment, but also some of his Indian staff, who, although not more numerous than was absolutely necessary, had yet proved "tolerably expensive" to maintain. This expense Leyden had so far discharged by means of bills on his Madras agents: a method which occasioned him both loss and delay, allowing him to be "constantly dunned for bills either on Bengal or Bombay" by such
suppliants as his copyist Sawmyynaden at Calicut, who, after receiving only one out of two drafts of money from Leyden, 1 and being mystified by Binny and Dennison's order to leave Malabar for Madras "with things," 2 had eventually petitioned Leyden himself (not for the first time), explaining that, although in poor health, he had obeyed all Leyden's orders "till this many months", doing "greadeal in Mallialum and Sanscrit a Dozen of Books," and ending plaintively: "Better I not expect any payment anymore and I give no trouble to you further..." 2 Now, expecting to be "under the necessity of beginning to teach and prepare elementary books" almost immediately on reaching Madras, Leyden desired to have his Tamil, Malayalam and Kannarese linguists there as soon as possible; and to meet the cost of this step he applied, reluctantly enough, for financial aid to William Erskine and John Malcolm. Of the response of the former, who had already told Leyden to approach him in such a case "before any person in India"; there is no record; 4 but the latter, although on the brink of marriage to a most unaffected, cheerful, graceful and accomplished young lady — an ardent admirer of many of Leyden's "Poetical Essays"— and so much in love that he cared not whether Leyden honoured the event "with an Epigram or an Epithalamium or an Epitaph", 5 immediately transmitted to Madras the desired sum, commenting generously that he considered Leyden's request as a high compliment, which conferred, rather than incurred, an obligation, if indeed such a thing could exist between them. 5

These preparations proved, however, to be unnecessary; for Leyden was once more doomed to disappointment. His ship, after making a month's voyage towards Madras, "only reached the Anda- mans and was finally obliged to return to Bengal" after being involved in an "ugly set of adventures" of which Leyden sent Mrs Raffles a long and doubtless graphic account 6 and which included 

"...the 3d. officer turning out a Frenchman instead of a Dane, and our Portugueze sailors turning out Manilla men & our mutinies and my breaking the abcess in my liver during the storm and watching for 14 nights "with pistols & swords and a' Guns & pistols and a'..."

And once back in Bengal, Leyden, endorsing Colin Mackenzie's view that "no sane man ever trusted to the uncertain waves when 1

1 He had received a draft for 200 Star Pagodas on Oct. 8, 1806, but not another for 250. 2 Sawmyynaden to Leyden, Oct. 29, 1806. 3 Leyden to Erskine, June 1, 1807. 4 Ibid. Leyden's suggestion, designed to save him 160 Pagodas, was that he should send Thos Warden 2 orders on Erskine each for 100 Pagodas. 5 Malcolm to Leyden, June 17, 1807. Cf. p. 6 Leyden told Mrs Raffles, May 10, 1808, "I wrote you a long account of my Month's voyage... but there is no trace of it. 7 Leyden to Mrs Raffles, May 10, 1808. (MS, 971, N. L. S.) The name of the vessel - apparently a country ship – does not appear.
he could try the firm land; he decided that, having had enough of voyaging for the rest of his life, he would not readily be found "a cruizing again by salt water". So it was probably with considerable sympathy that he made an English version of the Pashto verses in which his Afghan servant, Emir Muhammed Peishaweri, had expressed his unfavourable reaction to the alternate danger and monotony of his first voyage and his strong dislike of flying fish, sea-serpents, storm demons, sea-sickness, sailors' oaths and ill-temper, and indeed all things nautical and marine:

Like ocean's depths, as poets tell,
Spreads the abyss of endless pain;
But not the deepest pit of hell
Can match thy horrors, frightful main!...

From all these ghastly scenes of fear,
That well might turn a poet's brain,
To find myself in safety here,
Foils all the marvels of the main.

Nor was Leyden called upon again to venture upon a voyage to Madras. Bentinck, having failed in his handling of the difficult situation which had ended in the Vellore mutiny a year before, was virtually recalled by the E.I.C. Directors in a letter of censure dated April 15, 1807, and accordingly, to his chagrin, ceased to be Governor of Madras on September 11, 1807. He took care, indeed, to commit the interests of his protégés to William Petrie, his temporary successor, leaving, inter alia, a statement of his conviction that John Leyden's extraordinary qualifications, especially in his "general knowledge of the Ancient European, Modern, and Oriental Languages", fitted him exceedingly well for the headship of the proposed college in Madras; but by then Leyden had found a still more influential patron in the person of Lord Minto, the new Governor-General of India, who reached Calcutta at the end of July, 1807, after a five months' journey.

Leyden's friends in Madras, having lived since June in the constant expectation of seeing him again in their midst, were left to conjecture, first that the monsoon season on the coast had delayed him, and then that he had either been drowned or taken by the French, although Malcolm, at least, refused to countenance this last possibility, and the rumour that "poor Leyden"

1 Mackenzie to Leyden, Apr. 30, 1807. 2 Leyden to Mrs Raffles, May 10, 1808. 3 Verses written after being at sea for the first time, Nov. 12, 1806. Each of the 10 stanzas ends in main.
4 A preliminary mutiny occurred in April, 1806, the main one in July. 5 Boulger, Lord William Bentinck, pp. 35-37.
6 Petrie succeeded ex officio, as senior member of Council.
7 Minute by Bentinck, Sept. 27, 1807.
8 He left Britain in February, 1807. Cf. p. sup.
9 Sir Thomas Strange to Leyden, Oct. 23, 1807.
10 Malcolm to Leyden, Nov. 5, 1807.
had been drowned in the Salt seas was still current even after
the true report of his being "driven back" to Bengal had reached
Madras. 1 Of this rumour Colin Mackenzie, however, declined to
believe a word, "not from any apprehension of Old Lovats saying
'that the Wooddee will never drown'; 2 but from a very shrewd
suspicion that Lord Minto was detaining Leyden in Calcutta for
good, 3 since it was unlikely that Leyden, having once returned
there and seen Lord Minto, would be allowed again to hazard his
"precious carcase on 'the Azure main'" - for...you Borderers have
such an attachment since old feudal times, that you could scarce-
ly be permitted to wander again." 1

Mackenzie was entirely correct in his estimate of the
strength of Border feeling. Leyden had already been "powerfully
recommended" to Lord Minto by his friends at home, 5 and especially
by Walter Scott, who, having pressed Leyden's "pursuits and
person very strongly" on Minto's notice, 6 had warned Leyden ac-
:ordingly to "arrange matters" so as to keep in his Lordship's
way 7: a hint altogether agreeable to Leyden, who had long reck-
: ed it among his "greatest ambitions" to become acquainted with
the Minto family, whose Border home lay so near his own birth-
place, and whose members were all "equally respectable from their
rank and personal character." 8 In Calcutta, too, Leyden's friends
Colebrooke and Edmonstone were in close contact with the new
Governor-General, the former as a member of the Supreme Council,
the latter as an influential private secretary. 9 And Minto him-
:self, being not only a Borderer but also a man of taste and
literature, 7 who "loved scholarship and genuineness and knew a man
when he saw one", 10 needed little enough inducement to consider
that he would be "but employing his influence consistently in
endeavouring to attach" permanently to Bengal 11 so talented and
forthright a "worthy of Teviotside" 12 as John Leyden.

Lord Minto's method of effecting this attachment fulfilled
Mackenzie's farther prophecy that under the "Peace and Good
Order" of the new régime ways and means might after all be found

1 Mackenzie to Leyden, Nov. 23, 1807. - Leyden was feared lost at
sea when Bentinck wrote his Minite of Sept. 27.
2 Cf. Leyden to Scott, [Jan. 13, 1803], on being born to be hanged.
3 Strange heard this report, inconclusively, before October 23.
4 James Thomson, Rule Britannia, I. 2. 5 Leyden to Erskine,
June 1, 1807. 6 Scott, Journal for Dec. 23, 1828, where he com-
: mends Minto's eloquence, high breeding and ease of manner.
7 Scott to Leyden, July 5, 1808. 8 Leyden to his father,
Aug. 20, 1809. 9 Edmonstone (1765-1611), as acting private sec-
:totary, had already had much influence over Wellesley's whole
policy; and he wielded much influence also with Minto.
10 Hugh Egerton, Sir Stanford Raffles, p. 20.
11 Strange to Leyden, Oct. 23, 1807. 12 Lord Minto to Lady
to defray the expense of Leyden's "Establishment on the College of Calcutta": for on September 28 it was proposed by the Governor-General in Council "that Mr John Leyden be appointed to officiate in the Situation of Assistant to the Secretary to the College of Fort William and of Examiner", vacant by the death of Lieutenant William Macdougal on September 16. Due notice of this appointment was to be given to all concerned, including Leyden himself and the College Council, and the Governor in Council of Fort St George was to be informed that Assistant Surgeon Leyden of that Establishment, "now at this Presidency", had been recommended as particularly well qualified for this post, and to be asked accordingly whether Leyden might remain in Bengal to discharge its duties. To this the Fort St George authorities, in consultation on November 13, could reply only that they knew of no particular objection to Leyden's appointment, although they judged it proper to submit Bentinck's intended Minute with its alternative plan, so that the Supreme Government might decide in which sphere Leyden's talents would be better employed. There could be no doubt of the answer, so that in due course Leyden's friends in Madras and Mysore were reassured by seeing his name mentioned in a Calcutta paper as the conductor of "a long Examination of a whole Squadron of valiant Cadets on a certain day at Barasut": a circumstance which satisfied Colin Mackenzie that Leyden was really alive and well, and which moved John Malcolm, thus "most delightfully relieved from all apprehension" on Leyden's account, to write:

"Most sincerely do I congratulate you on your succession to a Station which must lead to a better which keeps you in the situation most favorable to your studies & which has the great & incalculable advantages of keeping you away from Madras."

Leyden's new position was very far from being a sinecure, since by the New Year he was performing the work of Professor of Hindustani (without the former staff of two assistants) as well as that of an Assistant Professor and Examiner, which involved the teaching of both Hindustani and Persian, the

1 Mackenzie to Leyden, Nov. 23, 1807.
3 Ibid., No. 2. 4 Ibid., No. 3. 5 This submission was made on Petrie's recommendation of Oct. 31, 1807. (MS. 26, 561, f. 132.)
6 Mackenzie to Leyden, Nov. 23, 1807.
7 Malcolm to Leyden, Nov. 5, 1807. 8 Mackenzie enclosed one of many poetical attempts for Leyden's critical opinion and in return asked to see "all your little effusions since I saw you".
8 Leyden to Mrs Hafles, May 10, 1808. - There is no record of Leyden's election to the Hindustani professorship, then vacant, despite the statements of Reith, op. cit., p. 269, and others.
critical consideration of new linguistic works,\textsuperscript{1} and the investigation of such abstruse points as whether Zoroaster ever suffered punishment of having nails driven through his ears.\textsuperscript{2} He found time, however, not only to become a member of that Asiatic Society of Bengal which he had formerly regarded with suspicion,\textsuperscript{3} but quite to revive it, filling it with new life both "by what he did himself, and still more by what he was the cause of others doing"; for, being "restless in suggesting topics of research, and in urging those best qualified to undertake them," he contrived to take an active part in every "work of learning or utility projected in his time,"\textsuperscript{4} besides contributing to the Society's Transactions his paper \textit{On the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations} and another on \textit{The Rosheniah Sect and its Founder Bāyezīd Ansarī:}\textsuperscript{5} a subject congenial to him in its union of martial and theological interest.

By the autumn of 1807, Leyden was also enjoying good relations with a body of men as deeply interested in oriental learning as the Asiatic Society, if with a somewhat different outlook. Two years before, when urged to communicate to William Carey of Serampore "some alphabets and vocabularies" of the Uriya language,\textsuperscript{6} Leyden, ignoring his own principle that the wide field of Indian philology was common property,\textsuperscript{7} had replied with more decision than tact that, Uriya being his "own right and propriety", he would not "yield it unless by force of arms to any man of Christendom much less to a missionary."\textsuperscript{8} Now, however, he was able and evidently most willing, to help to improve relations between the Supreme Government and the Baptist missionaries, headed by Carey himself, Joshua Marshman and William Ward, who, being "rather under a Cloud, and not countenanced in any shape"\textsuperscript{9} at Calcutta, had for eight years past made the Danish settlement of Serampore their headquarters.\textsuperscript{10}

\textsuperscript{1} E.g., a new Pashto dictionary, Cf. p.\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Wm. Hunter to Leyden, Aug. 14, [1810]}, arising from the application to Zoroaster of a Persian term translated by D'Herbelot as 'cloue par les oreilles'. Cf. p. sup. Leyden was already a member, in absentia, of the Bombay Literary Society.
\textsuperscript{3} Erskine to Archd. Constable, X, pp. 158-289: & XI, pp. 363-428. Both were also printed separately at Calcutta in 1809 and 1810 respectively: 4 For the former, cf. pp. 14. For the latter, cf. pp. 6. Spoken in Ganjam and Cuttack; and the only language in the Madras territories of which Leyden had not made a grammar and dictionary by Nov., 1806.
\textsuperscript{5} Leyden to Richardson, [71806], declaring rivalry unnecessary.
\textsuperscript{6} Leyden to Scott, Nov. 20, 1805.
\textsuperscript{7} Leyden to Scott, Jan. 10, 1810.
\textsuperscript{8} Being without the necessary licence to enable them to land at Calcutta, Ward and Marshman had gone to Serampore in Oct., 1799, where Carey had joined them in January, 1800.
cloud had thickened since the departure of Lord Wellesley in 1805, until by September, 1807, police spies were being sent to the missionaries' meetings to obtain evidence of their inflammatory activities; and this evidence, including tracts, having been submitted to the Supreme Council by Neil Edmonstone on September 8, Lord Minto, although himself no opponent of missions, judged it expedient, so as to avoid the risk of stirring up Moslem and Hindu passions, to order the missionaries (whose zeal on occasion outran their discretion) to issue no publications aiming at conversion, and to remove their printing-press to Calcutta. Thus faced with the prospect of being at once financially crippled and brought under the direct control of a police "worked" by the "thoroughly brahminised" William Blaquiere, the missionaries, having adopted Ward's plan of presenting a memorial to Lord Minto, debated his further suggestion of seeking a personal interview at the Governor-General's country residence at Barrackpore, on the other side of the Hooghly; a suggestion supported decisively by "Dr Leyden the renowned Orientalist" and future colleague of Carey at Fort William College, who, having a knowledge of men not always possessed by students of books, and believing that sympathetic relations in one class of subjects would certainly lead to smoother ones in others, advised Carey and Marshman to call next day on Lord Minto and to request his acceptance of their translation of the Ramayan. The two translators, being received accordingly with Minto's usual courtesy, contrived to touch on the mission and its present predicament in the course of twenty minutes' friendly conversation, which produced such "impressions of mutual good-will" that Minto thereafter both received Marshman's memorial and rescinded forthwith his order in council concerning the press, requiring only that its productions should be submitted to Government scrutiny before publication.

1 Wellesley had given the missionaries his countenance, despite the Directors' policy of non-intervention in religious affairs, which was stiffened after the Vellore mutiny in 1806.
2 As Secretary of the Secret and Political Department.
3 J.C. Marshman, The Story of Carey, Marshman and Ward, pp. 118-121. Blaquiere (later to be a colleague of Leyden's—see pp. inf.) was the magistrate responsible for the police spy activities, and had vainly tried to stop the building of the missionaries' chapel in the Bow Bazaar, Calcutta.
4 Marshman, op. cit., pp. 122-25. Cf. p. sup. Carey was Professor of Sanskrit and Bengali at Fort William College.
5 Lady Minto, Lord Minto in India, p. 68.
6 Vol. I. was published in 1806; but the translation was given up after Vol. III. (Cf. the Quarterly Review, i. i., pp. 379-38.)
Both Lord Minto and John Leyden remained on excellent terms with the missionaries, although Leyden's interest was rather in their linguistic than in their specifically religious work. In March, 1808, at the annual disputations of Fort William College, Lord Minto, delivering as Visitor a discourse which David Brown of Serampore felt must do great good both to Oriental learning and to Britain's reputation, made such favourable mention of the Chinese class held at Serampore that Brown, believing the matter to be important to the state, wrote to Leyden, as to one of Minto's "most confidential and influential advisers" giving a summary of what would be "most essential and necessary" should the Chinese class ever come directly under Government patronage, and suggesting that, since the study of Chinese in Bengal must be retarded for years without such patronage, it would be expedient to investigate the subject fully and perhaps to hold a short examination "any day at Barrackpore" to give Minto the fullest assurance that official "expectations of ultimate success" would not be disappointed. And such an examination was held at Serampore on September 26, 1808, being conducted by John Harington (presiding) and John Leyden who, having heard young Jabez Carey and two of Marshman's sons repeat from memory long passages from Confucius, answer questions on the meaning of the characters, and discuss in Chinese whether 'To commit to memory the Chinese classics is the best mode of acquiring the Chinese language', expressed strongly both their satisfaction at this display and their conviction that only perseverance was required for the complete acquisition of the language.

This conviction was shared by the indomitable Joshua Marshman, whose literary tastes conformed to Leyden's own, and who, having begun in 1806 what proved to be a fifteen-year study of Chinese, produced towards the end of 1809 an admirable Dissertation on the Chinese language prefatory to the first volume of the edition of "Confucius in Chinese and English".

2 Coupland, Raffles of Singapore, p.
3 The whole present expense was 300 rupees a month for the salary of Lassar, the teacher, and 500 rupees a year for books, etc.
4 Aged 15, 13 and 8 years. 5 The Quarterly Review, III, p. 388 (May, 1810), which reported this examination, which included also the exhibition of translations of the passages repeated & of specimens of prose composition (letter-writing) in Chinese.
6 Marshman, op. cit., p. 123.
7 The Works of Confucius, containing the Original Text, with a Translation, appeared in 1811.
on which he was working with one of his sons and Lassar, and which, since it contained "both the characters and the pronunciation" was confidently expected to render Chinese "perfectly easy" to acquire and as simple to read as Latin. So far had the missionaries advanced in the Governor-General's favour in the past two years that this ambitious work was printed at Serampore under the patronage of Lord Minto, who, being a man of eminently classical tastes and cultivated mind, was acquiring "immortal glory" in Calcutta by "patronizing with energy every useful species of literature," and John Leyden, who had by then made considerable progress in Chinese and hoped himself soon to "appear on that ground", had also taken "a principal hand" in projecting it, having been one of its "original instigators" and causing it to be carried on in spite of all obstacles as an interesting "attempt to rival the French in their Chinese doings".

Having thus a personal interest in the fate of the Dissertation, Leyden took a hand also, at the missionaries' request, in making it known as speedily as possible in Britain, and to this end sent complimentary copies to such friends as Scott, Heber and David White of Oxford, hoping that each might, in his own circle, "act in an obstetrical capacity" for this work of undeniable merit, which was to be followed in the next ships by the first volume of the text and translation: for Scott could have no finer topic for animadverting on at his convenience in the favourably-disposed Quarterly, and White, with whom Leyden desired to renew his too brief acquaintance of 1803, and who would probably be able to assist some of Leyden's own projects, also, had sufficient University friends of "much Oriental zeal." Being almost unacquainted with the literary world, and remembering how the Ramayan translation and Carey's Sanskrit Grammar had "lain like waste-paper at London", Marshman further asked Leyden to recommend a bookseller to handle the hundred copies which he proposed to send home; and here again Leyden had the answer ready, advising the complete committal of 1

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1 Leyden to Rev. D. White, Dec. 4, 1809.
2 Leyden to Constable, Jan. 10, 1810.
3 Leyden to Scott, Jan. 10, 1810.
4 Marshman, op. cit., p. 115.
5 Leyden to Heber, Dec. 18, 1809.
6 Leyden to White, loc. cit. Leyden was always highly conscious of the political significance of linguistic studies. Cf. p. sup. on Cochin China, etc, and Leyden's co-operation with Raffles; and cf. Leyden to Richardson, [1806], on the need to study languages for the sake of British prestige in India.
7 Leyden told Scott, loc. cit., that it would reach him before its publication in Britain.
the copies to the management of Archibald Constable, now flourish ing like a green bay tree in London, and far outdoing all his "former outdoings."1

Nor did Leyden fail to take a hand in that translation of the Scriptures which was the activity nearest to the Serampore missionaries' hearts. By March, 1810, he felt able to offer "to conduct Translations of the Scriptures in... Affghan, Cashmirian,2 Jaghatai,3 Siamese, Bugis, Macassar and Maldivian", in the confidence that, being assisted by "learned natives in the compilation of Grammars and Vocabularies" in these languages, he could produce correct versions in them all.4 This plan, which even Claudius Buchanan felt would be "hailed by the friends of Christianity in Europe as a noble undertaking, deserving their utmost eulogy and patronage" and marking its author's liberal views and ardent and enterprising mind,5 delighted the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, to whom it was submitted,6 although William Carey, rather surprisingly, expressed regret that so confirmed and hardened an infidel as John Leyden should join in the work of translating the sacred Scriptures.7 Within a year Leyden had delivered to the Committee's secretary the MSS. of St. Mark's Gospel in Balochi, Macassar and Bugguese, of St. Matthew and St Mark in "Pushtu or Afghan," and of all four Gospels in Maldivian,8 of which only the translations into Balochi and Pasho seem to have been published;9 and although "the high hopes of the Bible Society" were soon thwarted by Leyden's premature death,10 his influence was prolonged by the Serampore missionaries' continued employment of his pundits.11

The beginning of 1808 saw Leyden add to his literary and academic pursuits the more active duties of a post calculated to appeal to the moss-trooping side of his character.12

1 Leyden to Constable, Jan.10,1810.
2 Instead of 'Cashmirian' the Bible Society Report has Rakheng.
3 Brown noted that Leyden would "soon discover" whether a Tarta version of the Psalms & New Testament was in Jaghatai.
4 Leyden to Brown, March 14,1810; quoted by Brown to Buchanan, March 15,1810. - Buchanan, Christian Researches in Asia, p.225.
5 Buchanan, op. cit., p.230, - rejoicing that Fort William College (of which he was Vice-Provost) was bearing such good fruit.
6 Reports of the British & Foreign Bible Society,1811-13; quoted in 1875 (Cent.) ed. of Leyden's poems, p.lxxxvii.
12 Cf. Lockhart, op. cit., II, p.53, on Leyden as 'moss-trooper'. 
Lord Minto, having realised with shame and astonishment the full extent of the frightful system of dacoity which in Bengal afflicted districts "under the very eye of Government", had resolved to put down "this monstrous evil" both by the energetic enforcement of new regulations and penalties, and by the appointment of a new selection of magistrates "peculiarly qualified for that species of service"; and among these was the versatile John Leyden, who was appointed one of the magistrates of the Twenty-Four Parganas on January 4, 1808, the Company's Attorney being then directed to effect a new commission of the Peace, including the names of John Leyden and three others.

On February 27, at the seventh public disputations of Fort William College, in which Leyden acted as moderator in the Hindustani disputation on the position that 'In the acquirement of knowledge genius cannot avail without application', Lord Minto took the opportunity, in declaring in his address that the skill, assiduity and learning of the professors and their coadjutors had never been more conspicuous than in the present year, to justify his having "withdrawn from the College one of its most distinguished and efficient members":

"...if I have despoiled one temple of its ornaments, it has been for the decoration and service of another. If the familiar and universal knowledge of Dr Leyden in the numerous languages of the East, and yet much more, if his profound researches in the science of Eastern Philology be considered, we should ascribe such extensive erudition and acquirements to the severe labour of a long life; while in reality their sudden and rapid attainment has resembled rather the gift of tongues, or some peculiar privilege of his own, than the slow process and long vigils of human study. The regrets of learning, however, which follow the transfer of Dr Leyden to other functions, will, I am persuaded, yield to the reflection, that the same acute informed, upright and delicate mind is enlisted in the service of the highest and dearest interests of society."

There was indeed some disappointment among Leyden's friends that, as Francis Ellis put it, Leyden had "degenerated to a police master, the terror of petty thieves and Director general of bullock men and palanquin boys"; but Minto had chosen in 1 Lord Minto to his wife, [1809]. (Lady Minto, op. cit., p.189.) 2 Bengal Judicial (Criminal) Consultations, Range 129, vol.52, No.1. Governor-General's Minute of Jan.4,1808. 3 Roebuck, Annals of the College of Fort William, p.138. This disputation (on a subject of which Leyden had a first-hand knowledge) came first in the order of the public exercises, beginning as soon as Lord Minto had taken his seat. 4 Ibid., pp.134-55. 5 F.W.Ellis to Leyden, Aug. 7,1806 (MS.Eur.D.30. C.R.O.Lib.) Ellis hoped, however, that Saraswati would not have long to blush for her devotee, Leyden, and that he would devote to her all the time he could spare from Gwyerah. He also made some strictures on Leyden's Indo-Chinese Dissertation and on his coinage of 'Indo-Persia'.

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1 Lord Minto to his wife, [1809]. (Lady Minto, op. cit., p.189.) 2 Bengal Judicial (Criminal) Consultations, Range 129, vol.52, No.1. Governor-General's Minute of Jan.4,1808. 3 Roebuck, Annals of the College of Fort William, p.138. This disputation (on a subject of which Leyden had a first-hand knowledge) came first in the order of the public exercises, beginning as soon as Lord Minto had taken his seat. 4 Ibid., pp.134-55. 5 F.W.Ellis to Leyden, Aug. 7,1806 (MS.Eur.D.30. C.R.O.Lib.) Ellis hoped, however, that Saraswati would not have long to blush for her devotee, Leyden, and that he would devote to her all the time he could spare from Gwyerah. He also made some strictures on Leyden's Indo-Chinese Dissertation and on his coinage of 'Indo-Persia'.
Leyden a man combining the requisite vigilance, personal activity, intelligence, talents and integrity, with a hereditary love of conflict which gave such a relish to his new work that, despite his half-serious complaint that since Lord Minto's arrival his time had been taken up in a most egregious manner to the great detriment of his studies, Leyden was sufficiently at ease in his active and responsible post to report exuberantly to Mrs. Raffles:

"Having...got a little kingdom to myself about 20 times as big as your whole presidency, I mean only to remain fixed and steady so as to be able to establish myself when the British are driven out of India as King of the Sunderbunds or in Sanscrit Sundravunna i e, the beautiful forests, for which reason you must not be surprized my dearest Olivia if I postpone for a short time the conquest of Borneo, however when I set out on that expedition I promise you to call at Penang as a half-way house when you will be presently appriz:ed of my arrival by at least 700 leash of camels playing on bag pipes & fifes the ancient & martial air of 'Drops of Brandy'...

Leyden's time was indeed fully occupied in performing by his "own personal self" the work of at least fourteen, which occupied him constantly for twelve or fourteen hours a day, leaving little leisure for either general reading, the methodizing of the researches he still contrived to pursue, the writing of verse, or the maintenance of his correspondence. Even before the start of 1808, Colin Mackenzie had complained of Leyden's long silence and of the difficulty of "writing at a man in the dark", especially a "vagrant" who seemed "more in love with the ferocious Malays, or even the Alligators of the Ganges" than mindful of such old Madras acquaintance as Wilks and Ellis who, holding Leyden in "high estimation" often made rather regretful inquiries concerning him. Then, exhorting Leyden to "attempt a full and ample amende" by sending the Madras "Fraternity" a pathetic acknowledgment of his sins, Mackenzie had reminded him that there was still at Mysore "a quantity of books which might perhaps deserve your recollection if ourselves should not", and advised him, if he were really to be settled at Calcutta, so to arrange his time as "to spare a small portion to this side", not in "a vague uncertain flying correspondence", but in one directed to such specific and profitable objects of inquiry as the

1 The vigilance of the former British magistrates had not always been equal to their good intentions, so that the practical part of their work was often left to venal native subordinates.
2 Leyden to Heber, Dec. 18, 1809.
3 Leyden to Mrs. Raffles, May 10, 1808.
4 I.e., according to Leyden, that of a professor & his assistant, and of a magistrate and his assistant. Cf. p. 6
5 He had written none for the past year. (To Mrs. Raffles, loc. cit.)
6 Mackenzie to Leyden, Nov. 23, 1807.
researches into ancient inscriptions, coins and sculptures, of which Mackenzie gave present, and promised future news on condition of Leyden's being "a good boy". 1 This condition Leyden had patently failed to fulfil, despite his vague intention of sending Mackenzie "something"; 2 and by May, 1808, Mackenzie was obliged once more to request Leyden's speedy attention to "a matter of business relating to your other self your books", of which many were still in the hands of Mackenzie, Binny and Warden, five trunkfuls having been consigned to the last-named by Leyden's servant Sani 3 when he had come from Calicut to Madras at the start of the year, bringing all the books left by Leyden in Wilks's charge at Mysore. 4 Wilks and Mackenzie had already been deterred from opening the boxes containing the latter by the recollection of Leyden's "very particular order" against doing so; and even now, despite Sani's repeated petitions, Mackenzie hesitated to receive boxes of books and manuscripts in an unknown condition, without having an intimation of Leyden's wishes concerning them. 4 The disposal of Sani himself was a problem since, having brought "some Malabar people" to Madras with him on Leyden's account, 5 he continually besought Mackenzie to remind Leyden of his case, until Mackenzie, who had already had to make arrangements for Leyden's "medical servant" Appoo (a professing Christian, but "no great moral character"), 6 contrived to find Sani a post as Tamil interpreter which would keep him in good service till Leyden should come "round to employ him again" 4. And less troublesomely, Mackenzie had also to introduce to Leyden William Hollingberry, "a good young man", a protégé of John Malcolm's, and a student of Persian, who, having a creditable ambition of cultivating letters, was "laudably desirous of becoming acquainted with a literary figure as distinguished as Leyden was, both for his own "great acquisitions in Western and Oriental literature" and for his "wish of encouraging it in others". 4

It was with reason, however, that Mackenzie feared that Leyden's friends, much less his affairs, at Madras could hardly enjoy his recollection when his tender feelings were all excited

1 Mackenzie to Leyden, Nov. 23, 1807. 2 Cf. pp. sup. on Leyden's sending papers and packets to Madras.
3 Apparently the copyist Sawmynaden. See pp. sup.
4 Mackenzie to Leyden, May 10, 1808. Urging Leyden to decide at once about the books, Mackenzie suggested that they should all be stored at Madras or sent across to Calcutta by sea.
5 In preparation for Leyden's becoming Superintendent of the Collège at Madras. Cf. p. sup.
6 Mackenzie to Leyden, Aug. [1805]. Appoo had continued to give medical aid to the Mysore Survey after Leyden left it, until dismissed for prolonged ill-behaviour in Oct., 1806.
and absorbed by "such Charmers as your Olivia at Penang", for on the very day that Mackenzie was writing thus to Leyden, Leyden was sitting in the Foujdary Court of the Twenty-Four Parganas dealing with the trial of twenty-seven prisoners for murder and gang-robbery, and at the same time composing a fervent apology to Mrs. Raffles for the irregularity of his correspondence:

"Forgive you' my dearest Olivia do you say, I would give something that you were the person to be forgiven. I might then have some hopes of forgiving you, but now I hardly know when I shall be able to forgive myself; and yet you are not in the least wrong in your phrase of seeming neglect'. God knows there are few things farther from my mind than any thing real of the sort. However I must admit I have not written so frequently as I ought, yet I have a very consider: able offset to use a technical expression for plainly for these fourteen months I have written more letters to, than I have received from Penang. I do not mean to insinuate the slightest neglect on your part, I only concluded that you did not know where to find, for it is only very lately that I have been tolerably certain where I was likely to be the next fortnight. However as I am settled I trust pretty steadily in Bengal, and besides in a very improved state of health, I hope our future correspondence will be more regular, when it is always sure to be more gratifying, but are not you a very barbarous lady to write such abominable short letters scarcely so long as an invitation to dinner one of them. O' my conscience were I to write such pretty little chits I could write them at the rate of 500 a day fast enough but you know when I have a letter to write I generally make it such a deuced long one that writing it is no such simple matter? He was duly forgiven by his "affectionate Sister Olivia Marianne R-", who, in the "dull"stupidity" of Penang, remembered the lively Dr Leyden tenderly that to read his "dear kind letter" gave her "real heart-felt joy":

"I feel an affection for you such as I feel for my only and beloved Brother - and when I heard you were dangerously ill I felt such a sudden pang as assured me of the sincerity of my regard - you cannot then blame me for having been unhappy when I imagined you had forgotten me when I knew you were well and yet thought not of me so far as to write and tell me so - for I have never received more than your first delight ful letter and that which you sent by Mr. Bureau" - I have written many many - but a truce with complaining, I am remember'd & happy... and now that you have taken me again to your liking I shall not be miserable as I used to be. If you should not write as often as I wish knowing all that you have to do - as I have said before I wish quantity may make up for quality in your eyes - May all that's good attend you ever - and you see you are not the worse for the prayers

1 Mackenzie to Leyden, May 10, 1808.
2 Leyden to Mrs. Raffles, May 10, 1808.
3 Mrs. Raffles to Leyden, Aug. 3, 1808.
4 That written on 'God knows what day' of October, 1806, and sent by the hand of Captain Bureau, a very excellent young man proceeding to China for his health, after much fighting in the Mahratta Campaigns. Cf. p. sup.
of your Cumae, for she did pray for you, and foretold that if you lived you would be the greatest Man in India - and so you are & so you will be, and I trust I shall live to hear it, ay and see your greatness too - once more God bless you -

Oh thou whom ne'er my constant heart
One moment hath forgot
Tho fate severe hath bid us part
Yet still forget me not -

Yet let not distance from thy breast
My image ever blot
Let our fond friendship bear this test,
Absent, forget me not -

Now don't be like a Great Big Learned Pundit finding a thousand and fifty faults in my poor unrefined & incorrect scrawl. I know about as much of fine writing as I do about Greek - but you will understand me -

So Olivia exulted equally in Leyden's advancement -

"You will believe I rejoice most sincerely that your supereminent abilities have not been overlooked at Bengal, any others than blind stupid or envious men would have rewarded them long ago - I thank God you are settled at last for many reasons, though I think you have a vast deal too much on your mind and hands for your health sake - I only hope you will have a little more care for it now than you have hitherto had - will you not? yes - then I will love you dearly -"

and in his practical remembrance of her husband in securing his election to the Asiatic Society, and his honourable mention by Lord Minto at the College disputations in February:

"Whó but you could, who but your dear self would have remember'd my beloved and every way worthy husband in the elegant and honourable manner in which we saw his name - ah my dear friend, I shed many grateful tears on the paper, so did your friend - The little paltry wretches here were astonished and nearly maddened by envy - for after some battles your friend has succeeded in keeping them all at bay - they may bark as a dog does at the moon, and with as much effect - his old enemy Mr. Dickens is going to Calcutta with his heart full of rancour and his mouth full of scurrility against him - for what Olivia? cause he has proved himself almost as learned in the Law as himself - 'Great Judge and -'

cause he has saved the Government (bad as it is) from his insolent and unmerited attacks - cause he has proved himself above him in all things and has persevered in politeness to him - and last of all causes he would not allow an address from some of the Wapping Pedlars voting him a piece of plate (and a reply from him) to be published, as it reflected on the Government in a very severe manner - but I

1 This stanza, slightly adapted, was placed by Raffles on Olivia's tombstone. See Boulger, op. cit., pp. 184-85.
2 Mrs Raffles to Leyden, May 3, 1808.
3 Leyden's friends Colebrooke and Harington were then President and Vice-President, respectively, of the Society.
4 Cf. Roebeck, op. cit., p. 162. 5 John Dickens, judge and magistrate, was jealous that Raffles had been made Registrar instead of himself. Leyden wrote to Raffles, Mar. 7, 1806: "You do not surprise me... by what you tell me of Tuan Dickens, I hope you marked down his precise words on the spot & had them attested by witnesses..."
dare say you will see it as a Copy is to be sent to the Secretary at Calcutta - he says he will publish it there in spite of their teeth - he is really the most impudent, ignorant, affected, envious ungrateful old Jay I ever heard of..."

On the day after Mrs Raffles was writing in this animated strain to her "very dear Dr. Leyden", Leyden found himself involved in a correspondence of a very different kind. He had already had occasion to employ his pen not only in disquisitions on the "intricate subject" of the police of Calcutta and the Twenty-Four Parganas, but also in three or four defences of his own conduct as magistrate against charges brought upon him by his "old inflexible perseverance" in doing what he considered right "independent of consequences" and in face of a veteran system of oppression and abuse, under which he could have amassed as much money as he pleased, had he trifled with his conscience; and now he found himself in further trouble of the same sort. On July 26, while sitting in court investigating an important case of dacoity, surrounded by natives and closely engaged in the cross-examination of witnesses, Leyden had been interrupted by the Nazir with the information that Sir William Burroughs' Jemadar had come with a message. Leyden's acquaintance with Burroughs, formerly Advocate-General and now Junior Puisne Judge of Bengal, was of the slightest; but as Burroughs' reputation was that of a "disagreeable and offensive coxcomb", unendurably arrogant and overbearing, Leyden, although professing the highest deference for his character and the profoundest respect for his dignified and important office, was probably not averse to keeping his emissary waiting a little. Turning to one side, however, to hear the message as soon as he could, he found that the Jemadar, who brought no letter, had been sent to make a complaint of assault on behalf of Burroughs' cook, who was also present. Thinking this too trifling a matter to interfere with the more important case in hand, Leyden cut short the man's "circumstantial detail", telling him to get the complaint written in Bengali on stamp-paper "according to the general custom of the office", to have the

1 Mrs Raffles to Leyden, Aug. 3, 1808. She was then dreading the prospects of another long lingering fit of illness due to overwork as Registrar & as "secretary without an assistant"
2 Leyden to Mrs Raffles, May 10, 1808.
3 Leyden to William B. Bayley, Aug. 10, 1808.
4 Leyden to his father, Jan. 20, 1809.
5 Burroughs had gone home in 1803, after being Advocate-General since 1792, but returned to Bengal as a judge in 1806.
6 Wm. Hickey, op. cit., IV, pp. 343, 66 & 174. Hickey describes Burroughs as an "upstart hound" and a "mean wretch", etc., etc.
7 Had Leyden realized the cook's case was actually one of burglary, instead of assault, as stated, he would have had the deposition taken down.
complaint ready to swear to it when Leyden would be free to listen, and to return Leyden's salaams to his master; and on a renewal of the Jemadar's explanation, Leyden repeated these instructions, pointing to the place occupied by the Bengali writers, and adding that "the Salam was sufficient", a letter being necessary for anything more. The servant, answering "bhot atcha", went off, apparently to carry out these directions, although Leyden, on inquiring about the servants and their complaint "when the Gang robbery cause was postponed towards evening", could find neither of them. Next day, however, as Leyden was again entirely engrossed in conducting the same dacoity trial, Burroughs' Chobdar with "his huge silver chob", entered the court in a formal and consequential manner and, to Leyden's great surprise, began to deliver the message again in a loud and determined voice. Being totally unable to conceive the object of this, unless the Chobdar had some personal purpose to serve, and assuming that one or both of Burroughs' men had "exceeded their commission if not falsified it altogether", Leyden immediately broke in with the declaration that there was no point in bringing him Burroughs' name so often in a cause, nobody's name or salaam being of the least consequence, since only evidence was wanted, and the cause must depend entirely on its own merits: a statement of principle which Leyden as Magistrate was "in the constant habit of announcing...in the strictest terms" on all occasions, and which he naturally hoped would meet with the approbation of Burroughs himself. The Chobdar continuing undeterred, as if to deliver a message from his master, Leyden asserted roundly, "that cannot be: it is not the English custom, I do not believe you. A letter is always necessary when there is anything more than Salam." Whereupon the baffled Chobdar took his departure, leaving Leyden to proceed with the trial without dreaming of what would ensue once the whole conversation had been very imperfectly reported by Burroughs' reputedly intelligent and respectable retainers, their "alleged veracity" perhaps impaired by indignation from the propensity of every black servant to identify his own consequence with that of his master. He reckoned, however, without the injured vanity of the "pompous purse-proud" Burroughs; for after an interval sufficient to make it difficult to refer these dialogues to their respective days, and to find witnesses who had paid enough attention to the
1 'All right'. 'Very good'. 2 Leyden to Bayley, Aug. 10, 1808. 3 Hickey, op. cit., IV, p. 174. Hickey loses no opportunity of representing Burroughs (whose character, like Hickey's own, was not irreproachable) as despised and detested.
matter to recollect any of the circumstances, Leyden suddenly found himself charged with offering "a gross public and unprovoked insult "to Burroughs' judicial authority, together with "personal insolence", and an open and flagrant refusal to do his duty unless Burroughs submitted to degrade his status by sending a letter instead of a verbal message. 2

On receiving Burroughs' formal presentation of these charges on August 4, Leyden felt the shocked surprise of one who, thinking he has been straining every nerve in the performance of his duty, is suddenly informed that he has been doing exactly the reverse. 2 Having, as he believed anyone with a clear conscience would have, not the slightest inclination to evade any charge, save in the sense of giving "a fair and liberal explanation " of his conduct, Leyden sent Bayley a week later a minute account of the affair which indeed tallied closely in outline with that of Burroughs, the difference lying not so much in the facts as in the mode of construing them, "a very small degree of misrepresentation, or even want of attention to particulars", being enough to produce the two divergent conclusions. 2 Distinguishing between what he could with propriety deny and what he could satisfactorily explain, 4 Leyden defended himself with sufficient eloquence and at considerable length, dwelling upon the dangers of entrusting verbal messages to servants, 5 the necessarily extra-judicial nature of any communication from a Judge of the Supreme Court to the Magistrate of a Zillah in his own Court, 6 and the irrationality of supposing that his pride could be touched by such a trifle as extracting a letter on public business from any personage, however exalted. 2 And having refuted indignantly, the main charge of refusing to do his duty, and with it the rash imputation that that refusal sprang from "a spirit of discontent" at Burroughs' efforts to reform the Calcutta police system, 7 Leyden concluded pointedly:

1 Attention had been centred on the dacoity trial; but Leyden did find seven witnesses who agreed in having "perceived no display of intentional disrespect" to Burroughs.
2 Leyden to Bayley, Aug.10,1608.
3 Bayley, as Registrar of the Court of Nizamet Adawlut, sent Leyden a copy of these, along with the Governor-General's order thereon and a covering letter.
4 Burroughs had opined that Leyden could neither deny or evade the charges. 5 Being liable to the double danger of misunderstanding and of "wilful misconstruction" these might well give rise to "the most pernicious apprehensions".
5 Burroughs might as well have complained of an insult to his rank at a ball or public assembly, his insignia in itself commanding no judicial respect. 7 Leyden resented this public attribution of "most illiberal and improper" motives.
"I ask for justice & no mercy, confident that, however imperfectly I may be found to have executed the laborious duties entrusted to my charge, that I shall nevertheless be found to have executed them with rigid impartiality, to the best of my power & my abilities, & that I shall be found to have executed them myself, with my eyes open, without confiding in natives of any description, however well known, intelligent, or respectable."  

With this spirited defence, in which he took some pride, Leyden had no difficulty in repelling Burroughs' charges "very triumphantly", to the great mortification of his accuser, who, being perhaps readier to give offence than to abide the consequences, was left "eating his heart...as the Orientalists say", while Leyden, rather exhilarated by this "fine fracas", pursued his magisterial career undaunted.  

The conclusion of that career appeared to come with Leyden's appointment on November 4, 1808, to another sphere of service as Third Commissioner of the Court of Requests at Calcutta, but before entering on the duties of that responsible, if less arduous, post, Leyden was to enjoy a culminating period of police activity which afforded his nearest approach to that military service of which he vainly dreamed from time to time. By November, dacoity in Nuddeah, the principal seat of the trouble, had attained an alarming degree of strength, some seventy people a month being killed by torture, so that the province was almost in a state of rebellion; and in face of this situation, John Leyden, having acquired "some thief-catching reputation" in the Twenty-Four Parganas, was commissioned as Acting Magistrate of Nuddeah also, and dispatched there with his fellow-Magistrate Blaquiere, to reduce to order this "very clannish" and rapacious people. Each had a force of 120 men; but Blaquiere, according to Leyden, "got sick and retreated with all his party." Leyden, however, having no aversion to "living almost entirely under the green wood tree" and being frequently exposed to a good deal of danger, determined to keep his ground, attacking the robbers several times by night, and having such terrible conflicts both by land and water, "that he became a 2nd-Belted Will" among the gangs, very justly earning from them "the name of the Katel Saheb or slaughtering chief." So effective were these measures

1 Leyden to Bayley, Aug. 10, 1808. 2 He sent copies to Heber and Mrs Raffles, among others. 3 Leyden to Heber, Dec. 18, 1809. 4 Hickey, IV, pp. 174-77, relates how Burroughs, on being called to account for long insolence to Sir Wm Dunken, apologized meekly. 5 D.G. Crawford, Roll of the Madras Sabers, p. 6. 6 cf. Leyden to Heber, Apr. 7, 1803. 7 Lord into his wife's. 8 Leyden to Heber, Dec. 20, 1809.
that within ten weeks, despite the disparity of numbers, Leyden had completely defeated the dacoits, 1200 strong, taking prisoner almost three hundred of the most daring, including all the chiefs and many "famous sword players scarcely inferior to the ancient Spartacus himself," and driving the rest out of the country; and by January 20, 1809, he was back in Calcutta receiving the thanks of Lord Minto and the Government and working on the commitments of the prisoners, whose trials, since even Leyden "could not quite employ Jedburgh justice," were to occupy almost a year and plague him a great deal.

Engrossed in the pursuit and capture of dacoits, and lacking the assistance of someone accustomed to such duty, Blaquiere and Leyden, in this energetic two-month "cruize", had not always been able to hold regular proceedings in all cases of arrest; and Blaquiere's continued ill-health and "numerous avocations" seriously protracted the subsequent proceedings. So, although the Second Judge of the Calcutta Court of Circuit was directed by Government in February, 1809, to try Blaquiere and Leyden's prisoners, the Third Judge, learning on inquiry two months later that Blaquiere had taken depositions in only five very serious cases of dacoity and murder, and that proceedings formerly well advanced were delayed by his illness, despite the presence of prosecutors and witnesses, intimated that Blaquiere had better be granted a little more time to complete his arrangements, since the trials could not be effectually begun for lack of evidence. The Court of Nizamat Adawlat accordingly recommended that the Third Judge, Duncan Campbell, should try the five cases as soon as possible, leaving Blaquiere to hand over the other prisoners, with full reports of their cases to the Magistrate of Nuddeah for further action; but the Governor-General considering that Blaquiere's health was now almost restored, and that the Magistrate of Nuddeah had already more than enough work to do, directed that Blaquiere, making

1: Leyden to Erskine, May 15, 1809. To his father, Jan. 20, 1809, he said two months. The measures probably included the execution of nine gang-chiefs at one spot. (Lord Minto to his wife, 1809.)
2: Leyden to his father, Jan. 20, 1809.
3: Leyden to Heber, Dec. 18, 1809.
4: Leyden to Scott, Jan. 10, 1810
5: John Shakespear to George Dowdeswell, Secretary to Government, Feb. 10, 1810. Shakespear succeeded Bayley as Registrar of the Nizamat Adawlat. 6 Bayley to Dowdeswell, Apr. 27, 1809. The Government order was dated Feb. 24, 1809. (Bengal Criminal Judic平al Consultations, Range 129, Vol. 56, No. 1.)
7: Four of the five were against "Hoorum Sirdar etc".
8: Blaquiere to Duncan Campbell, Apr. 25, 1809. Campbell having made inquiries on Apr. 21. (Bengal Criminal Judic平al Consultations, loc. cit., No. 2.)
9: Campbell to Bayley, Apr. 26, 1809. (Bengal Criminal Judic平al Consultations, loc. cit., No. 2.)
"every exertion" to guard against further delay, should try the prisoners himself in the Court of Circuit. 1 Nine months later, however, only a small proportion of the total number of prisoners had been brought to trial; 2 and the Senior Judge of the Court of Circuit, Richard Rocke, having submitted to his Superior Court the nine commitments, involving thirty-five prisoners, mostly of notorious bad character, which alone had been prepared in a "full, regular, and satisfactory" manner, obtained from Blaquiere a report on the number of his prisoners, the circumstances of their arrests, and the state of their cases, together with an explanation of his "apparent irregularity" and injustice in having kept most of them incarcerated for fully a year. 3 Even then, only four commitments, involving forty of the remaining hundred and ninety-one prisoners were pending; and although the prisoners were "conveniently accommodated" and given every necessary attention, 3 twenty-four of them had already died. 2 The Nizamat Adawlat therefore, judging it "indispensably necessary" to try the remaining cases quickly, recommended that Blaquiere should receive assistance for that purpose, so that no prisoner, unless required to come before the Court of Circuit or "to give security on account of notorious bad character", should be detained for more than six months longer without special orders. 2 Nevertheless, the Supreme Council, while acquiescing in the need for speed, still left it to Blaquiere to arrange his own measures; 6 and even after the lapse of another year there was a minor sequel to Blaquiere's inveterate procrastination in Leyden's successful presentation to Government of a bill from a Barber, dated December 12, 1808, for the hire of boats then "taken up" by Leyden "for the transport of Seapoya and Birkendauzes" and retained in the public service as long as was necessary, which had been passed on by Leyden to Blaquiere for submission with his other accounts, and thereafter mislaid. 7 Despite these vexatious delays, however, there was no doubt of the credit due to Blaquiere and Leyden for their active and meritorious Services in apprehending and

1 Dowdeswell to Bayley, Apr. 28, 1809, conveying an Order in Court. (Bengal Crim. Jud. Con., Range 129, Vol. 56, No. 3.)
2 Shakespear to Dowdeswell, Feb. 10, 1810. (Ibid., Range 130, Vol. 12, No. 24.)
3 Rocke to Shakespear, Feb. 8, 1810. (Ibid., No. 25.)
4 Rocke described the prisoners as "generally dangerous to society", but had doubts of the conviction and guilt of several. 186 men and 5 women, 5 a twelfth of the total number.
5 Dowdeswell to Blaquiere, Feb. 16, 1810.
6 Leyden to (Government), Feb. 27, 1811. (Bengal Crim. Jud. Con., Range 130, Vol. 25, No. 32.) A duplicate of the bill sent to Blaquiere by Leyden on Barber's suggestion, had also been mislaid.
bringing to justice many daring and notorious Deckoits";\(^1\) so 
that when Richard Rocke expressed his appreciation thereof, the 
tribute was endorsed with great satisfaction both by the Nizamat 
Adawlat and by the Vice-President in Council.\(^1\)

On his return from Nuddeah to Calcutta early in 1809 to 
take up his duties as a Commissioner of the Court of Requests, 
Leyden had the encouraging prospect of remaining there "for a 
long time",\(^2\) in "a situation like that of Sheriff", with a 
higher income than he had yet had.\(^3\) Being thus prosperous 
enough to send home a cheque for £100, with the promise of the 
same sum yearly,\(^4\) and having so completely recovered from a 
great deal of illness that he could boast himself more "stout" 
than ever before, Leyden felt well in health and spirits and 
every respect, and gloried in telling his parents, after a 
silence of some fifteen months:

"I have been employed by Lt. Minto who has behaved to me 
on every occasion like a father in several very important 
situations and of the most confidential kind in all of 
which I have succeeded beyond expectation:... This I am sure 
will give you great pleasure to hear, and to know that my 
reputation is constantly rising by every situation in which 
I have been employed.\(^3\)"

Being for several months "a good deal taken up with 
the commitments" of the "assassins and murderers" arrested in 
Nuddeah, Leyden still felt himself "hardly fixed" in his new 
appointment by the middle of May,\(^5\) although he already found 
that, its duties being not nearly so laborious as those of his 
magistracy,\(^6\) which had left him scarcely leisure to open a book, 
it gave him a good deal of time for reading and recovering the 
ground he had lost,\(^5\) his literary studies having been "quite 
knocked on the head" by his constant "bush-fighting in the 
jungles."\(^7\) By August, however, although often obliged to 
work from six in the morning till ten at night "both head work 
and hand work", and hoping soon to have much more time in his 
own hands, Leyden was finding his work as a Commissioner "a 
much more quiet peace [sic] of business\(^2\) than he had yet had 
in India, and one which, although involving rather hard work 
for three days in the week, left him almost nothing to do 

1 Rocke to Shakespear, Feb. 8, 1810; Shakespear to Dowdeswell, 
Feb. 10, 1810; & Dowdeswell to Blaquiere, Feb. 16, 1810. Blaquiere 
is mentioned much more often than Leyden in the official papers.
2 Leyden to his father, Aug. 20, 1809.
3 Leyden to his father, Jan. 20, 1809.
4 Leyden's method was to send a cheque with two duplicates to 
follow in other ships, lest the first should miscarry. The 
third copy of this bill was despatched on August 20, 1809.
5 Leyden to Erskine, May 15, 1810. 6 Leyden to Scott, Jan. 10, 
1810. 7 Leyden to Raffles, Oct. 9, 1809.
on the other days, which were generally spent in "digging away like a Turkish galley-slave in the oriental mines,"¹ Enjoying now almost as good health as ever in his life, with his liver "quite well" again, Leyden did not mind the very fatiguing task of having to speak in Court seven languages, Persian, Hindustani, Bengali and Arabic being "in constant occurrence", and Malay and Portuguese in frequent use.² Being nevertheless generally so "overpowered with business" that he hardly knew to what hand to turn from day today,¹ and having more writing and studying to do than any ten Parish ministers, Leyden sought to dispel any fallacious idea that he had "nothing to do but write away sheet after sheet" and send a letter home every day or at least every fortnight.² He wished, however, that his parents, for their part, would write to him a little more frequently;² and he still welcomed all letters from Europe, as well as the personal contact afforded by his old schoolfellow James Purves, whom he had met in Calcutta with "glad surprise"³ early in 1808, for the first time since boyhood, and who, on sailing for home just after Leyden had had to go off on "a cruise against a party of gang-robbers", took with him presents from Leyden to the ladies of his family,⁴ and for Walter Scott Leyden's agate-handled kris and copies of his Indo-Chinese Dissertation and of some of his verses, including those To Mr. James Purvis.³ Being keen to tell his Scottish friends all about Leyden,⁵ Purves fulfilled his commission faithfully, among the rest calling, towards the end of 1808, on James Morton, now in his fifth session at Edinburgh University, tutoring in the family of Thomas Henderson, "a man of great worth and one of the "Magistrates of the City", and intending "to enter upon the study of Theology next winter"⁶ "Confident that to whatever elevation of rank the genius of the worthy may raise him, his heart is never exalted," and believing that his learned cousin would not "grudge to suspend his dignified pursuits" to read what might "recall some fond ideas...concerning his early home", Morton sent Leyden a characteristically unctuous letter, which had the merit of giving assurance that Leyden's family, visited by Morton at their cottage in Denholm Dean in June 1808, were all well, his mother being "hale and stout" and his father in tolerably good health, ¹ Leyden to Heber, Dec.18,1809. ² Leyden to his father, Aug. 20,1809. ³ To Mr. James Purvis,1.2. Cf.p.19 sup. ⁴ Including James Morton's sister, Violet, who was "extremely gratified by this remembrance."(Morton to Leyden, Dec.13,1808.) ⁵ Cf. Leyden to his father, loc. cit.:"How anxious he was to go and tell you all about me."(Morton to Leyden, Dec.13,1808. Purves called on Morton just before sailing from Leith to London.
occasional symptoms of his former malady\(^1\) never having reached "an alarming degree."\(^2\) From Dr Anderson, too, there came a letter on such literary topics as Thomas Brown's authorship of *The Renovation of India* and the identification of the friend addressed therein with William Erskine;\(^3\) and from Brown himself a few lines, introducing a young friend, but giving no news at all, evidently in revenge for Leyden's long silence,\(^5\) surprising both to Anderson and to Brown;\(^2\) - and doubtless also to the latter's sister, Janet.

Leyden was soon to have the pleasure of seeing William Erskine in the flesh; for on learning that Erskine planned to visit Calcutta this summer, he claimed him as his guest, advising him on his mode of travel and declaring: "If I am alive when you come to Calcutta rest assured you shall stay no where else but with me..."\(^3\) An invitation extended also, though in vain, to Erskine's "confoundly shy" brother David, whom Leyden, after regretfully missing him in the summer of 1807, was to meet at last, to his gratification, in the autumn of 1809.\(^4\) William Erskine himself reached Calcutta on July 26, after a day's delay caused by the failure of his ship, the *Eliza* to come up the river, and Leyden, being obliged to attend at Court that day, could welcome him in the first instance only by sending his peon to expedite the transport of Erskine's luggage to Leyden's house on the skirts of the town, and by directing Erskine to proceed there immediately on landing.\(^5\) The visit, during which Leyden procured at least one Scotsman to meet Erskine in the person of William Forrester, son of an Edinburgh banker,\(^6\) disappointingly comprised only a few turbid and anxious days,\(^7\) broken by Erskine's stay of ten days with his brother,\(^8\) whom ill-health detained at Surul;\(^9\) so that Leyden professed to consider it his most provoking and infuriating experience for many a day and indeed no kind of visit to him at all.\(^10\)

3. Leyden to Erskine, May 15, 1809. Thos Park thought it was Leyden.
4. Leyden told Wm. Erskine, June 1, 1807, that he had missed David Erskine through making a short excursion to Chinsura just before the latter proceeded to sea; and in the autumn of 1809 David E. again went off, "as slippery as a knotless thread," to Segar, when Leyden expected him to stay with him.
5. Leyden to Wm. Erskine, July 26, 1809. (MS. 971.)
6. Forrester, son of Robert Forrester of the Bank of Scotland, dined at least once again with Leyden in mid-February, 1810. (Robt Forrester to Dr Anderson, Sept. 28, 1810. (Adv. MS. 22.4.11.)
7. Erskine to Dr Anderson, Sept. 17, 1817.
8. Leyden to Erskine, Aug. 6, 1809.
Part of the provocation must have lain in the fact that on being shown Leyden's numerous MSS. and translations, Erskine, for all his interest both in his friend's plans and in oriental scholarship in general, read them as if he read them not, his thoughts being so fixed on "something else" that Leyden rallied him "very gaily" on the inattention and distraction which made him look so "woundily absent" or rather very often as if he had seen a ghost, or was quite bereft of his senses. This potent source of distraction was in fact Erskine's approaching marriage to Maitland Mackintosh, second daughter of Sir James Mackintosh, which was to take place at the end of September; and on learning that there would soon be a "Mrs W. E. in the world", Leyden, who had always considered that Erskine, like himself, had no genius for matrimony and would very probably "live on for a long time as chaste as Beelzebub" with no more serious experience than perhaps falling in love "sometimes of a morning" warned him sadly:

"...my dear friend make yourself at home as long as you can for depend on it when once you pass that bourne from which no bachelor has e'er returned your lady will be landlady of the Lodge, your library will be put under the ban of the empire, your learned dissertations have the glory of being twisted by her fair fingers into thread papers and hair papers to the utter discomfiture of Saras-wati & the Hindu God of learning and sweetmeats, which brings me back to the thread of my discourse: which is to say waste no time among the Paharis of Birbhum, though it be the land of heroes but hurry forthwith to Calcutta while you are yet a free man for depend on it, if you are destined to be married (and marriages so by destiny) you will never return to Bengal, and if I by any accident ever find my way to Bombay it is ten to one but your dearly beloved will fall in love the wrong way with my sweet voice."

In the sequel, Erskine, after his return from Surul, left Calcutta so suddenly that Leyden, on "getting out of Court" on August 22 to find that his friend had gone, leaving no word of himself and many things unordered, was quite astonished and expected him back for dinner on that or the next day, especially since an effort had been made to stop the sailing of Erskine's ship until a regular convoy could be obtained. His expectation proving vain, however, Leyden sent after Erskine a parcel containing "some jackets and trousers from Mr Edgar with his bill to see if correct", a copy of William Hunter's Hindustani Dictionary, and instructions to Erskine to send an exact list of his literary orders, if necessary. This injunction Erskine

1 Erskine to Dr Anderson, Sept. 17, 1817.
2 Leyden to Erskine, Aug. 6, 1802, while Erskine was at Surul.
3 Leyden to Erskine, Dec. 30, 1802.
4 Leyden to Erskine, Aug. 22, 1809.
5 Secretary to the College of Fort William.
obeyed fully a month later, drawing up a long list of literary queries on his wedding day, so that Leyden, although gratified at being remembered "at so important a crisis" was afraid his friend might have forgotten the ceremony. Being by no means fond of Erskine's "ugly trick of writing farewell in large characters", Leyden was exceedingly distressed to think what was likely to become of him especially as Erskine had given him no hint whatever of his Desdemona's nose or even of "what kind of an angle it formed with her chin"; and although delighted to see Erskine's handwriting again after his "amazing and wonderful travels and adventures in the matrimonial lands of silk satin and fine linen," Leyden was still in complete ignorance of the colour of the lady's hair and of whether it had "a natural per-verse sort of a highland twist on the foretop." So picturing Mrs Erskine reading this part of his letter, Leyden favoured her with a digression on her lamentable effect on Erskine's state of mind:

"Oh! your most obedient Madam Erskine! I see you there peeping over my friend's shoulder to see what the rough Doctor says of you - now what do you say to the twist! - None of your pouting, my dear! or I'll snap you up like a duck or a teal or a wigeon which you will observe is a word which rhymes to guigeon. Don't think I'll forgive you in a hurry for all your misdeeds, one of the principal of which that I have to complain of, is, your sending my poor friend William hither in such a wandering state of mind that I am sure he would have eaten raw ducks for roasted partridges without asking a question on the subject, and there was I staring in utter amazement at hearing him talk straight forwards like a speaking machine repeating the same question a dozen of times after I had answered it, and what was more provoking than all the rest, perfectly insensible of all my astonishment & wonder. I declare I was never so much dis-concerted in my life, & was seriously glad at last to find that he was only in love, for verily he looked quite like a man bewitched out of his seven senses. Now as you have been clearly convicted of the sin of witchcraft & the crime of enchantment & fascination. I am heartily glad to find that you have been legally sentenced to suffer the pains & penalties of your transgression, videlicet that both the witch & the bewitched shall be tied up in the same rope & thrown into Lob's pond to sink or swim according to their respective merits & deserts. So there I leave you for the present Madam Erskine and you need not console yourself with hopes of my forgetfulness for I can declare by the veracity of a bachelor that I never forgot an injury in my life, & though I cannot say precisely that I have a crow to pick with you, yet I flatter myself the raw duck will afford us very pretty amusement." 1

1 Leyden to Erskine, Dec. 30, 1809.
Erskine's visit had had an untoward effect on Leyden's own peace of mind, upsetting the relative calm in which he had been living "neither sad nor sorry", but as merry as the day was long, between his books and his office, and making him so "furious" as to declare:

"Now you have come like an ignis fatuus for no purpose at all that I can see but to show me how you were able to enact the love-yeer, before me, besides I learn from your brother that you were quite as fidgety & impatient with him as with me...But that is not the worst you have disturbed the standing pool serenity of my repose, and left me a strange kind of hankering to see you as in your better days." 1

In physical health, too, Leyden had been "going on from bad to worse" almost from the time of Erskine's arrival, and after his friend's departure, he "made matters much worse by turning to and writing a confounded paper...of about 100 pages" as a supplement to his "indo-Chinese Sketch", so that by the autumn of 1809 he had wellnigh reached "the point of embarking for the next world". 1

"I weathered the Asiatic Society in unease but next morning had a violent October fever & attack of Spleen. After a vigorous attempt to rise in which I fainted three times I sent for my friend Hare, who came & found me in desperate agony railing at all the first born of Egypt. So there was I in limbo for a fortnight composing War Odes to Palafox & Sir John Moore which perhaps I shall send you, provided you assure me that you have recovered your senses." 1

The first of these "Odes", apparently the ten-line translation entitled On seeing an eagle perched on the tombstone of Aristomenes the Palafox of Messene, 3 forms a less direct tribute to the defender of Saragossa than Leyden's later prose declaration of his enthusiasm for "the Spaniards and their good cause": 5

"I cannot conceive how any cowards can be found in Scotland at this time, or any body averse to soldiering. Had I been in Britain I had been in the glorious city of Saragossa without fail long before it was taken; that would have been a vagary for you and if ever I get safe to Europe depend upon it after coming and seeing that you are well & paying my respects to the brave General Wellesley I shall then go to Spain and pay my respects to the glorious Palafox who had courage to declare war against Bonaparte with only 240 men at his back and only 20 pounds six and eigntrance in his pocket. That is what I call being a great man." 6

But the rhetoric of the second, celebrating the battle of Corunna and its "brave and great" victor 5 was effective enough:

1 Leyden to Erskine, Dec. 30, 1809.
2 Calcutta's unhealthiest time of year was in late September and early October.
3 The hero of the Second Messenian war against Sparta, 685-8 B.C.
4 Jose de Palafox y Melzi (1780-1847), Governor of Saragossa, led the citizens through two protracted sieges before being taken prisoner by the French in 1809 after the second siege.
5 Leyden to his father, Aug. 20, 1809.
6 Leyden to his father, Jan. 2, 1811.
Lo! I arraign thee, Leon old,
  With proud Castile, the boast of Spain,
For cavaliers and warriors bold! —
  Here I impeach thee, hills and plain
Thy airy pennons glancing green,
Long borne in fight by barons keen
By Carrion and old Douro's stream! —
  Where were you when an hour of pause
Was treason to your own good cause,
Which valour's self shall scarce redeem?

He pauses not — to Douro's side
Moves on the firm undaunted band;
And lo! by foes encompassed wide,
  Moore stands alone on Spanish land.
As seaward bends his long array,
The Gallic wolf from day to day
Scowls on his route with distant awe:
  Distant he prowls, but shrinks to wait
The close-encountering shock of fate —
To face the lion's rending paw. 

Nor were these isolated poetical efforts; for, after long
effect of verse-writing, Leyden had been contributing for over
a year past to Calcutta newspapers a variety of poems, mainly
translations from oriental languages, ranging from the sweetness
of The Return after Absence —

Our king is our moon, and Bokhara our skies,
  Where soon that fair light of the heavens shall rise;
Bokhara our orchard, the cypress our king,
In Bokhara's fair orchard soon destin'd to spring.

to the stern energy of the lines From the Arabic of Tabat
Shirra on revenging the blood of his uncle, with their emphatic
opening —

Deep in the riven rock he lies —
His blood no more for vengeance cries; —

and revolting conclusion :

The 'glutton-vultures on the wild
Brood o'er the slain with dust defil'd,
Bloated and swell'n with human gore
Flag their lank wings unfit to soar.

Still mindful also of his old love, Greek, Leyden did not fail to
include also in his weekly 'harmonizing' in the Calcutta
Gazette versions from Archilochus and from his old martial
favourite Tyrtaeus, together with a somewhat pedestrian lament
1 Ode on the Battle of Corunna, 11.11-30. Cf. Milton's Lycidas
2 He told Mrs Raffles, May 10, 1808, that he had written no
poetry for the past year. Cf. p. sup.
3 B.M. Add. MS. 26, 560, ff. 1-17, has cuttings of Leyden's verse and
prose contributions to the Calcutta Mirror and Gazette, 1808-9.
5 'Robin-good-fellow' (obviously Leyden himself) speculated in the
Gazette, n.d., on the identity of the 'learned piper Marysas'
who 'harmonizes' the Gazette weekly. E.g. 'To serve red
battle's awful king...,' MS. 3383, f. 36v; & also ff. 35-36.
in heroic couplets On the death of Marsyas, the Phrygian poet: a subject selected probably with reference to Leyden's use of Marsyas as one of his noms de guerre. These were legion: for, retaining all his old love of the facetious and the mystifying, he turned out innumerable lighter contributions in verse and prose, both to the Mirror, in which he had a financial interest, and to the Gazette. Writing now as the Secretary of the 'Funny Club' (a set of "young Devils incarnate," opposed to the humourless and rival Telegraph), now simply as 'Zoilus', 'Momus' or 'Bardus', he entered with gusto into any local controversy, literary or social, discussing with equal liveliness the authorship of the Junius letters and the latest fashion in wigs, waxing satirical against all 'Silly-billies; and contriving to introduce such humorous verses as a parody (containing his favourite 'barberous' pun) on Dr Johnson's Prologue spoken at the opening of Drury Lane and a lively ballad, to the tune of 'Chevy Chase', entitled The Rout of the Etymologists:

Sir Gallus of the land of France,
Set out in wild vagary;
And darting many an angry glance
At Johnson's Dictionary,
'I come, ye lettered ranks', he cried,
Your leader's fame to quench,
Though stern he towers in English pride,
Sam Johnson knew not French.

By October 9, when he was allowed up for the first time after this sharp attack of fever, Leyden was still "not at all able to write letters"; but with the recovery of some degree of health, he lost no time in resuming his literary avocations and "Eastern researches," pursuing steadily the plans he had outlined to the inattentive Erskine, including the translation of a "Bali grammar received from Ceylon" in the summer, and the composition of an essay on the "Indo-Persic literature and languages", evidently supplementary to his dissertation thereon. The latter proving "confounded slippery ground", only thirty of the supplement's hundred pages were completed by the end of the year; but after reading his paper on the Rosheniah Sect to the Asiatic Society on December 2, Leyden felt free to...
proceed at once with a "large Essay on the Bali & Prakrit", being
determined to make something of the promised work on Prakrit,
Zend and Pali, in which he complacently hoped to "diddle Anquetil
du Perron and all his friends". Although "that Zend" still lay
"in the very commencement as a desideratum", he was already
"pretty well forward" in his translation of the Dabistan from the
Persian, adding dissertations on its twelve sects and seeking San-
skrit and Gujarati versions of the Zend and Pahlavi texts with
polemical intent: "...may I be enchanted in a French petit maître
if that ...du Perron does not get a rubbers". In Prakrit and Pali
Leyden's progress was such that Henry Colebrooke, who was in the
habit of exchanging literary tidings and advice with him and of
reading over and annotating such of his translations as that of
the Raja-tarangini, congratulated him on it and, assuming Leyden
must now be "prepared for a treatise on these kindred dialects",
consigned to him, as to one better versed in the subject than
himself, the bulk of his own collection of Prakrit materials,
from which Leyden produced a Prakrit Grammar, finished on July 14,
1810, of which Colebrooke's later opinion surprised and disappoint
ed Leyden's staunch friend James Hare.—

"I was sorry to learn that Hy. Colebrooke had shown a mean
jealousy of our friend in the opinion he gave the Court of
Directors respecting the printing of his Prakrit Grammar,
which I know from Leyden himself, was the only work he had
prepared for the press. It was put to him distinctly, Is
this fit for publishing. The reply was, With a few alterations it is, & thus he strangled what he had long before con-
fessed to Leyden he was incapable of judging of. I was
myself with Leyden when a number of Coolies with Baskets full
of Books came to him which he assured me were from Colebrooke
with the principal part of his Prakrit Collection in token
that he would not attempt the study of that dialect any long-
er, seeing there was one who had gotten so far before him —
& therefore he had sent them to one who could make a better use
of them. I have also heard Leyden say that it would require
ten years reading to make him equal to Colebrooke in the
knowledge of Sanscrit Books. It was therefore no boast of
his, L's superiority to Colebrooke." Leyden's comparative studies extended to hoping to incorporate an
account of "the Analogies" of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Greek and Latin in
a large-scale "History of modern Persian literature and poetry"
designed to occupy two large quarto volumes and doubtless to contain some of his many translations from the Persian poets; and, suspecting from the surprising number of Sufi phrases in "the Greek oracles of Zoroaster" that he might find "the origin of Sufyism among these bucks of the Alexandrian school", he sought to borrow from Sir James Mackintosh "Plotinus, Proclus or Gemistus Pletho". Nor was this by any means all; for, besides having well in hand a translation from the Arabic of the Kushf al Zaman, "the basis of Dherbelot's work", and another of the Sanskrit Vishnu Purana, Leyden desired to obtain the Persian version of the Emperor Baber's memoirs, by which to "try the merits" of his own translation of that "excellent work" from the Jagat'hai Turkish, which he was firmly resolved to finish "this time", but which was to appear in print only in 1826, with almost as much of William Erskine's work in it as of Leyden's own.

Fully occupied as he thus was with official and literary work, Leyden yet found time to deal with William Erskine's literary commissions, and even, after long neglect, to write to "these good people" Binny and Dennison at Madras, concerning his books and MSS which by the winter of 1809 were at last all collected in Binny's hands, save for a few printed books such as those borrowed by Colin Mackenzie at Leyden's suggestion; so that by the spring of 1810, when the season was "opening for a quiet passage to Bengal", Binny could promise to dispatch Leyden's books "by an early opportunity", and preferably by frigate, as the only safe means of conveyance.

In writing to Leyden in mid-November to report on this book situation and on such other literary matters as the non-appearance in Asiatic Researches of John Malcolm's Sketch of the Sikhs (for which Leyden had perhaps some responsibility), Colin Mackenzie, who liked to write as fully as his eyesight and work would allow, allows.
had had a good deal to say concerning his own prospects: a subject on which he had consulted Leyden some eighteen months before, being uncertain how he would be "disposed of" on the conclusion of the Mysore Survey, and fearing, after almost twenty-five years of seeking recompense for his labours in the public service, that "the Fountain of Reward, of Justice or of Impartial Investigation" existed only in that land "where the Old Romance Writers placed the Fountain of Immortal Youth". Having had experience of no fewer than twelve polite but inactive Governors of Madras who were "all nought", he had asked Leyden's advice on his plan of "throwing in a Representation to the Governor General", a plan apparently facilitated by the fact that Lord Minto, by now "generally admitted to be the finest private character of a Governor that ever India saw", and "very much esteemed...in his government", had been obliged to go in person to Madras in the summer of 1809 on the "most delicate mission" of dealing with the "very dangerous insurrection" among the East India Company's Army officers occasioned by financial grievances. Leyden himself, however, although he went "down to the Ghat...with the rest" at 5.30 a.m. on August 5 to see Lord Minto off, did not join this "Grand Embarkation", so that Mackenzie was left to make his own approach to the Governor-General, which he did at Minto's first levee, but without apparent result, so that two months later Mackenzie was expressing "no hopes & no desire" of cultivating further knowledge of great men. Leyden, however, doubtless concerned for Lord Minto's credit as well as for Mackenzie's welfare, entered into his friend's cause with "Caledonian Energy" to such effect that within a year Mackenzie was expressing "grateful sentiments" for Minto's most obliging kindness in desiring Mackenzie to address him directly on any occasion. It was no doubt not without reason that Jos. Sedley waxed "very witty regarding the number of Scotchmen whom Lord Minto...patronized".

Unfailingly ready to assist his friends, Leyden was also ever willing to tell them his sentiments frankly; and in writing to Walter Scott at the start of 1810 to commend the dissertation on Chinese of his "little friend Marshman", Leyden took the

1 Mackenzie to Leyden, May 10, 1808.
2 Leyden to Scott, Jan. 10, 1810.
3 Leyden to his father, Aug. 20, 1809.
4 Malcolm described this trouble at Madras as exhibiting "Insanity on one part &...wretched mismanagement upon the other"; (to Leyden, Dec. 29, 1809. Minto handled it with fairness & success.
5 Leyden to Erskine, Aug. 6, 1809.
6 Mackenzie to Leyden, Nov. 13, 1809.
7 Mackenzie to Leyden, Oct. 9, 1810.
8 Thackeray, Vanity Fair, Ch. IV. Cf. E. Hahn, op. cit., pp. 28-29.
9 Leyden to Manning, [1810].
opportunity both to express his delight at Scott's success as a poet and to deliver a "furious remonstrance" on the character of Marmion:

"Your Marmion is quite the rage here and it is very dubious whether that or the Lay of the Last Minstrel is most so. He is a sad dog this same Marmion; I have had the greatest difficulty in reconciling myself to him, and I am rather inclined to prefer old Bethlem Gabor after all but I am nevertheless highly delighted with the work, though I have been wishing the hero hanged every step that he has taken from the beginning to the close. I most sincerely rejoice in seeing you very decidedly at the head of the poets of the age - poetarum saecli tuui princeps - which I think cannot be denied, and, depend on it, none less than another Homer or Milton will shake you on your throne. Brigadier-General Malcolm, whom I formerly mention ed from Eskdale, has you constantly under his pillow, and we rejoice over you like an ancient when a few of us Borderers can get together." 3

Leyden himself, however, had laid aside any thought of rivalling Scott in this sphere; for although, being under the rule of the literat Lord Minto, who could himself "at times hold sweet converse with the Muse, without letting the Wheel of State stand still," he was in no danger of being "restrained by a Solemn League and Covenant from rhyming", like "the unfortunate Poet of...Greenock, who was restricted by formal compact with the Kirk Session from making any more Poetry," after obtaining "the August Situation of a Parish Schoolmaster", he yet so neglected his old pursuit of rhyming in 1810 that by the autumn he was warning his correspondents to expect no more of his "Plutonian Muse...equally cousin German to Plutus and Pluto", as he had "long given up writing of verses". 6 He had then indeed been moved recently while "in the horrors of the Liver", to pen an Epistle of twenty-three stanzas in answer to an invitation from Mrs H — 7 to meet some young Ladies from Europe said to be very beautiful but at least eleven years Leyden's junior: 8 an invitation which Leyden accepted, despite some misgivings over his age and appearance, in the confidence that his flinty heart, although able to admire beauty, could

1 Scott, in his introduction to the 1830 ed. of Marmion, apro- 2 Gabriel Bethlen (1600-1629), the Hungarian prince & leader. 3 Leyden to Scott, Jan.10, 1810. Malcolm actually thought Marmion much inferior to the Lay of the Last Minstrel. 4 Mackenzie to Leyden, Oct.9, 1810. 5 Ibid. This story about John Wilson was probably apocryphal. 6 Leyden to Mrs Raffles, Oct.22,1810. (MS.971.) 7 Possibly Mrs Harington, or Mrs James Hare. 8 Epistle to Mrs. H —, prose preamble.
not be pierced by love, especially in present "pangs and languors antimonial" of his tortured bosom:

What though mine eyes be glazed & dead
And though my spectacles be green
There's as much nonsense in my head
As any madcap's of fifteen.

Nay more I do not care a fig
For hoary locks & years eleven
God bless you! I could wear a wig
And pass at times for twenty-seven.

In the beginning of 1811, too, the sight of the beautiful Mrs Charles Buller at a Calcutta ball, arrayed in a Highland dress with bonnet and tartan, like "A princess from the land of hills", was to fill Leyden with a wild emotion of mingled admiration and patriotism which demanded poetical expression:

Oh for a fairy's hand to trace
The rainbow tints that rise to view,
That slender form of sweeter grace
Than e'er Malvina's poet drew!

Her brilliant eye, her streaming hair,
Her skin's soft splendours to display;
The finest pencil must despair
Till it can paint the solar ray.

In general, however, Leyden made little response to Colin Mackenzie's flattering suggestion that one who had sung "the Dirge and fall of the Sultan of the Dark Mysore...the Glories of the 'Lord of the Eastern Countree'...an 'Olivia' on the Malayan Isles; or a Pintado, fluttering its wings on the vast Atlantic,"

"might surely meet something deserving of the Poetic Wreath in the Rising Capital of the Eastern World; in all the useful & magnificent Projects that occupy the Energy of its enlightened Inhabitants, the progress of European Science & Philosophy in expanding & improving the Asiatic Mind; in removing the darkness that has impeded the Progress, & cramped the energies of their acute genius; whether from Superstition or Priestcraft; or from mistaken Laws;"

and might find relaxation and scope for his lighter Muse in celebrating "the biggest Judicial Wig" and the local customs, amusements, luxuries, prejudices and "Fantastic mixed European-Asiatic-Character of the Indo-British Capital". And even Mackenzie's plea that for the sake of Scotland Leyden should put forth something in verse or prose, to remove the scandal

1 Leyden, Epistle to Mrs Leyden, Oct. 9, 1810.
3 Leyden's verses on the death of Tipu and on the East India Company.
4 Mackenzie added a note to his letter: "See the Gentleman's Magazine 1807 for the Dirge of the past year.
5 Evidently that of Sir William Burroughs. See pp. sup.
6 Mackenzie to Leyden, Oct. 9, 1810.
attaching to "all Scotchmen in Foreign Lands" of attending solely to interest and money, seems to have fallen on deaf ears.1

Leyden had indeed sufficient literary and linguistic works of a more prosaic character to occupy his leisure time so completely "with slight intermissions for his meals, or the occasional interruptions of society"2 that he felt himself "to be pitied as a slave more than any man in Frangistan - I beg pardon, I meant Europe", almost every instant of his time being "filled up in task work."3 Considering that no work by an Arabic geographer had yet been correctly published in the original or in translation4 and believing, doubtless with the recollection of his earlier excursion into African studies, that Arabic geography, for all its limitations,5 was of undeniable importance especially in relation to the Islamic countries and to the history of the dark ages,6 Leyden, with whom geography had long been a favourite object of investigation,7 proposed to publish, with the aid of "Sheikh Ahmed Sherwani an Arab of considerable learning and curious researches", a correct text, with English translation, of Ibn-al-'ardi's Kheridat-al-Ahayeb; a treatise known virtually only by name to the learned of Europe,8 but regarded in Arabia as the most accurate and classical authority in its subject. Based on imperfect copy procured by Leyden in Malabar in 1805, and another of some antiquity, perfect and evidently carefully collated, which he had more lately obtained from Yemen, Leyden's edition was to comprise some three hundred quarto pages of text (of the same size as his lately-published edition of the Dabistan) with as much again of translation and notes, including brief illustrations of difficult passages;4 and so evident was its literary value and utility that the Government, desiring to encourage it, and to pay "every proper regard" to the wishes of the Fort William College Council, readily acceded to the Council's recommendation that the edition should receive "the usual encouragement" of a subscription of 4,225 Sicca Rupees for one hundred copies.9 Lord Minto did not fail to commend it in his review of learned works accomplished and in prospect at the College disputations on September 15, 1810;10 and Colin

1 Mackenzie to Leyden, Oct. 9, 1810. 2 David L. Richardson, The Bengal Annual for 1830, p. 14. 3 Leyden to Scott, Jan. 10, 1810. 4 Leyden to Wm. Hunter, Feb. 5, 1810. (Bengal Public Consultations.) 5 It dealt with a limited area and tended to be inaccurate. 6 Especially in the elucidation of place-names. 7 Leyden to A. F. Tytler, June 12, 1801. 8 D'Herbelot often cited his authority, but no-one cited the original Arabic. 9 Government Order of Feb. 16, 1810. 10 Roebuck, op. cit., p. 261.
Mackenzie, with his professional interest in eastern, and especially Indian, geography, promised, perhaps rather belatedly, "ready, willing, and zealous" assistance in such matters as the construction of geographical charts. 1

On a smaller scale, although hardly less useful, was the Comparative Vocabulary of Burmese, Malay, and Siamese which Leyden had projected a year before, his offer to prepare it having been accepted by the Government on February 10, 1809, when authority was given for printing the work at the Serampore Mission Press, where a new found of the Burmese character had been cast. 2 Sir James Mackintosh's plan for comparative vocabularies having met with an inadequate response, its remains had been passed on to Leyden, whose own more extensive scheme for the compilation of grammars and dictionaries under his own direction had in turn been deferred, the College of Fort William adopting different means of achieving the same end by circulating among "competent persons" printed comparative vocabularies in such pairs of languages as Persian and Hindustani, and Sanskrit and Bengali, to be filled in with corresponding terms in other tongues. 3 It was into this scheme that Leyden's Burmese, Siamese, and Malay Vocabulary fitted; and by the autumn of 1810, having been executed most ably and to the high satisfaction of the College Council 4, and furnished with a very judicious preface of Leyden's preliminary observations, 5 was completed at a cost (borne by the Government) of 2,400 Sica Rupees: a price which Leyden believed would be considered reasonable in view of the extreme difficulty of the work, and which had been only a little increased by the fact that, through some uncorrected slip of Leyden's arising probably from "the figures not having been written plain" six hundred instead of five hundred copies were thrown off. 6 This circumstance Leyden viewed indeed as rather advantageous, having formerly seen "many favourable opportunities of increasing the stock of vocabularies... lost from the impossibility of procuring copies" to send to Madras and Bombay; 6 and while four hundred copies of his book remained in the College Library at Calcutta, "ready to answer any future demand" the rest were distributed

1 Mackenzie to Leyden, Oct 9, 1810.
2 Wm Hunter to H. St. G. Tucker, Sept 28, 1810. (Bengal Public Con., No 68 of Oct. 5. 1810.)
4 Hunter to Tucker, Feb. 9, 1810. (Bengal Pub. Con., No. 35. of Feb 1810.)
5 Colebrooke recommended the addition of these as likely to promote the objects of the work. (To Leyden, 71810.)
6 Leyden to Hunter, Sept 24. 1810 (Bengal Pub. Con., No. 69 of Oct. 5. 1810.)
in the manner best calculated to obtain their object, ten copies each having been sent to Prince of Wales Island, Madras, Amboyna, and "the Supra Cargoes at China," along with a circular letter promising ten further copies, and requesting their distribution among Public Officers and others likely to be able to collect local dialect words. One of these occasions when Leyden found the supply of Government vocabularies inadequate had been in August 1809, when, finding "a favourable opportunity" for having them rendered into several languages of the Deccan and Hindustan by "private communication," he applied in vain for a few copies, none being left in reserve. One of the Persian and Hindustani copies, at least, was put to excellent use by William Masters of Chittagong, who, modestly making laudable exertions in an unfrequented path of literature, used it to compile in a most careful and correct manner a vocabulary which Leyden formally pronounced an ample and satisfactory production, and which so clearly demonstrated the advantages to philology and ethnology of the completion of the Government's plan of comparative vocabularies that Leyden urged strongly the employment of Masters in investigating further the dialects and customs of the hill tribes among whom he lived, and although this project was frustrated by Masters's departure from Chittagong, the Government pursued the matter by asking Dr John Macrae, long resident there, to give assistance in the work.

Leyden had an equally favourable verdict to pass on the pioneer Pashto Grammar and Dictionary undertaken in a "spirite manner" by the late Nawab Mubhabat Khan and completed with zeal and ability by another hand after his death; for, on being entrusted by the College Council with the Government-sponsored tasks of having a copy of the work made for the College Library and an expert opinion given on its merits, Leyden produced, by the careful collation of two copies, a text considerably more accurate than either, and pronounced the dictionary, despite its limitations, to be a work of very considerable merit: an opinion formally endorsed by Leyden's Afghan munshi, himself probably the best Pashto scholar in India, who had been working

1 The Amboyna copies were sent later than the rest, on Dec. 7.
2 They were also accompanied by two letters by Hunter explaining the object of the plan.
3 Leyden to Tucker, Aug. 17, 1810.
4 Leyden to Hunter, July 24, 1810.
6 The Government copy, and another obtained formerly by Leyden from its author.
7 It dealt with only one of the two main Afghan dialects, referred rather to the spoken than the written language, and used an "auricular" orthography.
8 That Emir Mohammed who had disliked his first sea-voyage with Leyden.
for over two years under Leyden's direction on a similar grammar and dictionary, compiled on an improved plan from "authentic written materials", which Leyden expected to be superior in "abstract value" to that of Muhabat Khan.¹

Leyden had felt at the start of 1810 that his health was becoming quite re-established; but although mid-February found him in good health,² his manifold literary and linguistic activities were still being carried on in the face of ill-health which in the first half of that year very nearly put him "down among the dead men,"³ making his physician, the younger James Hare,⁴ insist that he go to sea, and bringing him with that aim into Calcutta, which was considerably nearer the coast than his "former habitation" outside the city.³ By June, indeed, his health seemed absolutely to require a sea voyage; but, while still debating whether to return to Madras (where Colin Mackenzie was as ready as ever to give him a hearty welcome), to pay William Erskine a visit "at the sign of the married man" at Love-grove, near Bombay, or "to push on boldly to Persia" where John Malcolm was conducting a diplomatic mission under difficulties,⁵ Leyden began to recover so rapidly that by mid-July, although still gravely affected by vis inertiae, he feared that he could not have obtained a certificate from any doctor.³

Leyden contented himself accordingly with writing to assure Erskine that the remainder of his literary commissions would be executed as fast as possible,⁶ and the results entrusted to one of Leyden's friends, a Captain of a King's vessel,⁷ to insure their escape from being carried to "that cursed isle of France".⁷ He allowed himself at the same time to be openly scornful (not altogether without reason) of Erskine's selection of Love-grove as the name of his house:

"Odds pistols and bullets! whoever saw such a name. I would not live in such a place for the universe, even though I were heads and ears in love, a circumstance of which I see not the least probability, in a hurry. Sweet Willie in Love-grove with his little prattling charmer - the devil take it if I have not forgot her very pretty long name - azure streams, and purling skies - Wah! wajeh! waf! wah! My dear friend you are bewitched and bewified and bed - but here perhaps I had better stop as Mrs E. flashes athwart my recollection."³

¹ Emir Muhammed's opinion of the work was given in a note to Leyden's letter to Hunter of Oct. 6, 1810.
² Robert Forrester to Dr Anderson, Sept. 28, 1810.
³ Leyden to Erskine, July 15,(1810). (MS.971.)
⁴ Hare's uncle, the elder James Hare, was also a doctor.
⁵ As the Governor-General's envoy, he clashed with the King's Ambassador, Sir Harford Jones. These included the copying of Persian MSS. ⁶ Leyden had lost a parcel of books this...
And he expressed openly his suspicion that Erskine's progress with his history of the times of Aurungzebe had been hitherto a matter of much cry and little wool, warning him:

"...you will find it no easy job without beginning to write toget your materials in array, and you will only be the more embarrassed by their number. It is very idle forsooth for my wisdomship to tell you about this but I only mention this to let you to wit that your being able to assign reasons for doing nothing, will not go dwn with me I promise you. Tell me at once a reason worth the whole of them - Mrs E. - that is the first, fifth & nineteenth reason on the subject - and what is worse I perceive already that she has invaded both your library & study - whereas you should have fortified yourself with a triple row of folios & never suffered her to put her little toeses & foots within the enchanted circle. I admit, (to your hearts content) that the company of a pretty little young wife, even suppose she should not be acquainted with Latin, German & the Devil knows what and should have no relish for raw ducks is a hantle mair sonsy than that of Mooshees or Brahmins. (What the deuce more would you have me to admit Mrs E) and that is the true and veritable reason that she has expelled all your Mooshees &c & will inevitably, you may depend on it, shake Aurungzebe on his imperial throne. I have a violent rheumatism in my face - and therefore am veryprovoking to-day, however dont let Mrs E. excommunicate me directly & perhaps I may not be half so savage in my next, & believe me...I am not only most devotedly yours but also your better halves, though she be nothing in the world but a woman-body."

There was another factor besides the improvement in his health which militated against Leyden's chance of soon visiting "that abominable Love Grove". For almost the past five years, Thomas Raffles and he had taken a lively interest in the affairs of the Eastern Archipelago, with thoughts of the possible extension of British power in that direction. In the autumn of 1808, an opportunity had occurred to enlist Lord Minto's interest in these views, when Raffles, on three months' sick leave at Malacca, realized with dismay the folly of the British plan to abandon that base in favour of Penang, and accordingly drew up an eloquent report on the matter, which caused a reversal of policy, although too late to prevent the destruction of the sixteenth century fort: "a most useless piece of gratuitous mischief" carried out at considerable expense. Leyden's prompt submission of this report to Lord Minto produced such an effect that when writing to Raffles in the autumn of 1809 to tell him with great vexation that Minto was at present in "the unfortunate presidency of Madras" with his hands full, he was able to...
state that Lord Minto, being greatly pleased with the Malacca report, had desired Leyden "to say he should be gratified in receiving immediately from yourself any communications respecting the eastern parts of a similar nature".  

These Raffles willingly supplied, without perhaps realizing how far Leyden and he were preaching to the converted; for Lord Minto had early realized that the policy of non-expansion which he was supposed to implement in the east was quite impracticable in the state of war with France which had existed for the past seven years. At the very start of his term of office, plans for the reduction of the islands of Bourbon, Mauritius and Java had been set aside on the double grounds of the inadequacy of the East India Company's finances and the uncertainty of the home Government's approval; but with the improvement of the financial position and the alarm caused by the French capture of six East-Indiamen in 1809, the situation had altered. Successive expeditions against Bourbon and Mauritius were planned for the summer of 1810; and these, if successful, would leave Java as the sole remaining French base in the eastern hemisphere. So it was to be expected that Lord Minto would look with favour on any expression of intelligent interest in Java. Such an expression came that summer from Thomas Raffles in person; for, having obtained two months' leave from Penang on June 7, he set out without delay for Calcutta in a dangerously small and frail vessel, to make the most of his chance to obtain the governorship of the Moluccas, captured at the end of 1807. In this he failed, the post having been promised to another; but being most kindly received by Lord Minto, Raffles did not hesitate to indicate that "there were other islands worthy of his Lordship's consideration besides the Moluccas: Java, for instance." This remark being received by Minto with an unforgettable look of scrutiny, anticipation and kindness and with the statement, "Yes... Java is an interesting island; I shall be happy to receive any information you can give me concerning it," Raffles felt encouraged to devote all his views, plans and thoughts to fostering such an interest in Java.

1 Leyden to Raffles, Oct. 9, 1809.
2 Then known as the Ile de France. Cf. Leyden's letters.
3 Lady Minto, op. cit. pp. 240-41. Castlereagh, then Secretary for War, had previously forbidden operations eastward of India.
4 These were scheduled to leave Madras respectively about the start of May, and about August. That against Bourbon actually sailed in April, 1810, but that against Mauritius did not leave until September, when it was in danger of being postponed.
5 Like Java, a Dutch colony in possession of the French. Cf. Leyden to Mrs Raffles, Aug. 22, 1810: "And so you had as nearly as possible been lady of Ambon."  
6 Raffles, quoted by Boulger, Raffles, p. 81.
as would lead to its annexation to the British Empire. So Raffles, zealously aided and abetted by Leyden, with whom he was to spend the next three months in Calcutta, proceeded to accumulate with speed a mass of new and significant information about Java, which fortified Lord Minto in his conviction that the conquest of that island must necessarily follow on that of Mauritius. And by mid-July, six weeks before the Mauritius expedition left India, Leyden could report confidently to William Erskine:

"... we are going to have a brush in Java with Daendele as soon as we can receive any intelligence from the French islands, and I expect to be employed in this expedition which you know will exactly suit my roving genius and fondness for adventures."

The actual 'brush', so momentous for John Leyden, was not to take place for over a year; but meanwhile the planning went on apace, and Leyden, with Raffles beside him, a favourite scheme in hand, and an exciting prospect ahead, spent an active and a happy summer.

Being "fond of society, of all and every kind", Leyden burned as much midnight oil as in his Edinburgh days to ensure that his official duties and literary labours did not interfere unduly with his social life, so that he was to be "met at parties of pleasure and in the circles of fashion". Being now a comfortably salaried and domiciled legal official and literary light, he had also taken to holding small and highly successful dinner-parties, which brought "an assemblage of 'the wise men of the East'" to his table once a fortnight. The guests were select, Leyden's spirits were inexhaustible, and symposia of more mind and cordiality, Calcutta had never witnessed; for however much Leyden "liked to lord it over inferior beings" where his society was "not of the best kind", he was unfailingly agreeable and good humoured among his friends and those whom he held on a par with himself, in propensities at least, if not in acquirements.

The summer of 1810 saw an interesting, though temporary, addition to that society in the striking person of the lively and eccentric Thomas Manning, mathematician and orientalist.

1 Raffles, quoted Boulger, op. cit. p. 82. Boulger takes this going to Calcutta to be the turning point of Raffles' career.
2 Boulger, op. cit., p. 89 modified.
3 Leyden to Erskine, July 15, (1810).
4 David L. Richardson The Bengal Annual ... for 1830, p. 14.
5 Wm. Erskine, op. cit.
who having found it impracticable, after almost four years at Canton, to carry out his original plan of entering China to pursue his researches there, had come instead to spend a few months in Calcutta before undertaking the difficult journey which was to make him the first Englishman to enter Lhassa. Although disappointed with his hopes of official assistance in his expedition, Manning could not complain of his social reception in Calcutta, where, attired in the "fancy dress... of a Tatar gentleman", completely belied by his broad English face and full flowing beard, he was feted and lionised; and not the least cordial among his hosts was John Leyden, inviting Manning repeatedly to dinner, urging him to "come and take potluck" on Thursday or Friday evening, or, again, to bring with him an American friend and as many others as possible, since Leyden had "ordered tiffin for a Dozen" without considering who they were to be until his daily labours were ended. Leyden, doubtless, had a fellow-feeling for a man, barely three years his senior, who, apart from his passion for all things Chinese "did everything in his own odd and eccentric way", being seldom serious and arguing generally in a bantering tone in which he humorously maintained the most monstrous paradoxes with highly laughable illustrations. So the friendship of the two soon became intimate enough for the frequent exchange and often cryptic notes, addressed to "Leyden sahib" or Dear Thomas-a-Barba, and bearing such messages as Leyden's invitation to walk a little with him "on the gowany grass by the riverside", whither he was going to dispel a headache, and Manning's sartorial query "Do you go to the Hall in a cloth coat and breeches", with Leyden's facetious reply, "I propose going with my breeches". Leyden was nothing loath to perform sundry literary and social services for Manning, introducing him to the acquaintance of John Harington, dispatching his own Burman at short notice to test a servant of Mannings who claimed proficiency in that language, lending Manning such books for study and diversion as "Colebrooke on the Vedas &c" and "one of the Gilchristiana" as an introduction to Hindustani in default of anything better.

1 H.T. Prinsep, quoted by Clement Markham, Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhassa, p. cviii. (1875 ed.)

2 Leyden to Manning, 1810 MS. 1809. N.L.S has a series of short notes between Manning and Leyden, none dated, but all belonging to the summer of 1810.

3 Sir John Davies, quoted Markham, op.cit.

4 Question and answer are on one very small sheet of paper.

5 Harington had expressed regret at not having met Manning.

6 Essay on the Vedas, 1805.
Offering also to "pioneer," Manning a little way in Hindustani if he should find any difficulty, Leyden suggested that Manning might in turn give him some instruction in Chinese to avoid the slough of despond into which Marshman had fallen; but this exchange of instruction must have been cut short by Manning's departure for Calcutta, and from John Leyden's life, when he set out in the autumn of 1810 for the fastnesses of Tibet, from which he was not to return, successful but dissatisfied, until the spring of 1812.

More reliable as a source of linguistic instruction, if perhaps less brilliant than Manning was Leyden's Malay munshi, Ibrahim, the son of Candu— the poor merchant of Kedah, who being astounded by the vastness and magnificence of Calcutta, set down his impressions of Bengal for the edification of his less learned fellow-Malays in a narrative concerned particularly with the Ninth Public Disputations of Fort William College, held before Lord Minto at Government House on September 15, 1810. At these, Ibrahim himself had been noted as the most singular figure in the motley audience by the keen and friendly eyes of Mrs. Maria Graham, who, having renewed her former acquaintance with Lord Minto on being stranded in Calcutta by the coast monsoon, found herself not only staying at Government House but attending the Disputations as the Governor-General's guest. Knowing nothing of the languages used, she had amused herself by scrutinising the audience, noting among them not only Ibrahim but also his Tuan Leyden, the friend of her Madras acquaintance, Colin Mackenzie, and one of the "brightest ornaments of oriental learning, whom she had already encountered at Government House, and who, being doubtless anxious to please a lady at once amiable, intelligent and attractive, was to lend her such works as a little novel called Haw-Kiou Choan, or the pleasing history published in English in 1761", which gave a very curious picture vouched for by Leyden as genuine, of the private life of the Chinese. Leyden provided Mrs. Graham also, within a few days of its composition with "a curious paper" comprising his own translation of Ibrahim's entertaining narrative, which, but for its author's ignorance of European literature, would have seemed almost a caricature of travellers' descriptions of new scenes.

1 Leyden noted that Hindustani had little grammar but much syntax, and Bengali the reverse.
2 It was then that Lord Minto commended Leyden's translation of Ibn al Wardi's Geography. Cf. p. sup.
3 Wife of Capt. Thomas Graham, R.N. She had come from Madras to Calcutta on a business visit which proved fruitless.
4 Mrs Graham, op. cit., pp. 162-63.
and manners. As it was, the account contained satire the more severe for being unintentional, relating as it did how its author, under the tutelage of his good-natured "Tuan Doctor Layten", ventured into "the Rajah's palace" to attend the Disputations in the throne-room on the second floor, resplendent with its canopy of golden-fringed blood-red hangings supported by four pillars of gold above the Governor-General's golden chair:

"When I entered the palace and my Tuan said, 'Ibrahim follow me, don't be afraid. - this is the house of the Rajah, and he is kind to all people, particularly to Malays, my heart was rejoiced: and...I plucked up my courage and followed my Tuan, even mixing with other Tuans, of whom there were many on the stairs at the same time, all having large black fans in their hands, and kindness in their looks, for whenever I raised my eyes to any of them they smiled...I then entered the great hall where all the Tuans were assembled, and everyone looked at me; but I... knowing the kindness of my Tuan, and that he would laugh at me if I remained behind a pillar so that no one could see me, walked about and saw everything, mixing with the other Tuans: no one spoke to me, but all made room for me when I passed."

Passing carefully over the great polished dark wood floor, and ignoring the rows of chairs placed in front of the dais, Ibrahim seated himself with the other Tuans on one of the white cushioned couches between the pillars; and assuming that the ladies seated on the left with Lord Minto's invited guests were his wives and family, he marvelled at their beauty, admiring especially one lady resembling his own wife Fatima, but finding them all happy-looking, and, although not bejewelled, yet glistening "like fish fresh caught" -

These pretty fish so blithe and brave
To see them frisking on the wave!
Were I an angler in the sea,
These fishes were the fish for me!!

For the rest, Malay was not among the languages used by the five successive pairs of disputants; and after the prize-giving and Lord Minto's speech, "...the Rajah got up, because no one sat down any longer, except the ladies, and I followed my Tuan out of the hall; but I did not hear cannon, nor music, nor acclamations, for the English delight in silence." But for all the absence of noise, it took Ibrahim three days to collect his wits, before committing to paper this solemn account of "the manners and customs of the

1 Relating how he had lost his way in the bazaar, Ibrahim exclaimed: "how rejoiced was I to reach the house of Tuan Doctor Layten". (Mrs Graham, op.cit., p.197.)

2 i.e. cocked hats.
great Rajah of the English."

Such! proud Bengala's King and Court,
Where chiefs and champions brave resort
With ladies happy, gay, and free,
As fishes in Bengala's sea!

Yet another picturesque figure came from the east into
to Leyden's ken that summer in the person of Edward Robarts, an
English seaman, who, having sailed in the Euphrates from Black-
:wall on a whaling expedition in November, 1797, and left his
ship off the Marquesas Islands a year later to avoid becoming
involved in a mutiny, had lived thereafter a highly interesting
and adventurous life among the hospitable, though pagan and
warlike people of the islands, whose language and customs he
largely adopted. Becoming a powerful man among them by his
sagacity and diplomacy, and marrying in 1802, the younger
sister of the amiable Chief Cato Neway of Tio foie, Robarts
had remained there happily until February 1806, when leaving
reluctantly in order to avoid an imminent civil war, he sailed
with his wife and family, via Tahiti, New Zealand and Malacca
to Penang, being kindly received there early in 1808, and given
employment under Quinton Thompson, with special orders to look
after Mrs. Thompson, that "mild good creature", very young and
handsome, who was Raffles's favourite sister, Mary Ann. Robarts
had admired not only Mary Ann but also her brother and his
vivacious wife, who sang "The Boyne Water...in high stile" at
the first dinner party entrusted to Robarts' preparation; and
all had gone on pleasantly at Penang until Thompson's premature
death in the summer of 1809, left Mary Ann a widow with "3 Love-
:ly Babies," and caused Robarts, in one of his fits of depress-
:ion, to resign his post and go to live at Raffles's bungalow
on the slopes of Mount Olivia. At length, yielding to his
wife's continual pressure, he had regretfully embarked with his
family for Calcutta at the start of 1810, landing on March 17,
and thereafter remaining unemployed for almost ten months.
While in this plight, having chanced one wet day to see
Thomas Raffles in a palankeen in Tank Square, Robarts soon
traced him to his abode with John Leyden, and calling on him
forthwith, was greeted with enthusiasm and conducted to "the
room where the Immortal Dr Leyden was sitting" and introduced
to him. On learning that Robarts, in his urgency to "raise

1 Mrs. Graham, op. cit., pp. 138-39 and 197-203. Ibrahim's An
Account of Bengal Forms Appendix III (pp. 197-203); and a
coloured portrait of him forms the frontispiece.
3-13 & 115-23. 3 Edward Robarts, Journal, (MS. 17.1.18.)
the wind for an honest morsel", and so keep his "unfortunate Bark" from foundering on the rocks of Adversity, was looking for work and writing an account of his travels since leaving London, Leyden requested a sight of the MS. that he might better judge of Robarts's abilities; and on Robarts's next visit made in company with his wife, Leyden, who had some experience of South Sea Island ladies, not only restored the tearful Mrs Robarts by helping her to a glass of wine, but, on Raffles's declaring that Leyden would do him a personal favour by procuring some employment for the eminently trustworthy Robarts promised to see what he could do, desiring Robarts meanwhile to come to his house daily to write his narrative in a room set aside for him. So Robarts's work proceeded "under the Patronage of that morning star of Literature, the Immortal Dr J. Leyden" who, besides giving Robarts an allowance of Forty rupees a month and recommending him, both personally and by letter, to James Hare and Charles Ricketts, gave him a letter of introduction to Major Imlach, which helped him to secure work in the Lower Orphan School at Howrah: an opportune appointment, since it came when Leyden was about to leave Calcutta for Java. And at his embarkation Leyden was to be seen off at his own request, by the faithful Roberts, who would fain have accompanied him, and who at parting stood "rivetted to the spot" at the water's edge, unable to reply to Leyden's farewell and gazing after him as long as he could.

During his stay in Calcutta, Raffles, being engaged "on publick duty" had spent most of his time at Government House; but Leyden, reckoning himself in charge of his guest, replied to Olivia Raffles's "pretty little chits" with lively assurance that "the Gudeman as we Scotch folks have it" had received the most cordial attention from Lord Minto, and was "looking quite famously", since Leyden, as his host, would not suffer nor permit him to be unwell.

"...the ladies one and all have done nothing but take him for a bachelor since his star first rose in our quarter of the world. In short he is at least a foot higher than used to be in consequence of being puffed up by their flattery & it would not be possible for a homely fellow like me to endure it, if I had not the conscious satisfaction of being able to rival him in a pair of jaws & grinders that would do credit to an Ourang utang in spite of his teeth I can match him there...As Lord Minto has chosen to detain him till his own time comes, you must not be impatient as he will certainly not budge in my opinion for these six weeks but if nothing else will

1 Leyden had interpreted for Lord Minto and a Maori princess the previous summer (Robt Leyden to Jas Morton, Feb. 12, 1816.)
2 Robarts, Journal.
3 Leyden to Mrs Raffles, Aug. 22, 1810.
satisfy you send me notice by a Courier Dove or something of that sort & depend on it I will be with you in the twinkling of a handsaw to drink five and forty cups of tea & eat a waggon load of pine apples before you can say Jack Robinson, but you must not be frightened as I am not the same person I was but have been changed like the Man in the Arabian Tales. Dont send Raffles any more letters do you see for they make him quite allichol & like to cry, and then he goes dancing & fidgeting about, the dear fellow! (you will say) to my utter discomfiture and in especial to that of my inhorn & standishes. Moreover you must not think to escape with impunity for doing such an outlandish thing as send verses to your husband. I protest all Calcutta would be highly scandalized at such an incident, so take care next time to send the verses to me and dont suppose that I insist on their being quite so fine."

Raffles being "grievously alarmed" about his wife's health, Leyden enjoined Olivia, towards the end of August, to "behave pretty and get better quickly", since, Bourbon having fallen on July 8, it was possible that her husband might be with her in some five weeks. It was late in October however, before Raffles, after enjoying the most complete success in Calcutta, left for the east as "Agent to the Governor-General with the Malay States", to take up his headquarters, appropriately enough, at Malacca, to which Olivia and his "pretty numerous family" accompanied him, and there to carry out the fullest possible staff-work for the projected invasion of Java.

By the time of Raffles's departure, it seemed less likely than it had been three months before that John Leyden might accompany that expedition, as he had had "some hopes and a great deal of desire". For on October 5, 1810, he was removed from his post of Commissioner of the Court of Requests to that of Assay Master of the Calcutta Mint, so that he found himself "more tied by the leg than ever", and likely to remain out of harm's way in Calcutta, without further change of employment, for the rest of his time in India.

Being wont to "take very pleasantly whatsoever comes to pass", he valued this prospect chiefly as affording him

1 Leyden to Mrs. Raffles, Aug. 22, 1810.
2 He was appointed on Oct. 19, 1810.
3 Lord Minto to his wife, May 31, 1811. Raffles reached Malacca on Dec. 4.
4 Leyden to Mrs Raffles, Oct. 22, 1810. (MS.971).
5 Bengal Pub.Con. No. 9 of Oct. 5,1810. Minute & resolution. He succeeded George Davidson on his promotion to be Mint Master.
6 Leyden to his father, Jan 2, 1811.
more time to pursue his studies in resolute endeavour to "rival that famous Solomon whom we have heard so much of." Writing to Mrs Raffles, indeed, before her husband's departure, amid a perfect combustion of persons calling on Raffles, and a jingling of cutlery being laid for tiffin which precluded the making of very lucid observations, Leyden might express mock dismay at some aspects of his new post and exclaiming:

"...I have been appointed Assay Master instead of a Judge and thus have descended from trying & holding the scales of justice to trying the baser but much refractory metals of gold & silver & brass & holding the scales of the balance of Mammon. Are you not sorry to think of my blearying my eyes at all times so piercing and brilliant by poring over Vulcanian furnaces & forges, burning my hand black with Nitric acid & blanching them again with Sulphuric Acid and so on with alkali, Acid, phosphorus & charcoal! Well may I exclaim with Burns

A gauging the old wives barrels
Ohon! the day.
The nasty soot will daub my laurels
Ah 'Livie what'll you say.

But in reality, despite a reduction in the salary of his office from 2,500 to 2,150 Sicca Rupees a month Leyden acknowledged gratefully that it was much better and less laborious appointment than any he had yet held, so that his obligations to Lord Minto would apparently never have an end. From the remote possibility that as the appointment had to be confirmed in Britain, someone else might be given the post there before the news of the allocation to him arrived, Leyden cautiously declined to regard the matter as finally settled for another six months. From the start, however, he took seriously his responsibility for testing the quality of all the gold and silver which entered and left the busy and incommodiously constructed mint; and he lost no time in studying an

1 Leyden to his father, Jan 2.1811.
2 https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hmp.32044123000
3 Leyden to his father, Jan 2.1811.
account of the place drawn up in May, 1810, apparently by his own predecessor, who whose assays had shown evidence of repeated but almost indetectable fraud by the melters and who did not hesitate to declare that the Mint's business had long been conducted with less success and economy than might have been expected. Employing almost 1,000 men, of whom only three were Europeans, the Mint, with an output of 100,000 pieces a day since the start of the year, was under the general control of the Mint Committee, comprising a number of the Board of Revenue, the Accountant General, the Civil Auditor, and the Assay Master, who decided questions of finance and coinage regulations, the internal working being carried on by the Mint Master, whose relations with the Committee were apt to display a certain lack of cordiality. In practice the Assay Master was the only Committee member with much leisure to devote to the details of the Mint's working, and Leyden attended to them so vigorously that on his own showing, his fellow Committee-members, having soon found him to be "a very devil incarnate, and the greatest mischief-maker in the land" would be heartily glad to see the back-seams of his hose.

This new responsibility, although itself sufficiently fraught with opportunity for combat of a kind, seemed likely, by putting an end to all Leyden's fights and battles and fine Sinbad-like voyages and seafaring adventures, to ensure that, unless something very curious occurred he would not soon be seen again "in the eastern world". Nevertheless, Leyden had provisionally arranged with Raffles that the instant the latter

1 A Copy of this Account is in MS. 26,586.
2 The Mint Master Assay Master and Assistant.
3 Account which suggested that to add the Mint Master to the Committee might help to promote unanimity.
4 Leyden to Mrs Raffles, Oct. 22, 1810.
5 Leyden to Raffles
became Governor of Java, Leyden should be his Secretary 1 so that the time might be approaching when Leyden, declaring "whenever I proceed, I am determined to succeed" would proceed (according to his alleged plan) "to take possession of Borneo" 2. For, being convinced that Raffles if he succeeded "in his present objects" would have "a much finer game to play" than hitherto, and one to which Amboyna was not at all comparable, Leyden warned Olivia on the eve of Raffles's departure from Calcutta that she would "have a fine time of it" listening "either to speculation or speculation" and conjured her earnestly "to throw no obstacles in Raffles's way as... every moment of the next six or ten months must be precious to him; so precious indeed that Leyden, although eager for Raffles to finish his work on Malay Laws as fast as possible for the weight this would give him "in the settling of Java" almost feared to press the point Raffles's public reports being "so very necessary in the first instance". 2 Being warned by Leyden to be "most particular" in his military queries against the time of the expedition's arrival and especially to be able to tell the position of the enemy's disposable force, Raffles furnished these reports most efficiently from his headquarters at Malacca which he reached on December 4, 1810, providing an invaluable mass of information tending to show that Java might be a "stiffish fence" 3, and by the New Year when word was expected daily in Calcutta of the fall of Mauritius, the attack on Java was planned for April.

Leyden himself, however, had no prospect of anything approaching to soldiering when he replied on January 2 to a

1 G. Raffles to Erskine, Sept. 10, 1815.
2 Leyden to Mrs Raffles, Oct. 22, 1810.
3 Taylor, quoted Carew, op. cit., p. 103.
recently received letter from home which bore the good news that his parents were in a tolerably good state of health considering their "former ailings". Public news being ostensibly "very few", Leyden dealt mainly with his own and family affairs, confining himself, with regard to the Java invasion plans, to the news that the Dutch, "frightened out of their senses", had destroyed Batavia's fortifications, and to the comment that as the British in India had an army of 200,000 men, any opposing French force would be "sold to the Devil as we say of people who wilfully knock their head against a wall; the British being ready to "fight two hundred thousand cart-load of Devils". For the rest, Leyden was glad to have heard by letter from James Morton, who was "doing very well" and would doubtless "distinguish himself properly and be a credit to all his relations", and from his own sister Margaret, "the little gypsy" about whom he was obliged to inquire:

"Pray is she reckoned handsome at all; I have quite forgot what sort of a nose and chin she has but I daresay it is very like my grandmothers." Some "shawls and other furniture" previously despatched for his mother and sister having been lost at sea with Leyden's "very great favourite", Colonel Richardson, Leyden was obliged to point out that his regard for his mother was not to be estimated by "any shawls or that sort of trumpery", as his "worthy quondam brother" Robert had been hinting; and as proof of his financial well-being in his new post of Assay Master, he enclosed a bill for one hundred pounds, to give his father the opportunity of making "a little experiment", like his own at the Mint, in testing the quality of gold and silver. Of his studies he had to report, not without pride, that he was both translating the Hindu scriptures, "which are older than the books of Moses by their accounts", and making versions of the Gospels in seven languages; and of his health he gave a good account: 1

"I am getting very stout and have been turning a great deal younner lately, and I must admit there was some need for it, for my first four years in India, I am sure might have made fourteen good years any where else. At this rate of counting you see, I shall tread a little hard upon your heels, if you don't look sharper. I can tell you I am a fine old grey headed carle already and I am sure if you were to see me, I should run a much greater chance of passing for your younger brother than for your son. I have also been doing my best to get fat and jolly but that I fear I shall never succeed in for I am not sufficiently of the ox-breed to be fattened easily. I have made a good experiment of the fact by living upon oysters and porter for some time and must fairly conclude that a man is not a being which can be fattened like an ox."

Public affairs, however, were actually concerning Leyden very much at this time, for, being something of a statesman as well as a poet and polyglot, he was convinced that on the conquest of Java "the Malays must neither be independent nor yet very dependent; but must unite in "a general Malay league", with a Parliament "like the Amphictyonic Council of the Greeks" under British protection; and, having a shrewd sense of the value of propaganda he urged Raffles accordingly to represent the coming of the British under Lord Minto as the arrival of "the good Mahat Raja... to reign in Malacca... and drive out the cruel Dutch and treacherous French, and take away all embargoes and restrictions on trade... and bring peace and happiness...".

The situation in the cast promised well for his beloved Lord Minto and his good friend Raffles; and his own position, whether in Calcutta, or perhaps farther east, seemed assured. So, having "tried a great variety of situations" and overcome many difficulties in his time, John Leyden felt justified in beginning 1811 with the confidence that what was so often calumniated as a wicked world was in reality "a very funny good natured diverting world for a good man with a little mettle", who would infallibly do "very well in life."

1 Leyden to his father, Jan. 2, 1811. 2 Boulger, op. cit., p. 37. 3 Boulger, op. cit., p. 93, wrongly prints 'get very dependent', which Keith, op. cit., p. 309, emends to 'get very independent'. 4 Leyden to Raffles, [Feb., 1811].
Leyden's satisfaction with life and himself was no doubt still further increased when, after many volunteers had been refused, he was instructed, to his great gratification, to accompany Lord Minto on his expedition to Java, in order to "assist in settling the country when conquered", and especially, being "a perfect Malay", to act as Malay interpreter. Although preparations for the expedition had been proceeding at full speed since news of the fall of Mauritius (captured on December 2, 1810, with small British loss) had reached Lord Minto on January 25, 1811, Minto's decision to go to Java in person, not to command the army, but to see all the political work done to his mind, was kept secret as long as possible, so as to defeat the idea that he should remain in Calcutta and obey his Council's orders, instead of issuing his own. Its announcement accordingly took everyone at Calcutta so completely aback that comparatively few volunteered for service until all the arrangements were settled, and even then many remained "thunderstruck", declining to believe that the Governor-General would do anything so indecorous as go to take "a little paltry place" like Java, and so preferring variously to assign as the real motive of Minto's preparations a desire to go to Britain, to Mauritius and then to the eastern islands, or to Madras to set right some

1 Leyden to his father, March 20, 1811. Taylor described Leyden as "Interpreter and general adviser" in the expedition.
2 Lord Minto to his wife. Feb. 25, 1811.
3 Leyden told his father, March 20, 1811, that it had been taken after a slight skirmish, costing some 200 British casualties.
4 Lord Minto to his wife [? Jan.] 1811.
5 Thomas Taylor believed
6 Leyden to Raffles, [? Feb., 1811].
such "great fault" as another insurrection. Leyden, having been refused leave to go on ahead and join Raffles in Malacca because Lord Minto preferred to have him at his elbow as "a very useful channel of communication" in Malay, modestly believed this selection of himself to be a "very ominous circumstance" which had doubtless deterred "a great many smart bucks from coming forward" to offer their services, but he did not allow this apparent indication of his unpopularity to detract from his frank delight in the prospect of seeing a very fine and curious country little known to the English. Nor did Lord Minto, who had long been feeling the strain of heavy mental work and responsibility without physical exercise, conceal that, although he went from duty and not from choice, he would enjoy this opportunity to "friskify" away from the laborious monotony of his life at Calcutta.

Intending, as he did, not to remain indefinitely in Java, but to return to Bengal with Lord Minto in the autumn, Leyden did not resign the lucrative post of Assay Master, but left his assistant, the scholarly Horace Wilson, to act as his locum tenens; and altogether, knowing that he was to be in company with Lord Minto and very unlikely to be more exposed to danger than his Lordship, he felt justified in assuring his parents that they need not be in the least alarmed for him, since he would actually be in no danger whatever, ready though he was to encounter any kind of peril in "the clear and

1 Lord Minto to his wife, Feb. 25, 1811. (Lady Minto op.cit. pp. 249-52)
3 Leyden to Raffles, [Feb. 1811].
4 Contrast his hope of being Raffles's private secretary in Java.
5 Wilson had already acted temporarily as Assay Master before Leyden's appointment and he acted as Assistant to the Mint Master whenever necessary.
obvious path of duty" and especially "on Lord Minto's account".\textsuperscript{1} Nevertheless, despite his assurances that the expedition would be no more dangerous for him "than a common journey",\textsuperscript{1} and despite that habitual carelessness which made Colin Mackenzie think him likely to have died intestate,\textsuperscript{2} Leyden took the precaution of making his last will and testament on March 6, 1811, appointing as his executors his friend and physician, James Hare, and two former colleagues in the Court of Requests, John Angus and Anthony Maetier.\textsuperscript{3} After due payment of his debts (which in the sequel accounted for much of his estate),\textsuperscript{4} Leyden's property, apart from his MSS., was to go to his father, and, failing him, to his three brothers and his surviving sister,\textsuperscript{5} all his oriental MSS. and as many of his books as his executors thought fit being reserved for offer "at a fair and reasonable price" to Heber, Malcolm and Erskine in turn, and then, if unwanted by them, for competitive sale, while his own personal MSS. fell to Heber and Erskine for publication at their discretion.\textsuperscript{6}

Three days after drawing up this brief and business-like document, with its characteristic emphasis on the disposal of his literary effects, Leyden left Calcutta with Lord Minto's party for Madras, where an army of "about ten thousand men,

\textsuperscript{1} Leyden to his father, March 20, 1811; written on board the Phoenix "in the latitude of Masulipatam".
\textsuperscript{2} Mackenzie to Erskine, Oct. 16, 1811.
\textsuperscript{3} Angus was Clerk to the Court of Commissioners in Bengal, and Maetier Clerk of the Papers, and Clerk of the Depositions to the Supreme Court.
\textsuperscript{4} Leyden's estate amounted to c. 45,000 Sicca Rupees; but by Jan. 24, 1816, the balance in the executors' hands for remittance to the legatees was 845 Sicca Rupees.
\textsuperscript{5} Thomas, Robert, Andrew and Margaret Leyden.
\textsuperscript{6} MS. 971 f. 77. The originals of Leyden's own MSS. went to Heber, if he survived Leyden (which he did by 21 years), or otherwise to Erskine (the most faithful of Leyden's literary executors).
black and white", most of them lately returned from the
capture of Mauritius, was gathered ready to sail immediately
on Lord Minto's arrival, against "the Dutch and French in the
islands of Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes and the other Malay
countries under the celebrated Batavia", 1 some seven thousand
others having already set out from Bengal, to be overtaken at
Malacca, according to plan, by the rest of the expedition. 2
So when John Leyden, having called to bid good-bye to James
Hare on route, was received into the vessel which awaited him
at Banks'shall Ghaut 3 on March 9, he was beginning the first
stage of a three part journey which was to occupy the next
five months; and on the following Wednesday as his ship, the
Phoenix, lay "just at the outmost buoy of Sagar, he took
advantage of probably the last visit of the pilot's boat to
report to Hare that all on board were very jovial and he
himself not in the least sick, but "very comfortable from
the sea air", 4 despite some initial friction with one or two
of his fellow-passengers:

"I went on board the Mornington once on Monday to see
Lord Minto whom I found quite in spirits & thinking we
set out with very favourable omens. We expect a rapid
passage to Madras & I hope it will be a pleasant one.
We are eight of us here passengers & my coming latest
had like to have given me the worst of the accommodations
but I have had it pretty well arranged nevertheless. The

1 Leyden to his father, March 20, 1811.
2 Bengal, Bombay and Madras all contributed contingents
to this powerful combined military and naval expedition.
3 Edward Roberts' Journal. Roberts accompanied Leyden
to the quay.
4 Leyden to Hare, (March 1811). (MS. 971).
best were perhaps a little officiously appropriated by Hope & Stewart\(^1\) presuming I fancy on their immediate relation to the Governor. I however made very light of the whole, & the only apparent sufferer is Stewart who seems to bear the loss of the ascendancy which he wanted to establish with rather a bad grace. He wished to be uncommonly cool - met with his match - faced round a little to the familiar found me as cool as ever -\(^2\)

The voyage to Madras, however, was to prove neither so rapid nor perhaps so pleasant as Leyden had hoped; for, instead of ending on the expected date of March 24, it took exactly thirty very tedious days, of which sixteen were spent in "resting.... for farther convenience";\(^3\) a delay attributed by the lively Thomas Taylor to the fact that the captain of the Mornington "preferred East India sherry in his interior to wind in his sails".\(^4\) Leyden, for his part, being obliged to drink the "Phoenix's "most abominable" water comprising apparently "the very quintessence of all the corpses in the Ganges",\(^3\) felt very squeamish all the way, and so "did little but read Dutch and Malay";\(^3\) a mild employment which did not preclude his waging "a perpetual warfare" with Stewart.\(^5\) Even when visiting the Mornington along with Hope for an afternoon and evening early in the voyage, Stewart and Leyden seemed to have "come on board by agreement to hold a long and noisy disputation on the merits of Walter Scott",\(^6\) spending almost the whole time in a vociferous argument on Scott's mode of delineating character, in which Stewart's stock phrase of "blocking out a character" was so loudly and often dinned into the listeners' ears that

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1 Leyden to Hare, (March, 1811). (MS. 971).
2 Leyden to James Hare, Apr. 23, 1811. (MS. 971).
3 Taylor, quoted by Carew, op. cit., p. 305.
4 Taylor to his wife, March 30, 1811.
5 Taylor to his wife, (March) 16, 1811. (penes Carew)
even the Borderer Lord Minto, who had remained prudently in
his cabin, remarked with relief on the disputants' departure,
'What a calm!' In general, however, Lord Minto and Leyden,
having a strong mutual respect, "got on pretty well"; and
Leyden, as "a sort of clansman of the Elliot family" who had
"helped Walter Scott to write the Minstrelsy", kept Minto
happy by "constant recitals" therefrom, on which Taylor
commented with Eton-and-Cambridge disdain:

"Stewart being a Scot has to feign interest, but I suspect
he prefers the Captain's sherry; I being a mere Sassenach
have to grin and bear it (the Minstrelsy not the sherry)".2

It was Stewart, too, who in conjunction with the cocksure
John Elliot3 teased Leyden so exceedingly as to drive him into
his only adventure of the voyage, when, on March 16, the Phoenix
being alongside the Mornington, with Elliot and a friend on
board the former ship as guests from the latter, Leyden, having
been dared to the bold attempt for a wager by Stewart, was
observed after dinner to "ascend amid the plaudits of all on
deck to the main royal yard and touch the truck";4 thereby
taking in his tormentors "to the tune of 60 gold Mohurs", although
being himself "chiefly taken in after all" by having both hands
most barbarously excoriated in an effort to slide down by a
coir rope5; but whether this rash descent was prompted by a
desire to frustrate a "privately formed" plan to have Leyden
bound to the mast until he should purchase his release by
paying a fine, and whether Leyden heaped coals of fire on
Stewart's head by immediately tearing up the written order

1 Taylor to his wife, March 20, 1811. cf. p. inf.
2 Taylor, quoted by Carew, op.cit., p. 305.
3 The most forward young coxcomb of William Hickey's
acquaintance.
4 Thomas Taylor to his wife, (March) 26, 1811.
5 Leyden to James Hare, Apr. 23, 1811, assuring Hare that
Leyden's health was "as sound as a roach".
for his winnings,\footnote{\text{1}} does not appear from his own account.

To a much less active moment of the same voyage, we owe one of the few portraits of John Leyden: for it was then, when feeling both drowsy and unwell, that he was sketched by that excellent draughtsman\footnote{\text{2}} Lieutenant James George,\footnote{\text{3}} whose pen-and-ink portrait (given by Leyden to Colin Mackenzie and passed on through Hare and Alexander Peterkin to Leyden's father)\footnote{\text{4}} may well have made its subject look too old,\footnote{\text{5}} since it surely did not err on the side of flattery.\footnote{\text{6}}

At Madras, the other portion of the expedition being far from ready, there was a further unexpected delay of fifteen days, during which Leyden stayed with Colin Mackenzie,\footnote{\text{7}} now Surveyor-General of Madras and about to join the Java force as its chief engineer officer. The city itself Leyden found "terribly changed, I think for the worse - People are damned surly and nobody ventures to speak their sentiments",\footnote{\text{8}} doubtless as the aftermath of the prolonged and bitter dissensions occasioned by the mutiny of 1809; but there was general optimism about the prospects of the forthcoming campaign, despite reports

\footnote{\text{1}} Norton, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. lxviii-ix. Thomas Brown advised Norton (Feb. 15, 1816) not to overstress the "rather stiffish" morality of such a refusal to take money gained in a wager. Seshadri, \textit{op.cit.}, p.43, sees in this incident both Leyden's "primitive passion for rash and bold adventure" and "the playful tastes of the Anglo-Indian society of the time".

\footnote{\text{2}} Lord Minto to his wife, Feb. 25, 1811.

\footnote{\text{3}} Mackenzie's phrase "taken by Captain George" was long misconstrued, and the portrait attributed to George Elliot; Fitzwilliam Elliot in \textit{The Border Mag.} for Aug. & Sept. 1921. \textit{(Vol. XXVI)}.

\footnote{\text{4}} Hare to Peterkin, July 23, 1811.

\footnote{\text{5}} Mackenzie to Hare, n.d. (quoted by Hare to Peterkin, \textit{loc.cit.})

\footnote{\text{6}} James Morton told James Wilson, Oct. 1, 1841, that this, the only portrait of Leyden which Morton had ever seen, might be an accurate likeness of him when drowsy, but was by no means satisfactory.

\footnote{\text{7}} Mackenzie to Erskine, Oct. 16, 1811.

\footnote{\text{8}} Leyden to James Hare, Apr. 23, 1811; assuring Hare that Leyden's health was "as sound as a roach".
Reputed portrait of John Leyden, attributed to Sir David Wilkie.

Pencil sketch of Leyden, taken on board H.M.S. Phoenix by Lt James George.
that Daendels was in command of some 30,000 men, almost half of them well armed and disciplined. For Leyden, too, whose interests were after all more academic than military, there were the pleasures of discussing his literary plans with Mackenzie and of meeting with “an excellent Orientalist” in the person of the Rev. Henry Liusley; “a disciple of White of Oxford”, an Arabic and Persian scholar, lately arrived from England, whose desire to become a member of the Asiatic Society Leyden furthered by asking James Hare to have him proposed and elected without delay; and, perhaps looking ahead to a certain diplomatic and commercial plan of Raffles’s, he requested the despatch from Calcutta by the earliest conveyance of a Japanese grammar and dictionary and the second volume of an Ecclesiastical History of Japan, obtainable respectively from the College Library and from Joshua Marshman, which he would now be able to verify “by means of some Japanese that I wot of”.

The next stage of Leyden’s voyage to Java was to be performed in company with Lord Minto, in the frigate Kadastre, the fastest vessel in the expedition, in which Leyden embarked at Madras at 7 a.m. on Wednesday, April 24; and it was to be free from the provocative presence of Stewart and John Elliot, those teasing gentlemen having returned to Bengal with Elliot’s youngest brother, William, who, travelling with his father in the

1 Leyden to James Hare, Apr. 23, 1811, assuring Hare that Leyden’s health was “as sound as a rock”.  
2 Leyden to Hare, Apr. 23, 1811. For Leyden’s general helpfulness, cf. to Hare (? Mar., 1811): “Tell Macdonald I have spoken to Lord Minto and hope he will succeed.”  
3 C. E. Wurtzburg, Raffles of the Eastern Isles, pp. 281-82, states that Raffles planned to send Leyden with two ships to Nagasaki, to see if the Dutch trade with Japan might be transferred to Britain; a plan carried out under different leadership, and without much success, in 1813.
Mornington, had suffered so much from mercurial treatment during the passage that he had been pronounced at Madras, too truly, to be in the last hopeless stages of decline. 1 Thomas Taylor had thus no need to put into effect his resolution of ensuring that, if Leyden and Stewart sailed together in the Modesta, they should abandon the incessant arguing which had so much annoyed Lord Hinto and everyone else. 2 Even so, however, Leyden found a new opportunity to indulge that propensity for discursive conversation, diverging constantly to "some collateral topic" and thence wandering still farther from the point, which defeated all Lord Hinto’s restraining efforts short of "a more peremptory call than he liked to use" 3; for the otherwise harmonious voyage was disturbed by incessant disputations on "oriental languages, of which no one except themselves knows anything and cares less" 4 between Leyden and Archibald Seton, the "very tolerably enlightened" 5 Governor-Designate of Penang, "an excellent character" 4 and almost the most benevolent man Leyden had ever met. 5 A wet day on board the Modesta accordingly banished all comfort by confining one to the cabin, where Leyden kept up this tiresome and ceaseless "clack" with Seton, which drove even Lord Hinto to remark, when Seton left the ship

1 Leyden to Hare, loc. cit. William Elliot died in Bengal while his father, who was "overwhelmed" by his illness, was in Java.
2 Taylor to his wife, March 20, 1811.
3 Lord Hinto to his wife, May 1811. (Lady Hinto, op. cit., p. 254).
4 Taylor, quoted by Carew, op. cit., p. 305.
5 Leyden to Hare, May 11, 1811. Leyden described Seton (formerly Resident at Delhi) to Raffles, (May 9) 1811, as "a man of the right sort"; and Lord Hinto (to Raffles, Mar., 1811) called him "an admirable man".
at Penang, "Thank God for a calm before the storm", and which made the exasperated Taylor declare:

"L. is so loud and shrill that he compels you to hear him and prevents you pursuing any occupation of your own. Mr. S. draws him on and should the mill stop for a minute sets it going again. They both certainly know a great deal and much information must be acquired by listeners but one hour per diem would do. The whole day is too much. Should this cease the comparison between Dutch and German words takes place, more tiresome than the other. I don't think L.'s knowledge so superficial as some people say and the range of it is really astonishing considering the life he has led. Mr. S. is certainly a very gentlemanly scholar in modern languages and quotes French, German and English with great fluency. Don't tell Stewart of what I say of Leyden for he will attribute the opinion I have formed to my own information being so circumscribed and this opinion of your poor husband would mortify you."  

Leyden's shrill, piercing and grating voice was indeed such a feature of his conversation that Lord Minto found a frigate not nearly large enough "to place the ear at the proper point of hearing"; and his listeners accordingly suffered a continual strain, especially as Leyden had need of all his stores of learning to supply his tongue, "which would dissipate a common stock in a week", so that Minto, convinced that so great a reader was never so great a talker before, declared facetiously to the ladies of his family:

"You may be conceited about yourselves, my beautiful wife and daughters, but with all my partiality I must give it against you. You would appear absolutely silent in his company, as a ship under weigh seems at anchor when... passed by a swifter sailer.... If he had been at Babel, he would infallibly have learned all the languages there,

1 Taylor, quoted by Carew, op. cit., p. 305.
2 Taylor to his wife, Apr. 29, 1811.
3 Lord Minto to his wife, May 1811. (Lady Minto op. cit., p. 253-55).
Ninto, however, having never found in Leyden "any trace
either of wrong head or of an impracticable or unpleasant
temper", had no greater fault to find with him than his
possession of the one "little blemish" of a disposition to
egotism: "not selfishness - but a propensity to bring the
conversation from whatever quarter it starts round to himself;
and to exalt his own actions, sufferings, or adventures in a
manner a little approaching the marvellous." And this foible
was much more than offset by the stupendous learning and high
character of this "very universal scholar", acquired by his
combination of talent, labour, and extraordinary memory:

"His knowledge, extensive and minute as it is, is always
in his pocket, at his fingers' ends, and on the tip of his
tongue. He has made it completely his own, and it is all
ready money.... His pen is sober, steady, concise, lucid,
and well fed with useful as well as curious matter. His
reasoning is just, his judgment extremely sound, and
his principles always admirable." ¹

The passage from Madras to Penang, which Leyden had
expected to occupy some twenty days, ² took only sixteen, no
land being sighted but the Nicobars, in passing; and Leyden,
to his apparent relief, did not suffer at all, although,
adopting a medical plan "slightly alternative" to that
prescribed by James Hare, he began to take "Gantian for the
first time". ³ Nobody connected with the expedition being
at Penang, which was reached on the evening of May 8, Lord
Minto, going ashore early next morning with all the honours

¹ Lord Minto to his wife, May, 1811. (Lady Minto, op. cit.,
p. 253-55).
² Leyden to his father, Mar. 20, 1811.
³ Leyden to Hare, May 11, 1811.
of war, had nothing to do there but install Seton as Governor, which he did with "some compliments" to the Acting Governor, William Phillips, and a high eulogium on Charles Bruce\(^1\) and Seton himself: the last of which, at least, Leyden thought well deserved.\(^2\) Leyden himself, although invited with Lord Minto and his suite to stay at Phillips's magnificent mansion of Suffolk, beautifully situated some two and a half miles from Georgetown, declined the invitation, to Phillips's mortification, preferring to stay with John Erskine, "first Member of Council and an old friend, on no very good terms" with Phillips.\(^3\) By this means, "the nakedness of the land" was more displayed to Leyden than it would otherwise have been; and in the absence of the Raffleses, he felt no nostalgia for Olivia's eastern isle, governed as it was by "the most pauly set of Shopkeepers ever seen" who, having "scarce a man of enlarged ideas" among them, waxed "very indignant at being not consulted", but when consulted had nothing to propose and plainly knew "nothing of the matter".\(^3\)

Leyden accordingly felt no regret when Lord Minto's party, having spent three days at Penang "doing nothing", left the island at 9 a.m. on Sunday, May 12, and set sail for Malacca the same afternoon.\(^4\) The departure of the Medusa was hastened by the arrival, about 3 p.m., of two large prows, with yellow flags and ensign, bringing the King of Kedah to pay his respects to Lord Minto. "Elliot was lolling about very lazily till we

\(^1\) Phillips had acted as Governor at Penang for the second time after the death of Bruce in December, 1810.
\(^2\) Leyden to Hare, May 11, 1811.
\(^3\) Leyden to Hare, May 11, 1811. - One of Penang's 'Scots colony'.
\(^4\) The main body of the expedition did not leave Penang until May 24.
saw the yellow pennon when not being fond of the society of eastern princes, he manned his capstan and was off in a twinkling, leaving behind the unfortunate king, who, being in a "terrible state of alarm between the Birmans and the Siamese," had hoped to ask Lord Minto's protection, but missed it through over-long "looking at the stars for a propitious time". The voyage to Malacca was slow, taking almost a week, and ending about 7 a.m. on Saturday, May 18, when Lord Minto disembarked, saluted by the roar of cannon and watched by "thousands of all races collected at the sea-shore to have a sight of him and his dross"; but once there, Leyden found, as he had expected, that the plot began to thicken.

Raffles and Sir Samuel Auchmuty, of whom Lord Minto formed a high opinion as Commander-in-Chief, coming aboard when the *Moderate* dropped anchor, a First Council of War was held; and on Raffles' reporting that Daendels was stated to have left orders that Java should be defended even in the jungles and mountains, Auchmuty prescribed a course of training in guerrilla tactics which lasted for the next three weeks, under Robert Gillespie's tutelage, until the great force of 11,000 men began to leave Malacca for Java on June 11. Already, at Penang, "positive information" had arrived that "a host of 50,000 men" had been collected inland from Batavia,

1 Leyden to Hare, June 13, 1811. Raffles had tried to arrange the meeting thus unfortunately prevented, in view of a threatened Siamese invasion of Kedah, which actually proved successful.
2 Leyden to Hare, May 11, 1811.
3 Abdulla, *op. cit.*; Abdulla, a young Malay writer in Raffles' office, was much impressed by Minto's "soft manners and sweet countenance". See Reith, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-12.
mainly in consequence of "Sir Brian O'Drury's Manoeuvres",\(^\text{1}\) that "Hot Irish Admiral"\(^\text{2}\) having landed and ravaged the Java coast, directly against Lord Minto's orders, so as to alarm the people excessively and make Raffles fear for the fate of his emissaries there, some of whom had already left the island in great alarm.\(^\text{1}\) Now a rash order to the Bengal division of the force already at Malacca had almost caused trouble, that "unfortunate blind Colonel Wood alias Tiger Wood",\(^\text{3}\) having just published a proclamation ordering the Sepoys to wear their side arms on all occasions when they went out of the Camp on account of the bloody ferocious and insatiable temper of the Malays. The Sepoys presently began to conceive that they were in an enemy's country and to act accordingly which the unfortunate natives very properly resented with their creeses. We\(^\text{4}\) were not long of course in calling the attention of Govt. to this subject and very little evil ensued;\(^\text{5}\) and the Penang Government in a flash of its old jealousy, having propagated a ridiculous report that the whole army was starving" at Malacca, contrived to divert the Madras contingent to Penang and so cause considerable delay\(^\text{5}\). Precisely "how to get on to Java" from Malacca was in itself a problem, the season being the worst possible in every respect, with both wind and current setting strongly away from the coast of Java, so that the expedition might even be compelled to go round the North of Borneo.

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\(^\text{1}\) Leyden to Hare, May 11, 1811. Rear-Admiral Sir William O'Brien Drury's propensity for acting high-handedly had helped to make Lord Minto decide to go to Java in person; but Drury had died at Madras on March 5, 1811, the naval command thus devolving upon the exceedingly cautious Commodore Broughton.

\(^\text{2}\) Presumably Leyden, Oct. 9, 1810.

\(^\text{3}\) Leyden to Hare, June 13, 1811, reported that on the night of May 24 the ship Thomas Kenchman had caught fire, blowing up the next morning about 10 a.m., but with no loss of life; and he added "Mr. Kock had another ship just finished which we took up and gave to the Captain whose loss was universally regretted. Tiger Wood's whole baggage was burnt in her. That was not regretted at all."

\(^\text{4}\) Presumably Raffles and Leyden, with their enthusiasm for the Malay character.

\(^\text{5}\) Leyden to Hare, June 13, 1811.
This prospect was dispelled by the zeal and activity of the "remarkably intelligent" Captain Robert Greig, "a plain, modest, unassuming Fifeman, with excellent natural parts and character" and indeed "a fine fellow in every sense of the word", whom Leyden had secured to work with Raffles, and who, having brought Raffles "good news" from Bali by early May, went back to Pontiana and, being perfectly at home in the eastern seas, sounded the passage through the Carimata Straits, narrowly escaping from a pirate in the process, and brought back a triumphant vindication of Raffles's contention (held in the face of naval pessimism) that this much shorter route should be employed by the fleet. The naval commander, Commodore Broughton, however, being "an old square-toes" and surely "the most cautious navigator that ever wore a blue coat", was by no means equally active, so that Leyden, who was "a particular favourite of his ... I mean that he wishes me damned as fast as possible", feared he might cause "very nearly as much trouble as the quondam Drury - talderal - deriddle - shoot him thro' the middle - ". Altogether, Leyden quite expected that Lord Minto, who was fortunately "lawyer enough to match them," would have "rare fun" with his naval and military staffs before the end of the expedition; but he was confident that he himself had "lost no ground with his Lordship", the whole department of translating and interpreting Malay, Javanese, Buginese and Bali being "quite given up" to him since his colleague Stubenevoll had been transferred to the Military Department ("to his great sorrow, the beast") as equally useless.

1 Lord Minto to his wife, July 27, 1811. (Lady Minto, op. cit. pp. 278-80).
2 Leyden to Raffles, (Feb., 1811); "quoted by Lady Raffles, Memoir, p.26. He added, "...and you owe not me but a good many for the circumstance..."
3 Leyden to Hare, May 11, 1811.
4 Leyden to Hare, June 13, 1811.
in Malay and Dutch. Leyden had thus had very heavy work in translating letters and dictating proclamations; for so many native chiefs had written to express a desire "to place themselves under the English banner" and the Governor-General's protection, that Leyden felt it would "go hard but we shall contrive to have Lord Minto chosen by the Malay Rajas themselves Emperor of all the Malays": "a masterly stroke" which would equally baffle and disconcert all European politics of every kind, whether French or English.2

Having thus "rather become formidable, being supposed in concert with Mr to do every thing," Leyden found that the hostility of some of his "compeers in the Expedition," of which James Hare had forewarned him, was now less openly displayed,2 but his habitual contempt for all foplings and beaux,3 and his strong leaning to the chivalrous, 4 could still involve him in social collisions.

"The Military men here are quite the Devil at a ball or anything of the kind, I wish they may do as much execution when we face old Daendels. Commodore Hayes gave a ball on May 29 at which I attended and had a dispute with one of Sir S. Auchmuty's aid-de-Camps who got madly tipsy and attempted to insult a lady who compelled me to interfere & propose cutting off his arm. However he was obliged to make all suitable apologies through Hayes to the lady's husband which has rendered Sir Si's family a little more decent."2

This incident had no greater repercussion than to delay Leyden for a day in setting out on a trip of some forty miles into the interior of the peninsula, passing from Malacca territory into Johore, seeing "some of the Jakeng who see."

1 Leyden to Hare, June 13, 1811.
2 Ibid. This was one of Leyden's favourite projects. Cf.p. sup.- For a perfervid Scot, Leyden is curiously free in his use of 'English' and 'England'.
3 Cf. Musical Scratching, 1.6: '...each fopling and beau will admire what you play'; and Letter from the Pintados, 1.48: 'For foplings & beaus all around you are swarming'.
4 Lord Minto to his wife, May, 1811, when, in his description of Leyden, he said:"His mind is upright and independent, his character spirited and generous, with a strong leaning to the chivalrous".
to be the original Malays in a pure state of rude nature", visiting the sulphurous hot wells, and confirming his old opinion that the Malays were altogether "a very good sort of people". By May 31 (a day spent in exploring the countryside), Leyden had reached Gappam, after a pleasant enough journey through excellent, fertile, country, where he "had the mortification not to be once compelled" to have recourse to any of his "old mosh-trooping habits". Very severe rain for most of the way, however, had made the roads, passing down "some very pretty declivities", "so plaguy slippery", that Leyden had little chance to admire the scenery, save once, when his "courser-wight" pitched headlong forwards, and Leyden fell "head-foremost over him": "thanks to my thick skull and stiff neck, I sprung to my feet as alert as a rope-dancer, and had a very pretty peep at the landscape before the horse was able to rise". Everywhere was devastation and dilapidation - or rather delignification, no stone being used in the construction of a Malay house - which Leyden felt would have grieved Archibald Seton, as would the conduct of the Pangulu of Naning, who was "as nearly as possible in a state of open rebellion", and flourishing away "famously" with a signet obtained from Menangkabu, to Leyden's wrath. "If I were Mr. Seton, I would give him an opportunity of contemplating a company of Sepoys for a couple of days. The supineness of the former government of Malacca is only equalled by the wickedness of the maxims under which it acted".

1 Leyden to Hare, June 13, 1811.
2 Leyden to Raffles, May 31, 1811, from Gappam; quoted by Lady Raffles, op.cit., p.28. Cf. Raffles's interest in the welfare of Malacca.
Leyden was very much pleased, finding them "a clean, healthy, stout-looking race... as excellent peasants as I have ever seen", who were evidently, from the superabundance of fruit, "well provided in the article of food", "although their source of supply of clothing was "not quite so obvious". At Gappam, where he felt "completely at ease", despite the unwelcome attentions of mosquitoes which made it quite impossible for Leyden to keep his ground, despite his thick boots, Leyden took advantage of the return to Malacca of his host, Mr. Kocks (who had "made only a great deal too many preparations" for his reception) to write to Raffles, instructing him to keep Leyden informed of his plans and to summon him at once if necessary; and in so writing, he did not fail either to remember Mrs. Raffles and her sister-in-law or to report his own social success with another lady:

"I meant to have put Mrs. R. into a postscript, but have desisted on considering that this is generally the most valuable part of a lady's letter, and have reserved that honor for Miss R.; apropos of ladies, I have already become an immense favourite of that good old damsel, the Pangulu of Gappam's wife, from having dined entirely on curries &c. of her own dressing; the lady has not yet ventured to show herself; but I have been informed of the fact, which I hold for Gospel".

Nor did he fail to keep a journal which made "a fine long story" of this short ramble of five or six days, according to the unappreciative Thomas Taylor, who amused himself with it on the passage from Malacca to Java.

"He informs us he dined entirely on Malay dishes and thereby delighted the wife of the man he dined with, a worthy Malay - interesting communications! Then he must needs affect to be a Malay and walked barefoot and I am

1 Leyden to Raffles, May 31, 1811.
2 Harriet Raffles, the only unmarried sister of Raffles then in the East with him, Mary Ann being by then Mrs. William Flint, and Leonora having become Billington Loftie's second wife in the winter of 1810, so that Harriet is the only possible object of Leyden's supposed (cf. Emily Hahn, Raffles, p. 97), but I think non-existent, romantic interest in one of Raffles's sisters.
3 Taylor to his wife, June 10, 1811.
happy to say the leeches made him suffer for it. You may tell Elliot and Stewart I am a convert. His egotism and arrogance have sickened me. Among other things he is taken to be a great warrior and talks of the wonders he is to do with a rifle against Malay pirates and his prowess in close combat, whereas he can’t guard his head with a common cudgel. I am sure you will forgive my having defended him. You know I always wish to take the bright side and moreover he won me by praising you. I don’t wish him any harm but should not be sorry if the pirates nabbed him and kept him amongst them till we got clear of Java.\footnote{1}

Returning to Malacca on June 4, Leyden found himself "in the middle of a sublime dinner and dance given to the whole settlement, Dutch and English\footnote{2} by Lord Minto in celebration of King George III’s birthday\footnote{3}"

"His Lordship gave among other toasts "prosperity to Malacca" a thing which would have been high treason under the Penang Govt. of folly & ruin. I found he had also on that day assembled the old College of Justice, & burnt all the old Dutch & Portuguese instruments of torture, rack, wheel, & all under the gallows publicly & that he had manumitted all the govt. slaves and appointed a committee to guard slave-debtors from oppression. In short this long and grievously oppressed place begins to brighten & to look forward to better times".\footnote{2}

On June 9 Leyden fulfilled a much simpler, if no less pleasant, social engagement by meeting a brother-in-law of James Hare, whom he had missed six days before while in the interior, and whom he now "kept...to dinner at Raffles!" with favourable results.\footnote{2} And the next week saw his departure from Malacca on the last stage of the journey to Java.

Lord Minto embarked again in the Lodestar, the last of the fleet, most of which had been gone for some time, and with him went Raffles succeeding to Leyden’s berth; for Leyden (to his great delight, work having proved impossible on board a frigate)\footnote{4}

\footnote{1}{Taylor to his wife, June 19,1811.}
\footnote{2}{Leyden to Hare, June 13,1811.}
\footnote{3}{Lord Minto told his wife, June 7,1811: “I celebrated the King’s birthday by a levee in the forenoon, a great dinner to all rank and file, and a ball in the evening to all mankind”.}
\footnote{4}{Taylor to his wife, June 19,1811. The change may have been effected, in part at least, to afford Lord Minto a quieter passage.
was now installed, with all the corps of writers and interpreters, in the schooner Hinto, under Captain Greig, where he busied himself in preparing the account of Borneo which Raffles had asked Leyden to draw up as one of a series "in his Capacity of Confidential Secretary".\(^1\)

The \textit{Modeste}, with its attendant \textit{Hinto}, "being sure of overtaking the earliest and swiftest" of the convoy, sailed on June 18, clearing the Straits of Singapore two days later and arriving on June 29 at the six-mile-long island of Panambangan, off Borneo, the fleet's first rendezvous after Kalacca, where a halt was made until July 6, to enable the other ships to catch up.\(^2\) Leyden, Raffles and the surgeon Gordon took this opportunity to go ashore and scramble a good way up one of the hills of the steep and wooded island "to see the prospect in the dark", returning eventually "all over scratches and tears ( rents in their clothes, not lachrymal globules), much fagged", from a trip in which the exuberant Leyden had met with more wonders and "performed more feats than Bruce in his journey to Abyssinia".\(^3\) By July 25, Java itself was in sight, the \textit{Modeste}, closely followed by the \textit{Hinto} with Loyden on board, arriving well ahead of the fleet; and by the end of the month all the ships had come up safely, to confound the late Admiral Drury's opinion that such a

\(^1\) Raffles to Erskine, Sept. 10, 1815. This sixty-four page sketch of Borneo (the only one of the series to be completed) was published by Raffles in the Transactions of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, Vol. VII, in 1814.

\(^2\) Lord Minto to his wife, Aug. 3, 1811, when he gave an account of the "gay and picturesque scene" formed by the army of white and coloured troops encamped among the island's beautiful scenery.

\(^3\) Taylor to his wife, July 1, 1811. Cf. Lord Minto (to his wife, May, 1811) on Leyden's propensity to "exalt his own actions, sufferings, or adventures in a manner a little approaching the marvellous".
passage was "absolutely impracticable".  

Colin Mackenzie, having reconnoitred the north coast two weeks before, contributed to a general report on the "Coasts Landing-Places and State of Affairs" in Java, an account of his reconnaissances, dated August 2, which determined that the British forces should land at the village of Chilinching, some twelve miles east of Batavia, where Mackenzie had almost been captured on venturing ashore from the Hms Baccacouta, and which the fleet now reached about 2 p.m. on Sunday, August 4, the signal to land being given some four hours later. Being uncertain how much opposition might be encountered, Auchmuty took no chances, sending Gillespie ahead first with his seasoned troops to establish a bridge-head. That done, the rest of the force leaped into the water, ready for anything, with Leyden in the forefront, lid up to his declaration of "Tell me... where there is danger......, and John Loyden is your man".

"Leyden, who loves acting a part, was dressed as a pirate in a red-tasselled cap, a cutlass round his waist & a pistol in his belt; he was first ashore and bore the brunt of the attack while came fr. a flock of barn-door fowls headed by an aggressive rooster. A Master-at-arms sliced off the rooster's head in fine style, & there was a mighty destruction of fowls";

at which the irascible Gillespie came up "in a fine pet", ordering the naval "rabble" to get to the rear and cook fowls while the Army killed Dutchmen.

This lack of opposition was explained by the fact that Janssens had withdrawn the enemy force to Weltevreed, some three miles beyond Batavia, in hopes that the British would

1 Lord Minto to his wife, Aug.3,1811. Commodore Broughton, displaying a "masterly inactivity", arrived a good last in the Phoenix, and was superseded by Admiral Stopford; an event on which Lord Minto commented: "The little Commodore's brief hour of authority came to an end to the great relief of all in the fleet and army. There could not be a man less fit for the important situation into which chance had brought him".

2 Taylor to his wife, July 25,1811.
3 Faffles to Erskine, Sept.10,1815.
be sufficiently troubled by the natural obstacles and defences, and that they might thereafter succumb to putrid fever. He had also thoughtfully left behind in Batavia, which as an open city, surrendered at discretion and was formally occupied on August 8, a stock of wines and provisions to occupy the invaders' attention; but these being dealt with within two days, the British went on to take Weltevreeden and its arsenal on August 10, obliging Janssens to retreat four miles to the fortress of Cornelis in the centre of the island. Ten days later, the British preparations for the siege of Cornelis had reached the stage of breaking ground within 600 yards of the enemy's works; and after much exchange of heavy gunfire, the British surprising the enemy by a night march led by a deserter, attacked on August 27, with Gillespie again in the lead, and took the fort by storm after a fierce struggle, carrying the redoubts at bayonet point, and thereafter taking over 6,000 prisoners out of a force of 13,000, so as to end organised opposition in Java, apart from a few sporadic efforts by Janssens.

In this bloody and decisive encounter John Leyden, doubtless to his own regret, had no part, being otherwise occupied, not in the centre of the island (reckoned "the wealthiest country in the east")¹, but in the "fatal port" of Batavia, the most destructive place in the world for Europeans. After his dash through the surf at Chilinching reminiscent of his arrival at Madras eight years before, he had proceeded to

1 Leyden to his father, March 20, 1811.
2 *Edinburgh Annual Register for 1811*, (Vol. 4, pt. 1, p. 202.) In giving an account of the history of Europe for 1811, including (under the heading of 'East Indies') a narrative of the capture of Batavia, the *Register* gave a eulogistic notice of Leyden, in which its author, Robert Southey, expressed the desire that Java had remained unoccupied, if that would have saved John Leyden's life. *St. Southev to C.W. Wynn, Feb. 4, 1812: "Batavia has cost us John Leyden's life, which was worth more than ten Batavians!"* (Selections from the Letters of Southey, II, p. 254.)
work, as ever, to capacity, pushing his exertions of every kind far beyond his strength, as he dealt with Dutch and Malay correspondence, and looked for materials to illustrate the Dutch system of government, and so simplify the task of Raffles, who, working with his usual energy on definite principles of reform, had already planned the collection of material for a series of memoirs to be drawn up by Leyden on "each of the principal Islands of the Archipelago, so as to exhibit the actual state of the Country at its falling under the Sovereignty of Great Britain".

Leyden had undergone great fatigue and exposure to the night dews with the army for some time before Lord Minto's landing on the island; and then boarding the Modeste to report to his Lordship how things were going on shore, he gave an instance of his habitual disregard of essential precautions against the sun by lying down on the open deck, and saying to Minto's servant, Thomas Rutherford, who saw him first and "wished him to cover himself", "O never mind Thomas we have had worse accommodation since landing".

For all his carelessness, however, Leyden seemed almost to thrive on his exertions, so that Lutherford, seeing him walking on the veranda with Lord Minto the very day before he fevored, thought that he had never seen him look better, and indeed observed that "Dr Leyden had surely got

1 Lord Minto to his wife, Aug. 29, 1811. (Lady Minto, op. cit., p. 295).
2 Raffles to Erskine, Sept. 10, 1815. The only memoir actually produced was that on Borneo. See p. 274.
3 Robert Leyden to James Morton, (Feb. 12, 1816). (The MS. has 'accommodation'.)
The surrender of Batavia gave Leyden further scope for his energetic examination of official documents; and by the time that the attack on Fort Cornelis began, he was embarking with his usual zeal on the examination of a public library placed under his charge by Lord Minto. This eminently peaceful task, however, was to prove as frutiful as any military assignment could have been; for Leyden, greatly fatigued and careless, as always, of his health, went heated from the library itself into another room, a 'go-down' or store-house which had not been opened up for a long time. Throughout the voyage to Java and since, as indeed throughout his years in India and all his adult life, he had been continually "making great efforts of mental and sometimes of bodily labour"; and now, in the fetid air of the long-shut Batavian store-room, he was suddenly struck with a chill so intense that he "ran out of the place saying it was enough to give any man a fever". He spoke truth, being seized by a severe shivering which never left him, and which accompanied an attack of "the cursed Batavian fever", to which his constitution, undermined by repeated illness and incessant overwork, could make no effective resistance. He was taken to the house in Molenvliet where he was lodging by then with Raffles, who had leased the place from a prominent Batavian merchant; and there the faithful Raffles "attended him from the first to the last. Since coming to India, Leyden, having been often uncertain of outliving the course of a day or night, had grown accustomed to

1 Robert Leyden to James Horton, Feb. 12, 1816. 2 Lord Minto to his wife, Aug. 29, 1811. 3 Ibid. It had been shut probably since the Dutch Government moved to Buitenzorg. 4 Raffles to Hare, Sept. 7, 1811. 5 Lieve Willem Meyer. See H.A.S.T. for 1911, pp. 51-52, which quotes correspondence on the subject of the house in which Leyden died. 6 Raffles to Erskine, Sept. 10, 1815. 7 Leyden to Erskine, July 29, 1806. Cf. Leyden to Habor, Oct. 24, 1806: "I may just as likely die today or tomorrow as fifteen years hence."
to the prospect of a "lingering but inevitable dissolution"; but now that the inevitable was at hand, there was to be little lingering. When recovering from serious illness at Calicut in the summer of 1805, Leyden assuring William Erskine that he had not come to India to complain of anything that should befall him or to solicit anyone's sympathy, added emphatically: "Whether I live or die it shall be without fear and without anxiety... though I have not the least intention of dying till it is absolutely impossible to prevent it and even then... I mean to die very hard." And now that it was indeed impossible to prevent it, he kept his word, struggling hard against the fever for three days: a longer time than was usual, fevers being rapid then in Batavia. The effort was in vain, however; for as he himself suspected, after years of frequently recurring illness, unremitting exertion, and disregard of precautions, "his habit was predisposed, and he never surmounted the first attack," dying virtually in Raffles's arms and "perfectly resigned" on the morning of August 28, and being buried that evening in Tanah Abang Cemetery, in the presence of Lord Minto and Raffles. So the brief and bright career was over, and there was an end of all the vaulting ambition and daring thoughts that had brought John Leyden so far from the green haughs of Taylot to wear himself out in the unremitting pursuit of knowledge, and to die at last on a distant and deadly shore as true a martyr to science as any in the cause of religion.

Now that his active and indefatigable spirit had at last "worn out its clay tenement", there were many to mourn the

1 Leyden to Erskine, May 22, 1805. 2 Leyden to Erskine, July 4, 1805. 3 Lord Minto to his wife, Aug. 29, 1811. 4 Raffles to hare, Sept. 7, 1811. 5 The Cemetery Register, quoted by Sinton in H. A. 8. T for 1911, p. 52, quoting from Baron van Hoevell's memoir of Leyden in Tydskrif voor Nederlandsch-Indie, IX. Jaargang, late deel, in translation. 6 C. Scott, The Lord of the Isles, c. IV, Sect. XI, 11. 23-28. 7 C. Leyden, Odes to an Indian Gold Coin, 1. 23. 8 Scott, Memoir. 9 Scott to Heber, May 14, 1812, (Cent. Ed., XII, p. 333.)
passing of "the warm-hearted, the good, the learned, the poetical
Doctor John Leyden", 1 whose early death was "universally regretted"2 as having-deprived both his friends and oriental learning of one
who was in himself "a host of men"3 and one of the brightest orna-
ments of the Indian world. 2 For Raffles and Lord Minto, this
melancholy and unlooked for event threw a gloom over the triumph
of the Java expedition in general, and in particular over the
formal dinner given by Raffles at his official residence in Batavia
on October 7, with Lord Minto and Sir Samuel Auchmuty as guests of
honour, so that the volatile Taylor found it an "ineffably dull
affair" and by no means as cheerful as usual. 4 Back in India, John
Malcolm was left to contribute to the Bombay Courier in November a
"very descriptive and picturesque" sketch 5 delineating Leyden's
character and peculiarities with "great truth and kindly feeling." 6
Henry Ellis lamented Leyden the poet and scholar in a competent
ode alluding to his various poems. 7 William Erskine, grieving
equally for the loss of "a very remarkable genius" and an inestin-
able friend, 5 paid tribute to him before that Bombay Literary
Society of which he had been an enforcedly absentee member. And
in due course, Lord Minto, presiding once more at the Public dis-
putations of Fort William College, took the opportunity to testify
to Leyden's abilities and virtues:

"No man, whatever his condition might be, ever possessed a
mind so entirely exempt from every sordid passion, so negli-
gent of fortune, and all its grovelling pursuits - in a word,
so entirely disinterested - nor ever owned a spirit more firmly
and nobly independent.

1 Charles Macfarlane, History of British India, p. 365n. (New ed.)
2 Charles Carpenter to Scott, Feb. 9, 1812. (23.368 B.)
3 Raffles to Wm. Marsden, Oct. 1611; quoted Boulger, op. cit., p. 152
4 Taylor, quoted Carew, op. cit., p. 311.
5 Wm. Erskine, op. cit.
6 Scott to Heber, May 14, 1812.
7 Henry Ellis, Ode on the death of Dr. Leyden.
8 Lord Minto, at the 11th Public Disputations in the autumn of
1812, when he stressed that in his experience Leyden never
solicited any object of personal interest, having, Minto believed
a mind above such "minor cares". - (Minto was Visitor at the
College Disputations from 1808 to 1813, save for the 10th, in
August, 1811, when he was in Java.)
Before the end of the year, Leyden's own family had received the news of his death in "accounts from Minto", so that six days before Christmas Robert Leyden was writing to his uncle Thomas Morton: "It has pleased Almighty God to visit this family with the Rod of Affliction:... My Father and Mother are quite inconsolable as well as all the rest of us." There was indeed some consolation for the old man both in the "divine & never failing comfort which arises in the very thought of immortality" and in the knowledge that he had been "blessed with a son, who, had he been spared, would have been an honour to his country"; but in the eighteen years which were to elapse before his own death "at the venerable age of 83" he must often have marvelled that the green had been taken and the ripe spared.

It was on December 20 that Walter Scott learned at Ashiestiel "from Mr. Gilbert Elliot's information" that there was now no hope that Leyden would ever return from the Indies to enjoy "a social meal" in Scott's new house on the banks of Tweed "just above the confluence of the Gala and about three miles from Melrose"; and before the New Year it was becoming generally known among his friends that "the admired, lamented John Leyden was "dead at Java". None perhaps was more deeply affected than Alexander Murray, soon to leave his manse for the Chair of Hebrew and Oriental Languages at Edinburgh, and especially distressed to think that this "really incalculable loss" deprived him of the anticipated pleasure of submitting his own inquiries to the learned judgment of his "indefatigable and invaluable friend".

1 Robert Leyden to Thomas Morton, Dec. 19, 1811. Reith, op. cit., p. 323, errs in supposing that the news reached Britain in mid-January, 1812. 2 Thos Brown to Leyden's father, Dec. 26, 1811. 3 Morton, op. cit., p. lxxxiii. 4 MS. note in my copy of the 1819 ed. 5 Richard Cameron's prayer before the battle of Aird's Moss. 6 Lord Minto's eldest son.—Scott to Robert Leyden, Dec. 22, 1811. 7 Scott to Leyden, Aug. 25, 1811. 8 Mrs Grant of Laggan to Mrs Smith (India-bound), Jan. 16, 1812. (Mackintosh, op. cit., I, p. 51b. 9 Sir James Mackintosh noted in his Journal, Oct. 14, 1811: "Dr. Leyden is dead at Java!" (Mackintosh, op. cit., II, p. 141.) 10 Alex. Murray to Archd Constable, Jan. 28, 1812. 11 Murray to Dr Robert Anderson, 1812.
that regret for "the highly gifted, the marvellously-minded
Leyden" which moved Thomas Park to exclaim:

"What a sad and lasting source of regret does his immature
departure leave, when his extraordinary attainments and
important occupations are reflected on". ¹

even those who had known him only by reputation as "a great man" of
transeendent talents had their tribute to pay to his "uncommon
merits"; and there was not wanting a sufficiency of verse to
celebrate the "dauntless heart and ardour high" of the "Departed
Genius" whose animated lay had been "to all the Muses dear." ⁷

For all this sincere appreciation of John Leyden and his
works, it was to be eight years before a collected edition of
his poems appeared, with a prefatory memoir by James Norton,
now Vicar of Holbeach, which led James Hare to observe crushing-
ly five years later: "Poor Leyden's fame has been dying away
gradually till Norton's life has almost extinguished the spark
that we wished to have cherished." ⁸ The Hortons could hardly be
held responsible for all the delays which seemed to dog the
settlement of Leyden's affairs, both literary and financial; ⁹
but it was certain that these delays, whether wanton or unavoid-
able must militate against the firm establishment of his fame. ¹⁰

Leyden had written much competent verse and entertaining
prose, and he had done good work in Scottish literary antiquit-
ies; but his main energies had been reserved for the distant
and obscure field of oriental philology. Therein, indeed, he
had laboured with a skill peculiar to himself and "a

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¹ Park to Scott, Apr. 4, 1812. (US. 3882.)
² Lady Abercorn to Scott, Feb. 7, 1812. (Ibid.)
³ Wm Hayley to Scott, May 21, 1812. (Ibid.)
⁴ James Hogg. The Queen's Wake. Conclusion, p. 119.
⁵ L. 6 of untitled verses by Miss Baillie Chillingham Barns'
in the Kelso Mail for Jan. 13, 1812.
⁶ L. 2 of a Sonnet, On receiving the Scenes of Infancy from a
Lady, signed "H." in Edin. Annual Reg. for 1817. (X, 11, p. 354.)
⁷ David Carey. Stanzas to the Memory of Dr John Leyden, I. 11.
(Poetical Reg. for 1810-11, pp. 455-60.)
⁸ Hare to Wm. Erskine, [July] 3, 1823. ⁹ E.g. His oriental MSS. were sold to the
E. I. C. for £500 only in 1824; and his estate was wound up
only in the summer of 1817.
¹⁰ Wm. Erskine, op. cit.
superiority truly philosophical", seizing the grand features of
the languages of Asia and classifying them "with an accuracy
altogether unequalled"; but his achievement was caviare to
the general, and too incomplete to provide a lasting basis for
his reputation, so that the name which his friends believed
immortal is now all but forgotten. Nevertheless, it "forms
his highest and peculiar eulogium to remember, that in the
course of eight years—in India, pursued by ill-health,
burdened by official duties, and distracted by diversity of
pursuits", he very nearly effected for Asia "a classification
of its various languages and their kindred Dialects."1

"It is not only in finished undertakings that we ought
to honour useful labour. A spirit goes out of the
man who means execution, which outlives the most
untimely end."2

So let it be with Leyden.

1 Erskine, op. cit. Erskine wrote to Heber of Leyden, Jan.
16, 1812: "I have loved him from the time I first knew him,
and to the day of his death my admiration of him increased."2
2 R. L. Stevenson, in an early essay; quoted by Sidney Colvin
in his Epilogue to Vailima Letters. (2nd ed., pp. 358-59.)
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