

service. In 1711 a Custom House official wrote to his superior in Edinburgh, that in Ruthwell the people are such friends to the traffic, "no one can be found to lodge a Government officer for the night."

April 17, 1717, was appointed as a day of solemn fasting to avert the intended invasion of an enemy, and the threatened scarcity of bread—generally made of rye or oatmeal—owing to the severity of the weather.

In 1720 we find a complaint at the meeting of the Presbytery that the Kirk was losing its power over the people, swearing—so far as the expressions "faith" and "devil" were sometimes heard; and in 1729 a theatre was opened in Edinburgh. A minister was suspended for attending it.

The Scots were notably a charitable people, and, though the population of Scotland was but a million and a quarter, they supported a vagrant population of 200,000 early in the eighteenth century, besides licensed bedesmen.¹ In better times there were periodical offertories in the Churches for the benefit of seamen enslaved by the Turkish and Barbary Corsairs in the Mediterranean, who had their tongues cut out or been otherwise crippled in the galleys; others were still in need of ransom. But the epidemics carried about by the vagrants, the dearness of provisions, added to the abolition of the Scottish Parliament, sent many landowners, particularly on the Borders, to live in England. The new Marquis of Annandale began to spend most of his time in London; and it was on the "parlour door of his lodgings in the Abbey" of Westminster that Robert Allane, Sheriff's messenger of Annan, knocked the six knocks and affixed the document showing that he had been put to the horn, because, as Provost of Annan, he had taken no steps to arrest Galabank for debt—the application having been made by Mr Patrick Inglis, the deposed Episcopalian minister of Annan. Edward Johnstone, then in London, settled this debt on behalf of his father; but if he had not, most likely no measures would have been taken against the Provost. Annandale probably owed his promotion in the Peerage, and Westerhall his Baronetcy, to the fact of their wives being cousins to the Secretary for Scotland, James Johnston, the son of Warrieston, who was of great service to William III. and his successor. The new patent, conferring the Annandale title on heirs male whatsoever in default of direct heirs male, showed that it was intended as in days of old to reward the whole clan for its patriotism and former unpaid services, not only one branch of it.

Of Warrieston's sons who survived him, the elder, Alexander, was educated

¹ Fletcher of Salton describes the condition of the country after the Civil War with the 200,000 people left to beg, "some sorners," the dread of isolated cottages, who took food by force, robbed children of their clothes and the money they carried to pay the fees on their way to school, and even kidnapped children to be sold to merchant captains for slaves in the American plantations. Grahame, in his *Social State of Scotland*, says that this continued much later; and that the widow of a Highland laird, who notoriously increased his income in this way, was presented to George IV. when he visited Edinburgh in 1821. "Outed" Episcopalian ministers and their families swelled the applicants for relief. The kidnapping is corroborated by an advertisement in the *New York Gazette*, May 1, 1774:—"Servants just arrived from Scotland to be sold on board the *Commerce*, Capt. Fergusson master, now lying at the Ferry Stairs, among which are a number of weavers, taylors, blacksmiths, nailors, shoemakers, butchers, hatters, and spinsters, fourteen to thirty-five years of age. For terms apply to Henry White or said Master."

for a lawyer, but was employed in the Secret Service of the Prince of Orange. The last heard of him is the extract from Brodie's diary, quoted in Morison's *Johnston of Warrieston*, Nov. 17, 1671—"I heard that Alexander, Warrieston's son, had brok, and through cheating, lying, wrong ways. My brother and others had suffered much by him." He had a son, Jasper of Warrieston, who left only a daughter. The younger son, James, born Sept. 9, 1655, was educated in Holland, and, having passed particularly well in civil law at Utrecht, his cousin, Bishop Burnet, gave him a helping hand. Like Burnet, Secretary Johnston was a good friend to his relations, and many of them came to London in the hope of obtaining a Government office through his influence. He is described as a tall, strong, fair-haired typical Scotsman, with much endurance at a time when the dress and mode of life in England was conducive to effeminacy. He could undertake the rough travelling a Continental journey then necessitated, and be back again in England, fit for business, after a secret conference with the Prince of Orange, before he was even missed. William III. was the great hope of the Covenanters. As the son of a Stewart Princess, with double Stewart descent through his grandmother, it was not a long step to accept him¹ and his Queen, James's daughter, in the place of James, who was never popular in Scotland. But the Secretary was considered as a friend to Scottish democracy, and insisted on an inquiry into the massacre of Glencoe. His freedom of speech is supposed to have irritated William III., who perhaps could not afford to displease Englishmen by employing Scots. Anyway, he was dismissed from office in 1696, though he continued to advise the Government. He was opposed to a separate Parliament in Scotland, and brought Annandale over to his view,—for he was again in office, for a year as Lord Clerk Register of Scotland (1704-05), under Queen Anne, but obliged to resign, and this time permanently, on account of the protection he had given to Jacobites, among them Nathaniel and Henry Johnston of Pomfret, and Annandale's brother, John, whose career only became important when it was necessary to prove that he died *s.p.* before the House of Lords.

This John (Annandale's brother) was born at Newbie in 1668, and went to school at Glasgow till he was about twelve. Then his maternal uncle, the Earl of Dumbarton, sent him to Haddington school, and gave him a commission in his own regiment as soon as he was sixteen. The pay he received was supposed to be enough for his expenses at a college in Paris, where he went to complete his education, though he shows in a letter to his brother, dated 1687, that it was not. Annandale had just got a commission in the Guards from James VII., but was never backward in helping his brother when he could afford it. John returned as a captain to England, where he was received by the Royal Chaplain, his cousin, Henry Johnston of Pomfret, into the Roman Church. The next year the Revolution began, and he joined heart and soul on the side of the King, while his brother, after some vacillation, took the oaths to William. Lord Dumbarton fled with the exiled King to St. Germain's, and

¹ The *Lockhart Memoirs* state that Secretary Johnston told Lockhart he could make people's hair stand on end with revelations about the Court and Government of William III.

Captain Johnstone was arrested on a charge of high treason and committed to Newgate in 1689, just after John Johnstone, the younger of Westerhall, who managed Annandale's estate, had acted as his cautioner for a loan of £100, borrowed from his tailor in London, which was repaid. Westerhall also lent him 900 marks. Annandale himself is said to have been heavily bailed to keep him out of prison. After six months in Newgate, Captain Johnstone returned to Scotland, and a letter, dated Moffat, from Westerhall to Annandale, Nov. 19, 1690, says that his brother is staying with the Duke of Hamilton and has been strongly advised to go abroad; but it is absolutely necessary that he should have £20 for the journey. Captain Johnstone adds a letter to the same effect—that he has taken Westerhall's advice and does not want to be a burden to his family, that with £20 he would go at once to Holland, and that he has left papers with Sir John Carmichael which may be of use to the family, for whom he should be always ready to do any service in his power. Possibly the Secretary found the money, but the recipient used it to go to St. Germain, not to Holland, and remained abroad long after the term allowed for "native subjects" to make their submission. His name appears among those rebels then in France, who were liable to prosecution, in 1695, but it was removed soon afterwards through the Secretary's influence. In 1698 King James issued a warrant concerning him and his friend, Captain Livingston, who had both wished to enter the service of Venice. The King speaks of their fidelity to his cause, and that they had always comported themselves like men of honour, and he called Johnstone "a person of the first quality in our Kingdom of Scotland." In 1701 Sir George Maxwell lent him £100 to save him from being imprisoned for debt in Paris. There is some proof that he served in Prussia for a time (the Secretary had taken the Garter to the Elector of Brandenburg), but he eventually returned to Scotland, obtained a pardon under the Great Seal, and came to live at Stapleton as a Presbyterian. Still his brother thought it wise to arrest him during the Rising of 1715. This precaution enabled him to end his days in a small official post.¹

It is often said of the Scots, that, unlike the Irish, they help each other regardless of political or religious differences. This was certainly the ex-Secretary's case; but on his marriage to a daughter of Lord Poulett he settled permanently at Orleans House, Twickenham, where he was buried, May 11, 1744, being eighty-nine at the time of his death. He more than once visited George I. in Hanover, and as he could speak Latin and German fluently both the King and his daughter-in-law seemed to have liked talking to him; and Queen Caroline often drove over to see him at Twickenham.

Major James Johnston was returned heir to the ex-Secretary, his father, in 1744. He married Lady Charlotte Montagu, but there appear to be no male descendants.

Annandale was one of the first Knights of the Thistle when the Order

¹ A family named Goodinge took the name of Johnstone, and claimed descent in the female line from this John, but the marriage, which was said to have taken place in an obscure part of London, could not be proved.

was revived by Queen Anne. He was also Lord Privy Seal in 1702, and Lord President of the Privy Council till 1706. His manners are said to have been courteous and pleasing. He was elected a Scottish Representative Peer in 1707, and in 1711 was Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland. In 1714 he was appointed Keeper of the Great Seal, and a Privy Councillor; and during the Rising in 1715 was made Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, and Peebles. His wife (the bride of fourteen in 1682) died in 1716, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. The eldest daughter, Henrietta, had long been married to John Hope, who was created, by the ex-Secretary's influence, Earl of Hopetoun in 1703. Two younger sons, William and John, died unmarried in 1721, shortly after their father. The old Marquis astonished and disgusted his children in 1718, by going through a Fleet marriage with Charlotta Van Lore, the only child of a Dutch merchant in Westminster, John Vanden Bempd , by his wife, Temperance, daughter of John Packer. Vanden Bempd  owned property in Hammer-smith and Chiswick, and the estate of Hackness Hall in Yorkshire. He settled £300 a year on his daughter, and the reversion of his estates to her heirs, saying that he was not going to be behind anyone else in the matter, but with the provision that the inheritor of his property should take his own family name. When the Marquis died at Bath, April 21, 1721, Vanden Bempd  allowed another £300 a year for the maintenance and education of his infant grandson, George, and for the son, John, who was born six months after the Marquis's death. The ex-Secretary was among those who attended the Marquis's funeral. Sir William Johnstone of Westerhall was there on behalf of the Marchioness when the Will was read. The Earl of Orkney, Sir R. Montgomery, Colonel Graham, Jerviswood, and Lord Hope also came, but in the interest of the Marquis's elder children.

James, Lord Johnstone, the second Marquis, lived at Newbie Castle when not abroad, and was Provost of Annan in 1715. After his succession he was little seen in Scotland, and died in Naples in 1730. His stepmother had to sustain a lawsuit with Lord and Lady Hopetoun for her son, George, about the possession of the Annandale estates. In consideration of Miss Fairholm's fortune, these estates had been settled on her and on her future children after her marriage with the first Marquis; and on the death of James they were claimed as well as the title by his sister, the last survivor of that marriage, on the ground that the title went with the estates. The House of Lords in 1733 decided that the Fairholm provision was illegal on both points, the land having been settled in 1661 on the heirs male of the first Earl, and only to go to the female on the demise of all those heirs. So young George succeeded to his father's estates as well as to his title, and Lady Hopetoun inherited her mother's estate at Craigiehall. Some of the lands held by Galabank paid a trifling duty to the Marquis.

On April 27, 1700, Lord Carstairs wrote from Whitehall to Lord Annandale: "I was told your lordship wished to have Major Jhonston a Knt Baronet. I have procured his patent, and shall send it down either with this or Tuesday's

packet." Westerhall was gazetted a Baronet of Nova Scotia, including a grant of land on which it was obligatory to make a settlement. His connection with Annandale became closer when his brother, Major John Johnstone, interested himself on behalf of the widowed Marchioness in the lawsuit, and before it ended in her favour he married her, so that he became guardian to the young Marquis and Lord John.

A letter from the Major to Sir James, dated from London, May 13, 1735, alludes to his stepsons as well as to his own child, Richard, born Sept. 21, 1732:—

"Sir,—I had the honour to receive your most obliging letter . . . In spite of all the discouragements my lady has met with she is determined to return to Scotland this year . . . and has not only given up Purser's Cross, but put Pell Mell in the papers and hung a ticket on the door. You have not been deceived of Lord John, he is returned to the right road, and we have all reason to believe he will persevere in it. Sir Orlando Bridgeman's son came t'other day from abroad, and saw the Marquis at Lausanne, he says he is not only the prittiest youth he ever saw but the most regular and applys the most to his books. Dick is really a very pritty child, and the best natured creature I ever saw. I heartily and sincerely thank you for your kind wishes to him and much more thank you for your advice regarding him. If I were to love him as much as I incline, and as he really deserves I should soon come to like few things else; but blessings and comfort are so seldom permanent that I shall never make my happiness depend upon anything without myself. [He speaks of taking possession at Scarsborough, *i.e.*, Hackness Hall.] Mrs Betty continues your admirer and faithful servant. Mr Michell has threatened me but done nothing, so that the time is now so short before the adjudication must take place for £6000, we take it for granted he will attempt nothing. . . . The chanceler is not to be trifled with, and Michell is already so roasted about the trust estate of Vulture Hopkins that his reputation at the bar is of the lowest. I went one morning to my lord Isla's levee but he has rather forgot me or which is worse imagines I have done somethings at which he thinks he ought to be offended. I have not returned. The Duke of Argyle very seldom sees company, but is much better than he has been. I wish with all my soul the offence may have gone no higher than *memini* but appearances are against us. Our enimys leave no stone unturned. Ld Finlater has been lately at Mr Murrays [Lord Mansfield] to retain him Hope against Annandale which you may easily imagine was refused. . . . We are yet in a storm, and how or when we shall get into safe harbour, the omniscient God only knows. Sir James Stuart of Goodtress is just come in I must therefore finish with all possible respect and esteem Sir your most affectionate brother and devoted humble servt.

"J. Johnstone.

"Offer my humble respects to Lady Johnstone and blessings to the bairns. If you think brother Walter must go into the army say so and I'll find an

opportunity. My wife had begun a letter to my sister but wither she will finish it or not I cannot say company having come in upon her too. She begs her sincerest service may be acceptable to you."

To the misfortune of his stepsons, Colonel John Johnstone died in Jamaica, in 1741, of wounds received when commanding a battalion in an expedition to Carthagena.

CHAPTER XVI.

YOUNG GALABANK—THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND—THE THIRD MARQUIS OF ANNANDALE
—HE PRESENTS TO MOFFAT—WILLIAM JOHNSTONE'S DEATH IN THE WEST INDIES
—CARLILE OF ANTIGUA—SCOTTISH PHARMACY—THE RISING IN 1745—DUMFRIES-
SHIRE MEN WHO ASSISTED PRINCE CHARLES—THE CHEVALIER JOHNSTONE.

A RECENT writer on the social state of Scotland says: "Never did the Church take so high a place as in 1750 to 1770."¹ Among those who helped to raise it to that level was Galabank's eldest son, Edward. The death of the little sisters who had been his playfellows, and of two still younger before he was eleven, gave him a sober turn of mind, so he was early destined to be a minister—at that time quite as influential a post in Scotland as a Roman priest in Ireland, but by no means a lucrative one. The Presbyterian had so recently been established as the Kirk of Scotland, and ousted the Episcopalian, that its leaders resolved to keep up a high standard for their clergy, and a nine years' study and strict probation was required before the ministerial call, and Hebrew and Greek were obligatory. As to Latin, the lectures were delivered in it, and it had to be spoken in the College precincts.

Edward Johnstone's instructor before he went to College was Mr Howie, the Annan minister, from whom he learned French, as well as Latin and Greek. He matriculated at the Edinburgh University when he was sixteen, and, being an eloquent probationer of divinity, he preached several times in the College Chapel before the Professors when he was still under twenty. He took his degree of M.A. in 1739, being already tutor to Richard and Charles, the sons of the Marchioness of Annandale and her second husband, Colonel Johnstone, and he gave lessons to the sons of her first marriage, George, third Marquis of Annandale, and Lord John Johnstone.² While so employed he lived at

¹ Grahame.

² "These gentlemen," wrote his brother in 1799, "were uncommonly fortunate in their tutor, for with great literary talents, with genius, and the liberal manners of a gentleman, my brother had the highest sense of truth, justice, honour, and piety. . . . I owe much to his example, and sincerely honour his memory as my benefactor and as an honour to his family." This was not only a brother's partial estimate; "Fasti Eccles. Scotiæ" says of him: "In person he was tall and graceful. He was superior in talents, manners, and conversation, and by his knowledge and elocution was an animated and popular preacher, as well as a diligent, zealous, and faithful pastor. His sermon on the death of George II. was the only one printed in Scotland."

Comlongan Castle, which the Marchioness rented in 1737 from Lord Stormont, and at Appleby, in Westmoreland, where she spent some time every year.

The sons of Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall often visited their cousins at Comlongan, and the young tutor watched with interest their subsequent career. He also helped to teach his brothers, particularly James, who was fourteen years his junior, and stayed with him at Comlongan and at Moffat. But Annan set up a school of its own, and with an eminent master, Dr Robert Henry, the historian. James was his pupil for a short time, and though he left the school, as he says in his diary, very abruptly, it did not prevent a lifelong friendship with Dr Henry, which extended to his sons.

The despotism which Bishop Burnet describes as being exercised by the ministers in Cromwell's day had by no means lost its vigour when Presbyterianism was re-established, and the Presbyteries kept an eagle eye, far sharper than the contemporary Anglican bishops, on the conduct of the ministers. In 1743 that of Lochmaben deposed the minister of Moffat, and Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall and Mr Graham of Airth (an advocate) presented the Minister of Johnstone in his place. The Presbytery accepted him, and so did the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland provisionally. But on making their usual enquiry they declined to confirm the appointment, which lapsed to the young Marquis of Annandale, who was living at Richmond, in Surrey. He at once presented Edward Johnstone.

The Marquis, who signs his name V. Bempdé Annandale, as by his grandfather's Will the name of Vanden Bempdé must go with the English estates, wrote on Aug. 9, from Richmond, to Bryce Blair, the Provost of Annan, and to James Hoggan, a writer in Comlongan, and told them to manage all the legal part of the affair in presenting the nomination to the Presbytery of Lochmaben, and "if need be to prosecute the said settlement before all or any of the other Church judicatories in Scotland." A little later, in a letter from Paris to Westerhall, Sept. 15, 1743, he says: "I hope Galliebanks junior is settled by this time."

Edward accepted the appointment in a letter:—

"To the Rev. Moderator of the Presbytery of Lochmaben, to be communicated to the Presbytery.

"Rev. Sir,—The most honourable George, Marquis of Annandale, having done me the honour to present me to be minister of the Church and Parish of Moffat by his lordship's presentation, executed in my favour Aug 9, 1743, I do hereby declare to you and to the Rev. Presbytery of Lochmaben that I do accept of the said presentation as Law requires . . . with due submission to the Church. I am, Rev. Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, Edward Johnstone.

"Comlongan Castle, 5 *Sept.* 1743."

There was the usual searching inquiry as to his character and antecedents, as some parishioners accused him "of employing a barber to shave him on the

Sabbath Day," and nearly four years were wasted in it. Then with a caution as to the inadvisability of so doing in future, he was declared a fit and proper person to hold the living, and the Marquis's nomination was confirmed.

Galabank's sisters died, like their parents, in middle age. He seemed to anticipate the same fate for himself, and complained of his eyes, set his wife and daughters to write his letters, and relied on his eldest son for advice as to the management of his younger children and estate. His daughter, Elizabeth, had an offer from "a very pretty laird," as she called him in a letter to her brother. The laird promised to spend every winter in Carlisle when they were married. But Edward interposed. She was already consumptive, and he did not approve of the suitor. Perhaps the disappointment hastened her end, for she only lived another year, and is buried at Annan, with an inscription to the effect that she was a pleasure to her friends, and died, regretted, in the twenty-second year of her age (1756). Her spirit and wit is often alluded to in family letters, and how she rose and spoke her mind when she thought her brother James was maligned. She appealed to James, as her favourite brother, to help her in her engagement, but his advice had already been asked, and was against it.

Galabank did not care to talk about his family. He was much tried in his youth by the legal processes in which he was involved, and in his old age thought he might have done better by following a profession, when he saw the success which many Dumfriesshire men achieved elsewhere. He sent five of his sons to College. The writer already quoted says that students could board in Edinburgh for £10 a year, and that, in 1755, the board at the best students' lodgings was 50 marks per quarter, and at the second 40; the rent from 7s. to 20s. in the session, no furniture but bedsteads and grate. All the rest had to be bought or hired by the student, who paid for his own candles, fire, and washing. He also paid £2, 2s. to the master and 5s. each for lectures to the professors; but prices had risen when Galabank's youngest son went to Edinburgh.

His second son, William, matriculated early at Edinburgh, like his senior, and studied medicine. Since 1705, when the first M.D., Dr Munro, graduated in Edinburgh, about three annually in all Scotland took this degree from 1727 to 1760, and most of them went abroad. The Russian Government, through its Ambassador, for several generations periodically applied to the Principal of the Edinburgh University to select a physician for the Russian Court; but the famous schools of Paris and Italy supplied most of the medical men required by other foreign capitals. William had no need to accept any of these posts, though they were often handsomely remunerated, as a relative, Thomas Carlile,¹ had settled in Antigua under the British flag, and offered an opening to his young countryman. Several other members of Dumfriesshire families were at

¹ Thomas Carlile, besides his estate, left £30,000 to his widow. His son died unmarried, but his daughter, Alice, married Ralph Payne of St. Kitt's, Chief Judge and one of the Council of the island. Their son, Ralph, born in 1739, was created Lord Lavington in 1795. His half-brother, John, was the well-known Admiral, whose portrait is in the Waterloo Chamber, Windsor Castle.

this time turning their attention to the West Indies, attracted by the good fortune which had followed upon the banishment to the "Plantations" of various youths who had joined in the Rising of 1715, and were too young to be hanged.

William Johnstone sailed for Jamaica as soon as he had taken his Degree. He found that Thomas Carlile had lately died, but his son, William, welcomed the young physician, and offered a post to his next brother, John, who, though only seventeen, sailed at once. The result was tragical. They were taken prisoners by the Spaniards when on a cruise among the islands, and endured great hardships in most insanitary quarters during a short captivity. They fell ill with yellow fever in Spanish Town, Kingston, where William died, Jan. 9, 1745, aged twenty-four. John recovered sufficiently to return home, but with his mind affected. William Carlile died about the same time, but whether he was with the Johnstones, and also suffered from a Spanish prison, is not recorded.

Dr Cullen went from Glasgow to Edinburgh to succeed Munro. He alluded to prescriptions which, "foolish as they were in his manhood, were preposterous in his youth." "Not long ago," he added, "the Pharmacopœia of the several colleges of Europe were a scandal to physic, and contained many things shocking to commonsense; many of them are so still. The Edinburgh Pharmacopœia, in request all over Europe, in its third edition of 1737 enumerated spiders' webs, viper's body, toads cooked alive, millipedes, snake's skin, mummy human skull, snails, Spanish flies, frogs' spawn, human blood and fat, bees, etc., some even more disgusting, and 450 vegetable simples, some of the things most difficult to get, like a stony substance found inside Borneo goats. Mummies were concocted by Jews and sold in Paris for a high price." The Pharmacopœia of the Royal College of Physicians in London retained, in 1745, viper's broth and brick oil. No wonder that epidemics raged unchecked through Europe, and the Turkish plague reached Vienna and Marseilles.

Galabank intended that his fourth son, James, should be an advocate. Several Dumfriesshire men were distinguished in the law in the eighteenth century—Lord Mansfield (born at Comlongan, and whose family owned Graitney), Sir William Pulteney (of the House of Westerhall), Sir James Kirkpatrick, Charles Sharpe of Hoddam, Alexander Fergusson of Craigdarroch, David Armstrong, Hugh Corrie, Thomas Goldie, and William Copland of Collistoun—but Erskine and James Douglas, the brothers of Sir John Douglas of Kelhead, in the neighbourhood, had taken up medicine, and Erskine Douglas with his brother Francis, a sailor, were being concealed by their relatives in 1746 for having carried arms for Prince Charles. Erskine had given up good prospects in his profession to join a losing cause, and was a local hero. His brother-in-law, Sir William Maxwell of Springkell, was Johnstone's lifelong friend. The practice of medicine as exhibited by the Douglasses¹ had more adventure connected with it than the law, and James

¹ Great-uncles of the fifth Marquis of Queensberry. "Go, Jamie, and avenge Flodden," was Sir William Douglas's parting words to his son when he went to learn the composition of medicines at an apothecary's in Carlisle, where he afterwards practised.

preferred it, and, like a young knight-errant, meant to try and save life by seeking for a remedy for the smallpox, which, impartially visiting the palace and the cottage, caused 60 per cent. of the infant mortality in England in 1746-50, and nearly as many in Scotland.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu went to Constantinople in 1717, and allowed her son to be inoculated, after the custom she found prevailing in the East; but it was not readily adopted in Great Britain, and it was arranged that when James had taken his medical degree in Edinburgh, he should study for a short time in Paris, to learn the French practice in fevers, and this new mode—as far as Europe was concerned—of combating the dreaded enemy, which carried off three of his sisters and later two of his own children.

Galabank is mentioned as an ex-Provost of Annan, but it is not quite clear which year he served.

It was in sight of his house, and over the bridge at Annan, that the wearied and disappointed army of Prince Charles Edward, in 1745, continued their retreat from England, where they had not found the support they had been led to expect. No Prince had visited Annan since James VI. stayed at Newbie Castle and hunted in the neighbourhood, although Charles I. was anxiously expected at Caerlaverock Castle when it maintained a siege on his behalf. Some volunteers undertook to guard the bridge, but fled at the first sound of the pibroch; and as part of the Prince's army halted for the night on Galabank's land, James, the eldest of his sons at home, then fifteen, conveyed away all his horses in front of the cavalry by the bridge to Limekilns, the house of a relative, Carlile, who was attached to the cause of George II., lest their seizure should compromise the owner in the eyes of the Government.¹ In an autobiography, written in his old age, James relates how he returned in the morning "in time to see the march of the clans towards Dumfries. The Prince walked at the head of the Clan Macpherson, which defeated the Duke of Cumberland's troops in a skirmish, and gave some check to the advance of the punitive force." He describes Prince Charles Edward as "tall, fair, and his whole demeanour, affable and princely. Though possessed of courage and address, he had not enough to succeed in his arduous undertaking. He was not forward in battle, and left the field at Culloden too soon (but his friends obliged him to do so). In repassing the Esk, Dec. 21, on his retreat, he carried on a high horse a Highlander behind him, and returned back again and brought a second in like manner; this was gracious, and encouraged his people to pass the river, which was breast high. The vanguard of their horse, under Lord Kilmarnock, suddenly drew up the same day before my father's door, accompanied by Mr Lawson," etc.

¹ In *Glimpses of Peebles*, by the Rev. A. Williamson, there is a letter from the Marchioness of Annandale, then a widow for the second time, dated Jan. 17, 1746, from Comlongan Castle, describing the Highlanders on their march: "My dear boys," she writes, "being at home, was an amusement to me in such disturbances as this country was in when they returned on Dec. 21, the day my house was visited by 3 A.M., when a captain and five men entered the house and stayed till 7. They asked for arms and horses—the former I had none. Then they went to the stables and would have taken all my mares but Mr Hoggan pleaded hard for them, and said I was afflicted with gout, and had no way

The next time that young James met a member of the Royal House was in the Bishop's Palace (now Deanery) at Worcester, when he and his three eldest sons were presented to George III. and Queen Charlotte.

The Risings of 1715 and 1745 cost Dumfriesshire as much as if she had actively supported them, and the stoppage of a chief bank at Ayr, which had a branch in Dumfries, caused a complete stagnation of commerce, except in the illegal form in which it was conducted on the southern coast.

Yet, poor as the country was, the Rebellion of 1745 could only be crushed out in Scotland with the aid of Dutch and German troops. These mercenaries or conscripts seem to have been more civilised than the rabble with which the press-gang and the prison recruited the British army at that date. The license permitted to the victorious soldiers left the northern parts of the country a famine-stricken waste, but as the Militia alone secured the loyalty of Dumfriesshire, it suffered less from the exactions of the avengers of Gladsmuir.

Galabank must have found it hard to pay the sum of £100 which was demanded of him towards a forced loan raised in the county for Prince Charles Edward; in fact he gave it in the form of a bond, for which his securities were Thomas Kirkpatrick and Robert Laurie. Bryce Blair, the ex-Provost, also gave £100. There was great sympathy with the movement even among those who did not care to risk the penalties for high treason, or, if treated more leniently, to be sent as slaves to the Southern States of North America. The Prince lodged at two houses in Dumfries; one is the Commercial Hotel, where he held a levee on his return from England. The town was fined £4000 sterling for an attack made in the street on one of his Highland followers. He is said to have lodged in both the Buck Hotel and the Blue Bell at Annan on his return, and some of his followers, camped in Galabank's field, went to carouse in the Queensberry Arms. There they heard Carlile of Bridekirk, a staunch Hanoverian, express his opinion very freely on the respective merits of King George and their young leader. They arrested him, and compelled him to march with them to Dumfries, where he asked for an interview with the Prince, and told him why he came there. The unfortunate Charles replied, "Sir, I commend you for it, and if some of my pretended followers had been so firm

of exercising but in the coach; which prevailed with them so far that they left four, but the odd one they took, and two of H——'s best horses, which I was sorry for, as it is a loss to his business, and after they got plenty of meat and drink they all went to Sir W. G——'s who lost some horses too. After the morning was over I had another visit of forty more who came at 2, and made the same demand as the former; but as I had time I sent the best of my mares out of the way, and by that means saved them, but they threatened to shoot one of Mr H——'s workmen, if he did not tell where my mares were, for they said they knew I had five and a sheltie; but the man said, he knew not where they were which pacified them. Then they slipped round the parks and got a poor old dragoon of Mr H——'s. . . . And after eating and drinking thirty-four of them marched off, but the other six who was not so able to go on to Dumfries said they would lie here. . . . They were away by 6 A.M., after a good breakfast of meat and cheese, ale, good brandy, and was so civil as never to set their foot in the House, sent their service to me, and thanks for their good entertainment, and told my boys who were much entertained with them, that they were namesakes For M'Donalds which they were, was the same as Johnstone. But I own I was very glad when my cousins were gone. . . . All the effects were really Triffells to what my neighbours suffered. . . . I hope we shall never see them more for they ruin wherever they go."

in my cause as you are to George, I now should have been on the throne of my fathers." He was at once released, and as the Duke of Cumberland, who was on his road to the North to attack the Prince's army, heard of it, he sent for Mr Carlile and offered to relieve him of the heavy debt on his estate if he would assist him with all the information he could, but, to the distress of Mr Carlile's nearest relations, he refused even to meet the Duke. His estate passed out of the hands of his family, owing to the general ruin caused by the failure of the local banks after the insurrection was suppressed.

Dumfries received the gift of some confiscated estates in recognition of its townspeople having seized a baggage waggon left in the mud near Ecclefechan as the Prince's army marched South. The Highland soldiers in charge were only armed with pikes and scythe blades, so easily taken prisoners.

A few in the county were reported for their share in the movement—two Johnstones of Knockhill, James Irving, junior of Gribton; "Edward Irving of Wysbie guided the rebels from Ecclefechan to Graitney, on their way to Carlisle; William Johnstone of Lockerbie was very assisting to the rebels in their march through Annandale; William Irving of Gribton refused to drink His Majesty's health and is supposed to have forced his son into the rebellion; John Henderson of Castlemains imprisoned at Carlisle for drinking treasonable healths was set at liberty and made Governor of the Jail by the rebels" (he was executed at Carlisle); Gavin Broun, the two Douglasses, the Earl of Nithsdale, and many Maxwells, including Sir William of Springkell, who "had entertained certain rebels and provided them with horses"; Sir John Douglas was kept for a short time in the Tower, but his brothers were left alone after a trifling search.

One of Prince Charles's aide-de-camps at Culloden was a scion of the House of Wamfray, the only son and eighth child of James Johnstone, a merchant in Edinburgh (a Jacobite), and his wife, Cecile Hewit. The younger James was baptised in Edinburgh in 1719; and in 1738 visited his uncles, General Douglas and Hewit in St. Petersburg, but his father declined to allow him to enter the Russian service. The same objection did not prevent the youth from joining Prince Charles Edward at Perth in 1745; and he became aide-de-camp to Lord George Murray, till Prince Charles made him one of his own, and he remained with the Prince till the end. Lady Jane Douglas, a distant relative of his mother, had always been kind to him, and, in spite of hair-breadth escapes, he safely reached her house at Edinburgh, and was concealed there for two months. After a secret interview with his father, he went to London, but, probably dismayed by the fate of other captured insurgents, he left England for Holland disguised as Lady Jane's servant, thence to Paris to join the Prince, and received 2200 livres out of 40,000 given by the French Court for Jacobite refugees. He entered the French marines, went to Louisbourg, and obtained promotion; but when Louisbourg was captured by the English, he fled to Quebec, and assisted Montcalm against the English. On the capture of Quebec, General Murray kindly ignored his nationality, and sent him back with other captured officers to France. His parents were now dead,

as well as his favourite sister, Cecile, the wife of the sixth Lord Rollo, so he remained in Paris till the Revolution deprived him of his pension ; but he had relatives there, one of whom, the President of the Scots College, sold to Messrs Longman in 1820 his MS. of the *History of the Rebellion in 1745-46*.

The Chevalier de Johnstone died about 1798.

CHAPTER XVII.

"Within the bounds of Annandale
The gentle Johnstones ride,
They have been there a thousand years,
A thousand years they'll bide."—*Old Ballad.*

JOHNSTONES OF WESTERHALL—SIR WILLIAM—HIS SONS—SIR JAMES MEETS DR SAMUEL JOHNSON—SIR WILLIAM PULTENEY—GOVERNOR JOHNSTONE'S CAREER—JOHNSTONE OF ALVA—GIDEON JOHNSTONE AND MRS JORDAN—LADY OGILVIE—MISS JOHNSTONE.

THE Johnstones of Westerhall increased their property in the eighteenth century, and after the death of William, first Marquis of Annandale, were the most influential of the name in Scotland, as James, the second Marquis, lived chiefly abroad. There were serious quarrels between these two, partly because the Marquis had sold hereditary estate to Westerhall, and Sir William of Westerhall, with very profane language, tried to reconcile the Marquis to his son. He was therefore much annoyed when Marquis James made an entail of his property—settling it first on the heirs of his sister and aunts, after his own male and female heirs, and then, in the event of the failure of his grandfather's direct heirs, to Colonel James Johnstone of Graitney and his male heirs—without any mention of the Westerhalls, except to annul the succession of any heir who married into that family. He also ignored his half-brothers, George and John, or any other Johnstone. The settlement was signed at Ferrybridge, in Yorkshire, Oct. 1, 1726, witnessed by William Johnston (younger of Corehead) and others.

Sir William was M.P. for the Dumfries Burghs for nearly twenty years. He died 1728, leaving four sons—James, John, Archibald, and Walter. John was a major in Brigadier Phineas Bowles's regiment of Dragoons at the time he married Charlotta, Dowager-Marchioness of Annandale. Archibald, a surgeon in the Hon. Lieutenant-General Howard's regiment of Foot, died 1748. His Will describes him as a widower, late of Westerkirk, North Britain. He appointed his brother, Walter, guardian to his children, John and Jane, till they should be twenty-one. Walter was also in the army, and served under the Duke of Cumberland in 1745-46.

The eldest brother, the third Baronet, was an advocate and Provost of Lochmaben when elected to represent the Dumfries Burghs in 1743. He married Barbara Murray, daughter of Alexander, fourth Lord Elibank, and had

eight sons and six daughters. The following letter from William, Marquis of Annandale, was on the birth of his third son :—

“Whitehall 21 off *April*, 1720.

“Cusin,

“I congratulate you heartily upon the birth of your son. I wish my lady a safe recovery and all healthe to the childe. I thank you for the compliment of his name and assure you as I have ever been a true friend to the family so I shall ever continue to do you and yours all the particulars that lie in my power for nobody shall ever wish your prosperity, and the good of your family more than I shall do. My wife [second] gives your lady her humble service and I hope next summer they shall be known to one and other. My service to Lord Elibank and all the good family. I hope your father will do all in reason and justice that can be expected of him. I am cusin your true friend and servant, Annandale.”

Sir James died in 1772.

His eldest son, James, the fourth baronet, was born about 1719, and educated at Leyden. He married a widow, Mrs Merrick, née Louisa Coleclough, and was a lieutenant-colonel in the army, and M.P. for the Burghs; but chiefly noted for his good nature, his excellent qualities as a landlord, and for the suggestion of the first bridge over the Esk.

As an M.P. he brought in a Bill to regulate the sale of flax and wool, and acted as chairman of many committees. Dr John Moore, father of the hero of Corunna, described meeting him at a party at Hoole's, where Samuel Johnson was a guest, when a case was being tried by the House. Johnson inquired if the Baronet was going to hear it. Sir James said he should not, for he paid little regard to the arguments of Counsel at the Bar of the House. The author of the Dictionary asked, “Why?” “Because,” was the reply, “they argue for their fee!” “What is that to you, Sir,” said Johnson, “you seem to confound argument with assertion,” and he proceeded to explain the difference. Some of his admirers applauding, surprised the old man, who added, “Sir, the illustration is not mine, it is Bacon's.”

In his father's lifetime Major Johnstone, when quartered at Edinburgh, had a sad duty to perform. A rumour was started that seventy Highlanders, enlisted for Lovat's regiment, were to be drafted into a Lowland corps, so they refused to embark for England. They must have felt very strongly about it, as a Highlander was sentenced a year before to 1000 lashes for mutiny, and was only let off on condition that he would serve beyond the seas; but the General Commanding ordered five officers and 200 of the Fencibles, under Major Johnstone, to march to Leith, where they found the Highlanders on the shore ready for action. The Major drew up his detachment so as to prevent escape, and the orders he must obey were translated into Gaelic by the sergeant, but the answer was they would neither surrender nor lay down their arms. One Highlander, trying to escape, was bayoneted, and a fierce battle began. As the Highlanders had only a few charges they lost over forty in killed

and wounded. The rest were taken prisoners, while the Fencibles lost two killed and one wounded, besides Captain J. Mansfield. A court-martial on the survivors, many of them badly wounded, condemned them all to be shot, and they were already drawn up for execution when a pardon from the King was announced, as two of them had been distinguished under the Duke of Cumberland in 1746. One fainted away, and the weak, shattered condition of all is described as exciting so much sympathy that it would not have been safe to carry out the sentence.

From some lines in an epistle to Robert Graham, only found in one edition of the Poet's works, it appears that Sir James assisted Burns in his pecuniary difficulties:—

"What Whig but melts for good Sir James,
Dear to his country by the names,
Friend, patron, benefactor.
Not Pulteney's wealth can Pulteney save
And Hopeton falls, the generous brave,
And Stewart bold as Hector."

William, Westerhall's third son, was educated for the Scottish Bar, and entered it in 1751. In 1762 he was appointed Secretary to the Poker Club in Edinburgh, but he removed to London, when he married the heiress of the first Earl of Bath, whose large fortune obliged him to take her name, Pulteney. That the fourth son, George, born 1730, a man of strong character, a bold and noted duellist, was early sent into the merchant service is not surprising—whipping having been almost abolished as a punishment for youth in Dumfriesshire since the tragical death of his connection, young Douglas—but it was not unusual to let a boy learn seamanship on a merchant vessel, the only training he had before qualifying with a very slight examination for a commission in the Navy. When George Johnstone passed for lieutenant, Feb. 2, 1749-50, he was described as *apparently* twenty-one, as having served six years at sea, part of the time in the merchant service, and the rest in eleven different ships under different captains. Yet he had distinguished himself notably in the *Canterbury*, under Captain David Brodie, at the attack on Port Louis, March 8, 1747-48, when he boarded a fireship and made fast a chain by which she was towed off clear of the squadron. He was also in the *Lark*, with Captain John Crookshanks, on her meeting with the *Glorioso* on July 14, 1747, and on leaving her is said to have challenged, fought, and wounded Crookshanks, who had refused to give him a certificate. In Oct. 1755 he became a lieutenant, and was appointed to the *Sutherland*, from which he was moved the next year to the *Bideford*, on the West Indian Station. While in her he is said to have killed the Captain's clerk in a duel. On Feb. 22, 1757, he was tried by court-martial for insubordination and disobedience, but was only reprimanded in consideration of former gallant behaviour; and was advanced to post rank in 1762. He injured his foot and ankle at Chatham while waiting for the arrival of the *Hind*, to which he had been appointed, and kept his bed twelve weeks, so was superseded and placed on half pay.

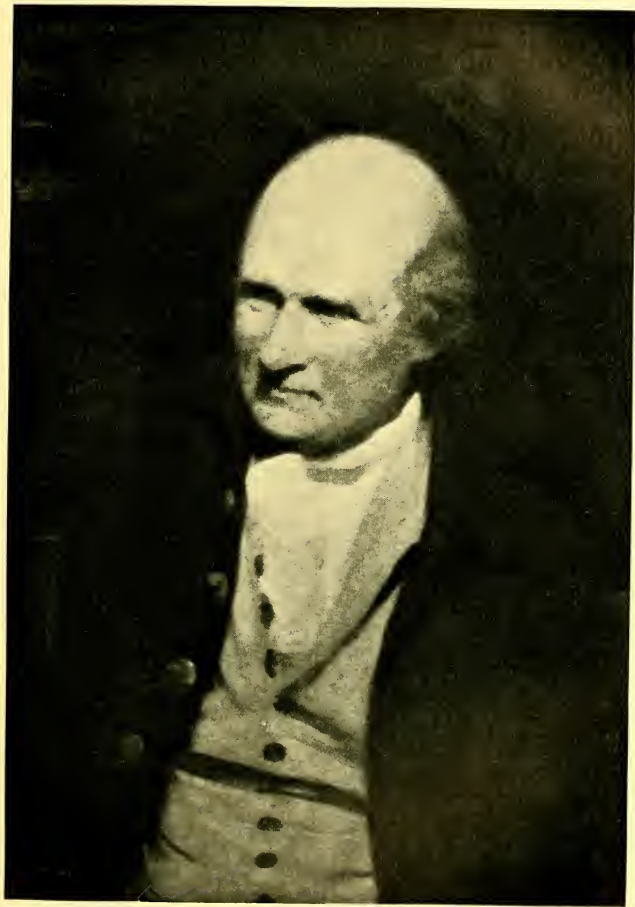
In 1763 he was appointed Governor of West Florida, which had been ceded by Spain, Colonel Grant having been put into East Florida. As the nomination of two Scotsmen was severely commented on by an organ of the press, Johnstone wrote to challenge the writer, who did not come forward, and on threatening some one connected with the paper he was bound over before a magistrate to keep the peace. He fought a duel with Lord George Germain, but neither was hurt. At that time, through his brother William's interest, he was M.P. for Cockermouth, and in 1774 for Appleby.

In 1778 Johnstone was one of the Commissioners, which included Lord Carlisle, for adjusting affairs with America, but he is said to have offended the American members by offering a bribe, and Congress passed a resolution that it was incompatible with its honour to hold any manner of communication with the said George Johnstone, especially upon affairs in which the cause of liberty and virtue were interested. He was obliged to resign; yet he appears in the Biographical Dictionaries of distinguished Americans, having been Governor of Florida, in which capacity he gave very prudent advice as to the dealings of white men with the natives. He was a ready speaker, and attacked abuses with characteristic vigour; in one instance the payment of large salaries for small special services easily performed and cutting down the scanty pay of the men who really did the work.

In 1780 Johnstone was made Commodore and Commander-in-Chief of a small squadron, to be employed on the coast of Portugal, with his broad pennant in the 50-gun ship, *Romney*. The next year, with a squadron, he was sent to convoy the East India merchant ships as far as the Cape and to attack it. He seems to have been surprised by the French fleet and did not gain the complete victory it was hoped that his ships would have secured. The French got first to the Cape, after which it was almost impossible with the means at the command of the General and the Commodore to make the intended attack. But five Dutch East Indiamen came in their way. Johnstone secured four of them and returned with his prizes to England in his own ship, leaving the rest of the squadron to go on with the troops (which were to have assisted in the attack on the Cape) to India, except H. M. S. *Isis*, which had sustained some damage. He put its captain, Evelyn Sutton, under arrest. This involved the Commodore in trouble to the end of his days. Captain Sutton, deprived of a share of the prize money in addition to this reproach, brought an action against him for false imprisonment, and obtained a verdict for £5000 damages. In a new trial an appeal was dismissed; in a further trial the verdict was reversed, but the House of Lords confirmed it. The Governor did not live to hear the final judgment, and Sutton never got the money awarded to him.

Governor Johnstone married Charlotte Dee, and carried on the direct line of Westerhall, being great-grandfather of the present Baronet. His wife, after his death, married Admiral Nugent.

John, born 1734, the fifth son of the Laird of Westerhall, was the founder of the House of Alva. He went out at the age of sixteen to Fort William or



JOHN JOHNSTONE OF ALVA, 1734-95.
(WESTERHALL).

Calcutta as an artillery officer (*History of Bengal Artillery*). Some time after his arrival he fell ill, and owed his recovery, under Providence, to the care of an elderly lady, Miss Warwick, the daughter of a deceased East India merchant, who took him into her house, and having no near relation except a brother, whom she believed to be dead, she adopted the youth as her son. She died soon afterwards, leaving him all she had. As it was over £100,000, Johnstone retired from the Service, and meant to go home and buy an estate in Scotland. He was waiting at an inn in Calcutta till a ship sailed homeward, when he met a new arrival, Captain Warwick, and, attracted by the name, made inquiry, and found that he was the long-lost brother of his benefactress. When sure of his identity, and that he had no idea his sister had left anything, Johnstone told him that she died rich, and had made him her trustee till her heir was found, so that now he would hand it over to the rightful owner. When Warwick learned the real facts from the Will he offered to divide the money with Johnstone, but this offer was refused, and Johnstone gave up the idea of going home, and took a clerkship in the H.E.I.C.S. His brother, Patrick, had also a post in Bengal.

The conditions of life in India were very different to the present day. The French and Dutch had large possessions there, and were our rivals in the influence they exercised over the native rulers. In Bengal the Companies paid rent to the Viceroy of the Great Mogul; and among a peacefully disposed people the British population were all traders, with a small military force. Mere boys went out straight from the severe discipline of the eighteenth century schools and found horrible Asiatic punishments inflicted by the Mogul's officials, and bribery and corruption rampant. It was not strange if they imbibed some of the views of the place, and the modern ways of counteracting the baneful influence of the climate were not understood. That an angry Englishman suffering from the loss of his baggage should write to a native Prince and order him to impale the thieves is impossible now. It seems to have surprised no one in 1768.

The Viceroy of Bengal, who was our friend, died in 1756, and was succeeded by Surajah Dowlah, his grandson, a boy of eighteen, who, finding that a rich native he wanted to plunder was protected in Calcutta, marched with a large army against Fort William. The news of his atrocities preceded him, and the Governor and Military Commandant escaped; the fort was taken, and 146 British captives were shut up on a tropical night in a dungeon 20 feet square. The guards looked through the air-holes, mocking their sufferings, and only twenty-three survived. Among the corpses drawn out in the morning was that of Patrick Johnstone, Westerhall's sixth son. He was buried with his comrades in a pit hastily dug; and it was only, thanks to the female relatives of the Nabob, that any of the survivors were released.

John Johnstone is mentioned as one of the fugitives collected at Fultah—the port where a few British ships took them on board. His name is among those saved at Dacca. In a letter, dated in 1765, to Lord Clive he exculpates himself from a charge of disclosing confidential transactions, preferred against

him by Governor Drake. In this letter he says he had been "remanded to the artillery, his former" occupation, and served with the army till 1765, when he returned to Calcutta. The date is, however, uncertain.¹

To return to 1757. Clive received the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in England, and arrived in Bengal with a punitive force. He reached Plassey. The French had joined the natives, and the combined force seemed overwhelming. With Clive's army were 100 artillerymen, eight 6-pounder guns, and two howitzers, commanded by Captain Jennings. Johnstone volunteered to command a large field gun, and kept back Meer Jaffir, who, with a native force, was advancing nominally to join the British. Meer Jaffir had accepted bribes to separate a large force from Surajah Dowlah's army and bring them over to Clive. But on the eve of the battle he made no sign that he would keep this promise, and was believed to be prepared, if the British faltered, to join the victors. Johnstone probably acted in accordance with instructions or with well-founded distrust in keeping him back, while Clive felt it was convenient to accept Meer Jaffir's excuse, and to place him, as his tool, on Surajah Dowlah's throne. The great treasures of Bengal, now at Clive's disposal, were the chief source of the wealth which he and some of his followers obtained.

Johnstone's obituary, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, states that "he was chief of the province of Midnapore during the arduous contest with the Nabob Cossun Ali Khan," as well as a prominent member of the Bengal Council. The Warwick episode is a proof of his upright character, and the simple life he lead when he came back to Scotland was very unlike the ordinary idea of a returned East India magnate.

Clive went back to England, for the second time, in 1760, and passed a year in seclusion on account of his health. Reports of insubordination among the native soldiers and princes reached the East India Directors, and he went back in 1764 with new regulations and fresh men, whom he formed into a Committee, to be superior to the ruling Council of Bengal, which consisted of his old colleagues. Up to this time the Company permitted its officials to receive payment from the natives, and to increase their slender stipends by trade and presents. All this was to be changed. He found that Meer Jaffir was dead, and replaced by his son, Najamud Dowlah, and that the Council had exacted from the young Prince twenty lakhs of rupees. Clive vigorously attacked the members, and showed that the new regulations declared this practice to be illegal. As he had recently received the thanks of the Houses of Parliament, an Irish Peerage, and a grant of £300,000, Johnstone, who was his chief opponent, naturally reminded Clive of the money he had himself accepted from Meer Jaffir, thereby establishing a precedent, and that no censure had been suggested for it. Meer Jaffir had also left Clive £70,000, but Clive made use of this legacy to found the Pension Fund for Retired Officers in the Bengal Service, and their Widows and Orphans.

Owing to this dispute with his chief Johnstone retired from the Council, and returned to Scotland with £300,000. He is said to have spent about a

¹ Buckle's *Bengal Artillery*.

ninth of it in the Alva, Hangingshawe, and Denovan estates. He was little more than thirty, with three brothers in Parliament, and they did not let the matter rest. He had also a friend in Holwell, one of the survivors of the Black Hole, who, in a pamphlet to refute "criticism on historical events," speaks of "Mr Johnstone's spirited and sensible letter to the East Indian Proprietors affording the strongest support to his reasons, for by that Gentleman's indefatigable labour it appears that in the district of Burdwan only he had increased the revenue to the annual value of £116,727."

Scotland was very unpopular at that time in England, partly owing to the Rising in 1745. This was seen in the opposition to Lord Bute. In the present difference public opinion went with Clive, and the Committee which was appointed by the House to inquire into East Indian affairs would have collapsed for want of a plan if it had not been supplied by Governor Johnstone, who pointedly directed it against Clive himself. In a very long and dignified speech Clive defended his own conduct, and said that, when he thought of the rooms full of gold, diamonds, and other treasure which he had passed through, and which victory had placed in his power, he could only wonder at his own moderation. According to Sir C. Wilson in his *History of India*, he was answered by "Governor Johnstone in a speech of great violence," declaring that all the evils that had arisen were the natural result of Clive's action when Governor of India (March 1772).

Eventually the House resolved that Clive, as Commander-in-Chief, had received large sums of money from Meer Jaffir; but when it was asked to affirm that Lord Clive had abused his powers, and set a bad example, the amendment was rejected, and Wedderburn moved that "Lord Clive did at the same time render great and meritorious service to his country."

This was passed without opposition, but Clive, in bad health, never seems to have recovered from the annoyance. It has been thought that it was the cause of his unhappy end, but James Johnstone, of Worcester, who had prescribed for him some years before, maintained that, when suffering from acute Indian liver, he had been ignorantly advised to try the wrong Spa for his disorder, which had consequently produced extreme depression and temporary delirium. He had also for some time past taken opium for sleeplessness.

John Johnstone, returning to Europe, lived quietly on his beautiful Scottish estates till he was elected M.P. for the Kirkcaldy Burghs. This took him occasionally to London, but country pursuits seem to have been his chief interest. He was left sole executor to his brother, the Governor, whose affairs were in a very complicated state. He married Elizabeth Caroline, daughter of Colonel Keene, and niece of Sir Benjamin Keene, Minister at the Court of Madrid, and of Dr Keene, Bishop of Ely. Their only son, James Raymond, married, June 20, 1799, Mary Elizabeth, sister of Sir Montague Cholmeley, Bart., and the only daughter, Elizabeth, was the wife of James Gordon of Craig.

John Johnstone of Alva died Dec. 10, 1795, aged sixty-one. His brother,

Alexander, a lieutenant-colonel, died *s.p.* 1787. He is mentioned in this letter from his eldest brother to their father:—

“Dearest Sir,

“Brother Alexr. was quite recovered when the last ships came away, but excessively chagrined at being left behind. A gentleman of his acquaintance told me that he was more disordered in mind than body. All the Knights of Nova Scotia have been applying for grants of the lands mentioned in their patents on record in the Parl. House, Edinr. If you could get yourself served heir male to Johnston of Elphinstone I will get you your grant, and without your being at one shillings expence will put at least £1000 in your pocket, providing your 100,000 acres (one share) lies near a navigable river; at any rate it will do much more than pay the expence.

“George, I believe, will get a government. I am told I shall get rank. I ever am, dearest sir, your most affectionate and dutiful son, Jas. Johnstone.

“*March 1, 1763.*”

Captain Gideon Johnstone, another of Westerhall's sons, married the celebrated Mrs Jordan, when she was still a girl acting at Leeds, about 1779. He was the only admirer who led her to the altar, and when, in her last lonely and poverty-stricken days in France, she called herself Johnstone, it was the one name to which she is believed to have had any legal claim. He had probably met her first when she was acting in Dublin and Cork, but, as he died abroad, she continued to act with the stage name of Jordan. She was the mother of the Fitz Clarences and the ancestress of the Duke of Fife.

Of Sir James Johnstone's daughters, Barbara married Lord Kinnaird, and Charlotte married James Balmain. Both left descendants. The adventures of another daughter, Margaret, form an interesting chapter in Burke's *Family Romance*. She was married to David, Lord Ogilvie, the eldest son of the Earl of Airlie, and induced her husband to join the banner of Prince Charles in 1745 on the ground that, so long as his father remained at home, he perilled neither rank nor property by heading the clan. She kept him up to the mark by riding with them to Culloden, and took charge of a led-horse in case her husband should want it during the battle. Towards the end of the day he rode up to tell her all was lost, then mounted the fresh horse, and reached the coast in time to catch a Norway fishing boat, by which he escaped through Denmark to France, while his wife, stupefied with fatigue, anxiety, and disappointment, was taken prisoner.

Several ladies shared Lady Ogilvie's prison in Edinburgh Castle, but were all released while she was detained, because “so much mischief had been done by women taking an active part in the Stewart cause, and persuading their husbands to join when they would otherwise have stayed at home, that it was necessary to make an example of the one who was foremost in rank and influence.” She was tried and condemned to be executed in Edinburgh in six weeks; but it seems probable, from the unusual length of time allowed, that a remission was expected. She anticipated it by leaving the prison disguised in



MARGARET JOHNSTONE, LADY OGILVIE.
(WESTERHALL).

her laundress's clothes, and at Abbey Hill found horses and baggage waiting for her. Thence she proceeded by easy stages to Dover, seeing everywhere a caricature supposed to be herself, with the reward offered for her capture. She joined her husband, who had entered the French service, but died in France when only thirty-three. She left two children—David, Earl of Airlie, and Margaret, who became the wife of Sir John Wedderburn, Bart.

Two little sisters, Elizabeth and Henrietta, died young, but another Elizabeth lived to old age, a favourite with her younger relatives, to whom she was known as Aunt Betty, and with a large circle of friends. At that time the ladies of a family were still allowed to use the Scottish accent, though with boys it had to be checked if they were to enter public life. Dean Ramsay relates that Miss Johnstone was extremely indignant when, on the death of her brother, his widow proposed to sell the old furniture at Westerhall. As she described it, "the furniture was a' to be roupit, and we couldna persuade her. But before the sale came on, in God's gude Providence she just clinkit off herself." She came into possession of Hawkhill, near Edinburgh, and died there. When dying, a tremendous storm of rain and thunder shook the house. In her own quaint, eccentric spirit, and with no thought of profane or light allusions, she looked up, and, listening to the storm, quietly remarked, "Sirs, what a night for me to be fleeing through the air."

CHAPTER XVIII.

YOUNG GALABANK VISITS FRANCE—SETTLES IN WORCESTERSHIRE—LORD LYTTLETON—
GALABANK'S WRITINGS—CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIS FAMILY—MANY DEATHS—
THE MINISTER OF MOFFAT—LETTERS TO AND FROM THE WESTERHALLS—LORD
JOHN JOHNSTONE—DEATH OF THE LAST MARQUIS—HIS AFFAIRS—GALABANK'S
FAMILY.

JAMES JOHNSTONE, the eighth in descent from William, first Baron of Newbie, was born at Annan, April 14 (O.S.), 1730, and named after his father's only brother, who died in London the previous year. He was the fourth son and ninth child of Galabank and his wife, who survived all their sixteen children, except this son, his elder brother John, and Isobelle, the widow of Adam Murray of Belriding.

James's first recollection of his mother was being tenderly nursed through an attack of small-pox, and the prayers she offered up by his bedside for his recovery. He matriculated at Edinburgh in 1747, and spent his vacations in study at Annan, Moffat, and in Dr Blencowe's house at Whitehaven, where he learned the composition of medicines and their effect. During the Session at Edinburgh, he studied anatomy under the second Munro (who was also instructor to the first anatomist of his time, John Hunter), besides attending some of the best medical lectures of the day. Edinburgh was famous, as she is now, for her medical science, but there were only sixty students in all in 1750. Her schools were the resort of Dutch, Polish, Swedish, and Danish pupils; yet it was still such a disadvantage in England to be a Scot, that Dr St. Clair from Edinburgh, settling in Dover, was not consulted by a single patient during six months, and then left England altogether to take up a Professorship at Leyden, which he had been offered a year before.

Johnstone graduated simultaneously as M.A. and M.D. in 1750,¹ and before he was twenty-one was admitted a member of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh. Only his brother William, who was still younger, and himself were ever appointed at so early an age. A month later his brother, Edward, gave him a letter of introduction to an old college friend, Mr Coburn, a merchant in Dublin, as the ship, in which a place had been secured, touched

¹ Oliver Goldsmith took his degree the next year. Dr Darwin, Dr Withering, and other eminent Englishmen had Edinburgh degrees.

there between Whitehaven and Havre. Edward spoke of James as being on his way to continue his studies in Paris. "I am sure I have your good wishes," he adds. "The business of physician is crowded here, your advice and countenance to my brother is what I may expect; and if in the course of things he should possibly want any money on his return, will you answer his application to the sum of £10, £15, or £20, and I will repay it. May I hope to see you at the Manse of Moffat," etc.

It was autumn when James went by diligence from Havre to Rouen. His diary shows the novel impressions of the most civilised and luxurious kingdom in Europe on a youth who came from the country of all others where an educated class was most hardily reared. The religious paintings in the churches especially interested him, for he had never seen anything like them before. He comments on the extraordinarily bold language of the Press and its rebukes to Royalty, under a Government professing to be an absolute despotism, but he dwells little on the evils disfiguring its administration and its cruel punishments,—and, no wonder, for only $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles from his home some of the followers of Prince Charles Edward were executed four years before, with the special barbarity which the English law adjudged for high treason, and their decaying heads still hung on the gateway of the old Castle at Carlisle.

"Having proceeded sometimes by land and sometimes by the barges on the Seine to Poissy," he writes, "I there quitted a very mean man to whom I was introduced at Rouen, and who was going to take the degree of doctor of physic at Rheims. He condescended to ride a horse I hired to carry my portmanteau; and I was heartily tired of his company and services.

"At Paris, I rejoined Dr Monro and Dr Colin Drummond, and by my banker Mr Isaac Vernet of Geneva, I was introduced to Daniel le Clerc, grandson of the famous author of the *History of Medicine*, and to several medical students. By the usual means and premium, I obtained permission to visit the patients in the Hôpital de la Charité, and there I was given the opportunity of becoming a practical anatomist. [This was impossible in Britain at that date, except by stealth.] M. Faget was the chief surgeon. I attended practical demonstration of the most important branches of medicine and surgery, as well as the lectures of M. Ferrein in Anatomy, and M. Rouelle in Chemistry, which enabled me to compare the lectures and doctrines of these two gentlemen with those of Macquair on Chemistry, and Winslow on Anatomy, at Edinburgh.

"I visited the different magnificent libraries in this city on the days they were public, particularly the Bibliothèque Royale, and that of the Abbé of St. Germain, where I consulted several different works, and viewed various curiosities, also the exquisite paintings in Natural History in 100 volumes, carried on at the expense of the Kings of France, from the time of Louis XIV. But I chiefly read and made extracts from papers relating to medicine in the later volumes of the *Memoires de l'Academie Royale des Sciences*.

"At other times I viewed the magnificent palaces in this Royal city and its environs; the noble entrances; and the ready permission given to see

these palaces, and the gardens, was pleasing and striking. The pictures in the Palais Royale belonging to the Duke of Orleans, those of Rubens in the Luxembourg, and the immense magnificence of Versailles, and the Royal State of the Court of France, to which I was often witness, alike impressed me, for I had seen nothing to approach them. The rural seats of Marly and St. Cloud, and the machine contrived to force up the water to supply the basons, and innumerable jets d'eau, which crowd the gardens; the grand review of the household troops of France by the King in May, 1751; and the enchanting palace of Chantilly, made me return to England inclined to compare what I saw in London less favourably perhaps, with objects so interesting by their novelty and grandeur."

Six years later the fascination which France had exercised on the young man was rudely dispelled by the atrocious tortures and execution by wild horses to which an unhappy lunatic, who had scratched the King with a pen-knife, was condemned by the highest Court in Paris, and which was approved by the votes of all the Royal Princes who heard the sentence. It sent an appalled shudder through this country, and alienated a large number of Britons permanently from any sympathy with the Royal House of France. The day had gone by when such deliberate barbarities were approved even by the French populace.¹

Johnstone observes in his journal that nowhere did authors write so much about liberty as in France, where it was less apparent than in any country he had ever read of. He gives some statistics worth quoting, as it is difficult to find them elsewhere. Paris was two leagues in length, and enclosed 960 streets, containing 22,000 houses. The streets were lighted by 5532 lanterns. Most of the houses had four or five storeys, and many six or seven. There were 750,000 inhabitants, amongst which were 150,000 servants. The town was divided into twenty different quarters. His studies took him into the Hotel Dieu, a magnificent hospital which was said to have been founded in the year 660, and enlarged and enriched by many Kings of France down to Henry IV. The spacious wards and passages, so important for its salubrity, were counteracted by the narrow streets and houses which crowded it on three sides; but 8000 sick were tended there by the Sisters of Mercy. The Monastery of the English Benedictine monks was in the Faubourg St. Jacques, near the Grand Chatelet and the great Market.

The Code Frederick was promulgated in Berlin while Johnstone was in Paris, and was the subject of much discussion, a desire being openly expressed that it should be naturalised in France. "The Parliaments of Paris," he writes, "have ever been remarkably firm in using the few privileges which still belong to them by the permission of their sovereigns. As they have the liberty of making representations against such edicts from the throne as they judge inconsistent with the fundamental laws of the Kingdom and prejudicial to the welfare of the king and people, so their language on these occasions is not

¹ It was by no means the only horrible sentence which was carried out in the reign of Louis XV.

wanting in frank patriotism, and they have even administered something like a lecture and a rebuke to the reigning Prince." He gives a specimen.

Johnstone left France in July 1751 for Dover, and took the coach to London, by Canterbury and Rochester. London seemed small and poor compared to Paris, but then it only reflected the difference between the two kingdoms. England, with Wales, contained a population of 7,000,000, and France more than 30,000,000, while our Indian possessions consisted of scattered Colonies, often threatened by the French and Portuguese; we had no footing in China, the Mediterranean, Ceylon, Eastern Canada, or the Cape, but we could boast of possessions in the West Indies, and of a large American Colony, now part of the United States, already anxious to part from us in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Johnstone stayed a short time in London, and went by sea to Newcastle-on-Tyne, and thence to Annan, passing on the road several parts of the remains of the old Roman wall. He found his brother just returned from Worcestershire, where, having preached in Kidderminster at the *Parish* Church, he was convinced that the young physician would be very well received, for there was none nearer than Worcester. The constant prevalence of fever, and the death of 103 children in six weeks of the preceding year, in Kidderminster, from a complaint now known as diphtheria, and which the apothecaries could not cope with, had made the need urgently felt. Dr Priestley, well known in Worcestershire, had praised the medical thesis which James wrote in Latin for his medical degree. He was only twenty-one, but set off at once for the scene of his future work, and arrived at Kidderminster, Sept. 12, 1751. It was his ambition to practise in Edinburgh when Kidderminster, with his assistance, should be restored to health.

The road from Annan to Worcestershire in the middle of the eighteenth century was a well-beaten track, the first 17 miles being the chief difficulty. People either went by Longtown to Carlisle or by the sands, crossing both the Solway and River Esk. On the south bank of the river, opposite the fording place, there was a little Public-house forty-five years later, with this inscription on it :—

"Gentlemen, here take a guide
To either Scotch or English side
And have no cause to fear the tide."

With £20 in his pocket, young Johnstone travelled on horseback, with a led-horse to carry his baggage, the cheapest way of travelling at that time, except on foot, and between the Esk and Carlisle it was an agreeable ride along the east bank of the Eden. The approach to the Cumbrian city was very fine, the two branches of the Eden, crossed by bridges of seven and four arches, appeared in view, forming a triangle, and the Cathedral and Castle lying to the south-east. He halted at Preston, then redolent of the same sinister memories as Carlisle, and where the ghastly heads of Scotsmen were seen over the prison entrance. The journey from Annan to Kidderminster, through Birmingham, was 219 miles.

When Edward Johnstone was in Worcestershire, two months before, Lord Hopetoun, living at Raehills, near Moffat, gave him an introduction to Sir George (the first Lord) Lyttleton of Hagley, which lies 4 miles from Kidderminster, a poet and a Cabinet Minister, although, according to his undutiful son and heir, all England was shaking its sides with laughter at his mismanagement of the national finances. However that might be, he was an important friend, and it was acting on his suggestion that Edward advised his brother to settle in the Midlands. Finding a congenial literary spirit in the young Scot, the noble poet inserted one of Johnstone's compositions, "Ferdinand Cortez and William Penn," in the volume he published anonymously, *Dialogues of the Dead*. In the fifth edition three more were added from the pen of Mrs Montagu. After Lyttleton's death, Johnstone published anonymously in 1788 *A Second Dialogue of the Dead between Ferdinand Cortez and William Penn*, bound up with a reprint of the first, and with an essay on the abolition of the slave trade, to which the second dialogue referred. The copy in the British Museum has the name of the author in his son John's handwriting.

The essay on the slave trade, written more than a generation before its abolition, and when Johnstone was fifty-nine, was entitled "A Scheme for the Abolition of Slavery without Injury to Trade and Navigation." The author quotes from a speech of Mr Wilberforce the terrible statistics of the loss of life and excessive suffering entailed by this trade, and observes that "the first thing to be done is to remedy the evils of the passage, by limiting the number conveyed in ships of various sizes; and the heaviest penalties to be exacted when the number is exceeded. The disposal of the newly arrived slaves in the plantations should be with the provision that from 1790 they were to become servants with indentures only for a term of years; the term to be settled by Act of Parliament. That all born after 1790 should be free born subjects of Great Britain, maintained and placed out as apprentices at the expense of the owners of the estates to which they do and shall belong; but that all these servants, infants, and apprentices should be protected and regulated by and under the laws now in force for the regulation of poor apprentices and others in Great Britain."

Sir William Pulteney, one of the most eminent of British barristers, wrote to Johnstone, Feb. 27, 1788: "As to what you say about the negroes there is a great deal more difficulty in doing what could be wished in the matter than appears at first sight. I could state a great many objections which seem to me unanswerable to the plan you suggest, but perhaps something may be thought of. The matter is under the consideration of the Board of Trade who are taking evidence, and obtaining every species of information."

The first of Johnstone's publications (in 1756) was on the fever epidemic, which, with diphtheria, was almost chronic in Worcestershire. He had seen diphtheria, then called putrid sore throat, and a sort of low typhus in Annan and its neighbourhood, where he had learnt the absurdity of treating it in ill-fed people with the lowering system and profuse bleeding, which was still

the English as well as the Scottish practice in all kinds of fever; and he adopted an opposite method. The Annandale fever of which he speaks is alluded to in the *Old Statistical History of Scotland* as being brought by the wild people from the mountains when they came to beg in the towns, and that they contracted it from the scantiness and bad quality of their food, particularly from eating the flesh of animals which had died of disease or old age (not entirely extinct in the Highlands). The *New Statistical History of Scotland* refers rather jeeringly to this statement, and asks, Who are these savages, and where are the mountains? Of course the high parts of Annandale, Nithsdale, and Lanarkshire are meant. Scott answers the query about the "savages" in *Guy Mannering*, where he describes the numerous gipsies amounting, early in the eighteenth century, "to 200,000 people, recruited, as they had been, from others whom famine, oppression, or the award of war had deprived of the ordinary means of subsistence." Fletcher of Salton adds: "There were besides a great number of poor families very meanly provided for by the Church boxes, who with others, living on bad food, fall into various diseases."

Johnstone dedicated his book to Dr Whytt, in Edinburgh, and Dr Thomas Shortt, late in Sheffield. Coming from a country where cattle and sheep were reared for export, and where, as usual in exporting districts, very little of that produce was eaten among the inhabitants, who chiefly lived on porridge and fish, he thought the working class of Kidderminster, employed in weaving carpets in their small unventilated rooms, consumed too much meat in proportion to their other food, and that the meat was frequently tainted and unwholesome, and therefore sold cheap to the poor. In Dumfriesshire there was a provision in the indentures of apprentices that they should not be expected to dine on salmon more than three days in the week, as by the time salmon reached the apprentices it was very stale.

Johnstone supposed it was the same with meat in Kidderminster, but later in life he thought this early essay was too much mixed with theory. The food of the poor in England was different to the present day. Wheat was always dear, and often unattainable when there was a bad harvest. A Parliamentary report, forty years later, showed that in Dorset, Pembroke, and several other counties in England the labourers for years ate no wheat, but lived on barley bread, and in Shropshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire potatoes were the daily fare, and bread a luxury for Sundays. As to bacon and meat, they hardly knew the taste of it. Imported tea, coffee, cocoa, and sugar were beyond their means, but they made tea out of various British herbs. Johnstone gave fruit to counteract the disposition to fever—rhubarb when it was in season, and dried currants and raisins when there was nothing else. He overthrew the theories he had learnt as a student, adopted antiseptic methods—fumigated the patient's room and the surrounding passages with mineral acid vapours, ordered the windows to be kept open in the sick room, gave bark (quinine), port wine, and acids very liberally in every stage of life, insisted on scrupulous cleanliness, allowed copious draughts of cold water,

barley water, and other fluids, and refused to bleed, or to prescribe debilitating remedies. His book was to advocate this novel practice.¹

The fine weather enjoyed in 1753 seemed to restore the district to health, but the wet summer of 1755, followed by a mild, wet winter, ushered in another outbreak of fever with increased severity. Early in November the great earthquake which laid Lisbon in ruins occurred. Johnstone says it shook the whole eastern limit of the Atlantic Ocean, and was felt from Africa to the remote coasts of Europe. "Precisely at the time which corresponded with the general commotion, in a profound calm, the waters of Severn and some fishponds in our neighbourhood were tossed and agitated in a manner which astonished the spectators." In another book, on the second outbreak of fever, he refers to the illness of Queen Anne's son, the Duke of Gloucester, whose death caused as much dismay in the three kingdoms as that of the Princess Charlotte in 1818. He imagined from the rapidity with which it ran its course that it was the same, so fatal to the children in Kidderminster in 1750. Dr Ratcliffe was called to see the Duke the day before he died, and predicted that he could not live through the next day. He said the two attending physicians deserved to be whipped for their treatment of the Royal invalid. It would have been interesting, adds Johnstone, if this celebrated physician had told us the course he himself would have pursued if summoned earlier.

Johnstone's books excited more interest in London than in the country, but they were severely criticised in spite of his success. They made a favourable impression on Lord Lyttleton, who had rather ignored him since his imprudent marriage. He invited him to stay at Hagley to meet a select party of some of the leading men of the day as well as Mrs Montagu, with whom he and his children became very intimate later on.

A young physician who refuted the traditions of Boerhave, in which he had been educated, and of his followers, Munro and Cullen, and thought his own observations the best guide was certain to be opposed, and Dr Cameron and Dr Wall, of Worcester, old-fashioned practitioners, were great rivals. Cameron and MacKenzie, both Scots, were the earliest physicians to the Worcester Infirmary when it was opened in 1745. Cameron's father was an "outed" Episcopalian in Edinburgh. John Warner, Bishop of Rochester, a theologian and antiquarian, founded four scholarships in 1666 at Baliol College for Scotsmen, but provided that when the scholars had taken their degree "they should return to Scotland in Holy Orders, that there may never be wanting men to support the ecclesiastical establishment of England in the North." When William III. abolished Episcopacy the trustees allowed the youths to choose their own professions, and Cameron was the first to profit by it. He partially adopted Johnstone's views, and is described by Johnstone as being sometimes right, often wrong, and always positive. Dr Wall was a local man, combining medicine with art, and is generally mentioned with

¹ It is needless to say this is according to modern lights, but Johnstone advocated it sixty years before it was generally adopted in this country, and still later on the Continent.

Johnstone as the discoverer of the efficacy of Malvern air and water. He married a Sandys, first cousin to Lord Sandys, and Cameron's wife was a well born Roman Catholic.

"The reputation of a physician," wrote Johnstone, "is in some proportion to the size of the place he lives in, besides the Worcester physicians had for a long time been in high repute in the provinces. Their opposition stimulated me to support my theories by study and diligent observation; and as my success was obvious I acquired fame."

It was possibly a remark in one of his brother Edward's letters that he never meant to marry, and should leave to James the task of carrying on the line, which encouraged the last to ask if their father could allow him enough to make a marriage settlement. He wished to propose to a young lady "whose family was known to his parents, and as a most desirable connection, and in antiquity had no superior in Scotland." He seemed certain of being accepted if he could make a settlement. He wrote to Galabank, who, as usual, left the decision to his eldest son, who wrote:—

"Moffat, 20 *March*, 1753.

"I was favoured with yours and one to your Papa, which I delivered. . . . Your father, who is aged and infirm, devolves the solution of it on me, and I am divided between regard for you and tenderness for my younger brethren, to whom I must consider myself as the guardian. . . . I advised with two of my friends and confidants, and both yours very sincerely, one of them being my lord's agent (Ronald Crawford), who is known for his good heart and just sentiment, and can you doubt of his regard for you? Yet he was utterly against the notion. . . . 'Your father,' he said, 'has other children to whom he behoves to do justice. The doctor's education has already stood him £700, and yours not much less. While the doctor remains unmarried he is one of the children of the family. Prudence requires that he be assisted till he is established in his profession; but when the second or third son of a family marries he sets up a separate interest, no longer being of much benefit to the root from which he sprang' (this is given in Scottish law terms). As it is, the younger children's portions may be cut off without encroaching on the family estate, and you seem as likely to inherit as any of us. If my father and I were called off, or if I married and left no child, you are next in the succession. . . . Yet such is my regard for the worthy and pious family to which the young lady belongs, that I would do any reasonable thing to make the matter easy if it is what you both wish. I hope there may be no lasting difficulty, and that with the views you have in life, which are worth something, and your industry and attention to your profession you may still succeed.

"I am always, dear doctor, your affecte. brother and most humble servant,

"Edward Johnstone."

Another letter on the same subject crossed this. Edward again told his brother that the education of both had cost their father £700 for each, and that the younger children had a right to expect the same. He reminded his junior

of his youth and good prospects, for he had been well received in Worcestershire by the County families, and was already thinking of taking a house in Worcester. If he waited a few years he could make a settlement for himself without drawing further upon their father, and that to encroach on his estate was the last thing either of them wished.

The lady's name does not appear in these letters, but a later one shows that she was one of the eight children of Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, who died 1771. Yet before the end of the year the young physician sent money to his brother to arrange a settlement in the way of life insurance with an Edinburgh lawyer, for he was married on Sept. 10 at Lower Myton, near Kidderminster, to Hannah, the daughter of Mr Henry Crane, an old-established carpet manufacturer, who also owned a small estate, which he farmed, in the neighbourhood. It was "came, saw, and conquered" with the young lady; and her father, finding his daughter's affections were engaged, was first persuasive and then threatening, for, with the easy confidence of youth drawn into an intimacy with a lively family, Johnstone had lamented that some years must elapse before he could marry his Scottish love. He in fact found himself engaged and hurried to the altar before he was at all prepared for it. His parents sent their blessing in an affectionate letter, and his father and Edward added the advice about being a good husband, which was certainly followed during forty-eight years of married life.

His friendship with the Crane family began the previous January, when the eldest son of the house died at the age of twenty-seven, and, either from grief or from the same complaint, the bereaved mother lay for several weeks on what appeared to be her death-bed. Johnstone was called in, and her recovery, under Providence, was attributed to his skill and care. The first time she was able to attend her usual place of worship was made the occasion for a thanksgiving service combined with a delayed funeral sermon for her son. It was preached by Mr Fawcett in the same church which had been served by her grandfather, Richard Serjeant,¹ who was evicted from the living of Stone, in Worcestershire, in 1662, when, with others of the clergy, he signed a petition to Charles II. asking him to close two "lewd" theatres opened in London after the Restoration, and much patronised by the Court. In most of those cases the dismissed ministers set up a little conventicle of their own, and their children drifted into Nonconformity.

The Cranes originally came from Norfolk, where they were related to Sir Richard Crane of that date, and are found in the Register as inhabitants of the

¹ "At Stone was silenced Mr Richard Serjeant, formerly my assistant, a man of such extraordinary prudence, humility, sincerity, self-denial, patience, and blamelessness of life that I know not, of all the years that he assisted me, of any one person in town or parish that was against him, or that ever accused him of saying or doing anything amiss. So that though many excelled him in learning and utterance, yet none that I ever knew, as far as I could judge, in innocency and sincerity, which made him beloved of all above many abler men."—Baxter, p. 93, Part III.; and earlier, p. 88, Part I.: "He became a solid preacher, and of so great prudence in practical cases that I know few therein go beyond him, but none at all do I know that excelleth him in meekness, humility, self-denial, and diligence. No interest of his own did ever seem to stop him in his duty," etc.



JAMES JOHNSTONE OF WORCESTER, M.D., 1730-1802.
(GALABANK).



HANNAH, WIFE OF JAMES JOHNSTONE OF WORCESTER.
Died 1802.

Foreign of Kidderminster as far back as Queen Elizabeth; but with the disabilities under which Nonconformists laboured at that time it was a social mistake for Johnstone to connect himself with the Cranes and Serjeants. Edward made their acquaintance when he visited Kidderminster, and thought them desirable friends for a young man far away from his own people, but he changed his opinion, to judge from a letter to his brother, Oct. 1753.

In March of the previous year Edward wrote to James that their sister, Isobelle, then about twenty-three, was married on the 10th to Mr Adam Murray of Belriding. "She had other offers, but had satisfied herself that this was the best. Murray seemed a good sort of man; he was well connected, belonging to the same house as Cockpool and Lord Stormont, and had £1200 of his own, which, with the £200 she received from her father, would enable them to live in a cheap country, where his little estate produced all the necessaries of life."¹ He was thankful to see her settled, as his own health had become very precarious, and he gives his brother the particulars in confidence. He hoped some day to ride over to Bewdley, where James was then living, as he wanted a thorough change; but this journey never took place, for every year increased his work and responsibilities.

On May 8, 1752, Adam Murray wrote to thank his brother-in-law for a kind letter on his marriage, and hopes that he may soon be able to offer him the same congratulations, "for I think the noble name of Johnstone seems to be on the decay, so I want you to improve your line. I heartily wish you good success in that and all your undertaking. You have done much considering the short time you have been in England."

On June 10, 1754, Edward wrote to James that their sister Murray had just given birth to a daughter, and soon congratulations were sent by post at the advent of James's son and heir. Mrs Murray wrote an affectionate letter prophesying that, as Edward seemed disinclined to marry, this little James "would be Galabank." The grandparents both wrote, of course delighted, and Galabank, also referring to Mrs Murray's baby, fervently thanked Providence for all His mercies to them. On Nov. 27, 1754, he adds: "Your mother has sent by Mr Marschal a table cloth and half a dozen table napkins; they are Dantzic damask, marked with your mother's name for our daughter-in-law, and a pair of silver buckles and a silver spoon for your son, our grandson. We are all pretty well in health, and are always glad to hear that you are; also your wife and child. Your affectionate parent,
John Johnstone."

The bride of seventeen developed into a matron of a very shy and retiring disposition, an excellent wife and mother, but averse to society, and preferring to remain at home when her husband and children visited their friends. Much taken up with her own relatives, she never accepted the invitation to visit her parents-in-law at Annan. She thought it would be soon enough when she had to live there, for her husband always hoped to end his days in his native land.

¹ The tenants held their plots with the provision that they should work a certain number of days for the laird.

In a letter to his brother, James alludes to the family of his first attachment. "I was much touched," he wrote, "by Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick's message. I had thought that I must have passed entirely from his recollection"; and again, on Nov. 9, 1755, he wrote: "A few days since (Oct. 8, N.S.) my wife was happily delivered of another son. As the first bore his father's name, his mother and grandmother desired that he might be named after Mr Crane's son—who died lately, in the flower of his age—Thomas Crane, and that is his name. I had indeed thought of another on our own side, but could not refuse so tender a request; and I have the greater pleasure in giving it, that it is the same as Sir Thomas. It was very obliging of him to write the letters I had the honour to convey, but under the rose the persons they were directed to have been but little my friends if they have asked anything of Sir Thomas on that account. It would be using him well to let him know it, otherwise it is better to take no notice of the matter. Upon the experience of four years' practice in the world I have found the friendship of men a variable thing, but most gratefully acknowledge the goodness of God in raising me up such as have been unexpected supports and helps. I live easily, but I don't know that I am likely to be rich."

Johnstone alludes in his letter to a slight he thought he received from one of the Johnstones, who passed through Bewdley without seeing him, and the coolness of Sir George, afterwards Lord Lyttelton. With regard to the first Edward expresses surprise, "as he is courtesy itself, and we never lose an opportunity of extolling him, but do not let it prejudice you against his family, who wish you every possible success, and are worthy of your homage"; and as to the second: "A fortnight ago Mr Bower, author of the *Lives of the Popes* and the *Historia Literaria* (with whom this time four years I became acquainted at Carlisle when I was attempting to negotiate your business),¹ on his way to Edinburgh did me the honour to call on me. He and his lady were so good as to breakfast at the Manse, and to promise to make it their lodging in case at any time they should be again upon the road. I had seen in the papers that 'Sir George Lyttelton, cofferer to his Majesty,' had named 'Mr Bower to the office of Master of the Buck Warrants, a profitable post.' This gave me room to speak with Mr Bower about the nature of his office, etc. He told me he was, at Sir George's invitation, to spend some weeks with him at Hagley, where a new house was begun.

"I took the opportunity to mention you, and gave Mr Bower your address, and took his and his lady's promise to call on you. Mr Bower is a great

¹ Archibald Bower, a Scot, born 1686, educated at Douai, and at one time adviser to the Spanish Inquisition. He became a convert to Presbyterianism, as he alleged, from having witnessed the horrible torture of two innocent men, one of whom died, the other became insane; but the last eight years of his life were spent in refuting the charge of being an emissary of the Jesuits throughout his career. Anyway, he returned to the Roman Faith and then became an Anglican, but seems to have induced others to join the Roman Church. In 1748 he was made Librarian to Queen Caroline. Lyttelton took him to visit Lord Chatham, and obtained the post alluded to for him. Besides other works he edited the *Universal History*, where his acquaintance with the writings of the Jesuits is shown in the history of Japan, Tartary, etc. He married the niece of Bishop Nicolson. Died 1766.

favourite of Sir George, and a sensible, well-bred man. I told him your father-in-law was in the political interests of that family, as I certainly believe I have heard. Mr Bower, I am persuaded, will do you no harm. . . . Having been lately employed at Mouswald on a Sacrament occasion, Mr M'Millan¹ of Torthorwald was my colleague. His son, Surgeon M'Millan, who has attended the Physical College at Edinburgh for two years, is now in hope of work. I think the young gentleman pleads your acquaintance, as his father does that of relation to you. The favour they ask is, if there be any town or village where a young man might probably shine as a surgeon apothecary, you will oblige them much by soon letting them know. . . . Your scheme for building rather frightens me. You may not always wish to remain in the same place, but if it is necessary, build,"² etc. On May 8, 1754, Edward wrote from Edinburgh of the death of "old Mossop," and adds: "The General Assembly now sits. The Earl of Hopetoun, our Commissioner, makes a more splendid appearance than all his predecessors. Each day of the Session he has been supported by several of the nobility, and sometimes by the sixteen representative lords, among them the Dukes of Argyle, Hamilton, Queensberry, Athole, etc. The street between his lodging in the Bank Close and the High Church always lined with six companies of the Castle Regiment, beside the City Guards, who, with their standards, etc., do him honour as the representative of the Sovereign, and the ceremonie and entertainment falls not short. We have not much business. . . . I leave this place in about eight days for Moffat." He promises to send a printed sermon he had preached before the Lord Chief Justice and Lord Minto at the opening of the Circuit Court in Dumfries, April 12, 1754, entitled "Truth and Justice."

"22 July 1754. I expect by the return of the post to hear that Lady Betty Hope, eldest daughter to our Commissioner, the Earl of Hopetoun, and grand-daughter to William, Marquess of Annandale, the toast for beauty, good sense, and modesty of all the Caledonian fair, is married to Lord Drumlanrig, eldest son of the Duke of Queensberry, as yesterday the proclamation of banns would be finished. Last week I had the honour to kiss the bride's hand on her way through Moffat, after paying a visit under her Papa and my lady's protection to her future domains. This is truly a good marriage, and unites in one interest a very great number of families of estate and influence." On Aug. 13 he writes that Lord and Lady Drumlanrig were coming to Moffat on their way to Tinwald House, the property of the Duke of Queensberry, "and we are not without hopes of keeping them prëtty much in Scotland, which is sure to be agreable to the Hopetoun family." The same letter alludes to "Henry Home's (Lord Kames) curious philosophical pamphlet," and the answer to it by Dugald Stewart. The uncle sends his affectionate compliments to his sister-in-law and nephew, adding: "It shall not be long before he has something from the Land o' Cakes, but of what kind is uncertain, and it is unlucky that

¹ One of this family was the original of Scott's Maxwell of Summertrees in *Redgauntlet*. Scott had met him in his youth. (See Chapter V.).

² James did build, for his own residence, a substantial house with grounds outside the town.

except perhaps once a year I never see any person who could be depended on to carry anything, and then often he has no place for it except a small mouse hole in the crowded bags of some very thrifty merchant." Shortly afterwards the uncle bought a silver spoon for 45s. for the child, and found a trusty messenger going South, who, however, would not take it lest he should be robbed on the road! The same letter relates how he had been asked to meet the Drumlanrigs at Lord Hopetoun's, and once more had the honour of kissing the hand of "Caledonia's fairest daughter."

Only two months later Lord Drumlanrig was killed by the discharge of his own pistol on his way to England. Edward Johnstone alludes to it as accidental. His bride only survived him a year and a half, and, leaving no child, the Queensberry dukedom (after being held by a distant relative, who died in 1810) merged into that of Buccleuch, the Marquisate going to his cousin, Sir Charles Douglas.

On Nov. 10, 1755, Edward wrote: "I congratulate you on the exploit of Major-General Johnson¹ [in Virginia], for his name originally is Johnston, whose ancestors in the time of Oliver Cromwell were a colony from this country. What a pity that so fine an officer had it in his power to do so little. We are told that we have twenty to one in that part of the world more than the French, and yet in every action we might almost say sans hyperbole that les messieurs are twenty to one against us. This being his Majesty's birth-night, I have ordered a bonfire and ringing of bells, etc., and my people are instantly drinking the loyal healths and 'Success to brave General Johnston,' and at every round they hurra, 'Up with the Johnstones.' Our poet says, 'Johnston has done what Braddock failed to do—routed the Indians, scourged the faithless crew.' And we all wish that you were there to cure his wound."

The *Life of George Washington* states he was a major in the Colonial Militia "under the unfortunate General Braddock." James's letter on the subject crossed his brother's. "In America the safety of our Colonies seems to depend upon New England, and General Johnson has retrieved the respect to our arms which Braddock lost by his inconsiderate rashness and obstinacy. A

¹ Sir William Johnson, as he spelt his name, held a Colonial commission. He was born in Ireland in 1715, the son of Christopher Johnson of Warrentown, Co. Down, and his wife, Anne, sister of Admiral Sir Peter Warren, who took up a large tract of land near the Mohawk river, in British America, and made his nephew the manager. Johnson, by firmness, justice, and honesty, acquired a greater influence over the six united Indian tribes than any Briton had done before. In 1748 he was appointed General of the New York Colonial Forces to oppose the French on the north frontier. Peace intervened, but he was ready to act when the war broke out again. In 1755, with these Indians, aided by provincial Militia, he defeated the French, who also had Indian allies, at Lake George, and saved the colony from invasion, being wounded in the hip early in the action, but remaining in the field. He "went far to counteract the ill effects of Braddock's defeat" (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). He received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, a grant of £5000, and a baronetcy. In 1760 he led the Indians, under Amherst, to the advance on Montreal and the capture of Canada, for which he received a grant of 100,000 acres. There he lived, in baronial and pasha-like style, improving his estate. He died at his house, near New York, in 1774. His son, John, who claimed knighthood when he came to England—the old privilege of a baronet's heir—commanded Colonial troops on the British side during the Revolutionary War. The baronetcy is represented by his descendant.

powerful faction is forming before the meeting of Parliament to oppose the payment of the subsidy his Majesty has stipulated with the Czarina [Elizabeth] for her troops for the protection of his Majesty's German dominions. The disagreeable observations of some leaders in the House of Commons upon a late altercation in the Ministry is the cause of this designed struggle in which we hope the Pilot of our State [Pitt] will not be so much disconcerted as to draw off his attention and the force necessary to be exerted against the common enemy." Nov. 9, 1755.

Shortly after this Adam Murray and his wife both wrote to Johnstone about Murray's health. He treated the symptoms as lung disorder, contrary to the local opinion. On Feb. 25, 1758, Edward wrote: "I ought to have acknowledged yours long ago. I am sure the sequel will be my apology for I have been taken up with the affairs of the late Mr Adam Murray of Belriding who died on Monday Dec. 26 of an abscess in his lungs which carried him off in not more than 6 weeks from the first appearance of a cough—he and his family looked on it as only a common cold as in appearance he was a clear strong man till within 10 days of his death. [The usual symptoms and sudden death are then detailed.] Dr Gilchrist was sent for, but in his dialect it was all over. He was a very sensible honest gentleman and by his death his family lose a prudent husband and an indulgent father—the youngest infant is nearly 8 months old. The eldest is in her 5th year. They are fine children—were inoculated with the smallpox about the middle of their father's illness for all the while it was only looked on as a cold; and he had the satisfaction to see the eldest recovered before he died. The day after, the youngest was seized with a feverish disorder (this was three weeks after the inoculation), next day about 20 spots appeared. Dr Fergusson the surgeon who attended pronounced this to be all the smallpox she would ever have. Your nieces Marianne and Bessie are both pretty, the eldest has the complexion of her father, black eyes, etc. but poor little Bessie is a veritable Duchess of Hamilton¹ only a great deal more vivacity than her Grace. After all inquiries I think the estate will be clear to your sister and her children as Murray's personalty is equal or superior to the debts, but you may believe I have had uncommon anxiety and fatigue with these matters. He was a member of a very ancient family." He ends as usual with compliments to his sister-in-law and the boys, the youngest, born the previous September, having been named after himself.

Galabank might have foreseen that this child would carry on the male line of his family, for he was so pleased at his birth. "I received your letter," he wrote, "with the good account of your wife and the son you have named Edward. The next day I sent the letter to your brother. If please God he be spared he will be of use to one of your sons in his education. We will welcome one of your sons and shall do for him as if he were our own. I pray God to spare you and your wife to be good parents and a blessing to your three sons, and that He will bless them and make them comforts to you. We are all

¹ Miss Gunning.

in good health; but your brother's weakness returned upon him three weeks ago. Let us hear frequently and write 'by way of Kendal and Chester.' I hope when your son comes here this country air and the colder climate will agree with him. We are all greatly pleased with the name of Edward. Your mother anticipated it. I hope he will prosper the better, and that God will preserve him in his young and tender years. Your affecte father, John Johnstone, Nov. 2, 1757."

On Oct. 29, 1759, Edward wrote from Annan about their mother, whom James had prescribed for during a temporary illness, and adds: "With regard to — I could not with any countenance speak of him to the friends whose interest he had in a manner cast at his feet—but I have tried another interest and am promised that as soon as Parliament sits down a member shall be warmly applied to for a commission. Meantime if by your English interest you can do anything, if a commission can be got, I'll consent in that case to your drawing on the family to the extent of £50 sterling. I waited at Moffat many weeks hoping to have seen my Lord Lyttelton. He did not pass Moffat at the time of my being there. One night in this town an equipage with six horses drew my attention. It was the Scots Earl of Glenorchy. Lord Hopetoun told me he should either see Lord Lyttelton at Buxton where his Lp was to drink the waters or Lord Lyttelton would come to Hopetoun house. I expect to see Hopetoun in a few days and then I shall know if his Lp was at Hopetoun House or not. . . . The report at this moment is that Monsieur Thurot with a squadron of 6 or 7 ships of the line with transports containing several thousand men has sailed to the north of Scotland and that an English Admiral is in pursuit.¹ A little time will discover this, but the gallantry of the Scots will not suffer them to come to your distance. We should have done better had we been put on equal terms, and permitted a national militia." The political allusions in these letters are all in cypher, Latin, or French.

The person vaguely alluded to seems to be Adam, Galabank's fifth son. He was started as a partner in Manchester with a "considerable merchant," recommended by a Scottish relative; but was robbed by highwaymen just outside Manchester of a fairly large sum of money, and a little later his partner absconded, leaving joint liabilities which had to be defrayed by Adam's share of the assets. He set off to London where he hoped to hear of his partner, but did not keep his family informed of his address, and for some weeks they did not know it. During this time Captain James Johnstone, the heir of Westerhall, kindly wrote to his brother, Gideon, a lieutenant in the Navy, who was staying in Park St., Grosvenor Square:—

¹ The fleet was defeated at Carrickfergus, Feb. 28, 1759, by Captains Clements and Logie. Thurot was really O'Farrell, a Jacobite agent. Lord Lyttelton arrived at Raehills with his son, Tom, and it is amusing to read the opinion of this young Etonian of fifteen, formed from the Scots he met (including several Johnstones) at Moffat, Edinburgh, and Inverary Castle. "Their virtues," he wrote to Mrs Montagu, "are courage, prudence, economy, and hospitality, the last universally practised. Good breeding the Scots all possess, and there is not in the north such a character as the English country squire, whose whole life is spent in the laudable customs of hunting, swearing, drinking, and sleeping. Scotch ladies are very handsome and very sweet tempered, etc."

"Dear Brother,—You was so obliging as to promise to take aboard a young Gentleman of my recommendation I presume so far on your kindness to me that you will exert yourself in favour of this Gentleman your namesake in getting him with you if he chuses the sea or in desiring good Sam Swinton to carry him to Colonel Coote if he likes Bengal, and in doing everything else in your or my power to serve him. If he can think of anything Mrs Johnstone can do you will show her this. I am ever my dearest Gid most affectely yours, Ja. Johnstone, Sunderland, Jany. 21, 1759."

Gideon offered a junior officer's place on his own ship, but Adam could not be found before the fleet sailed. John, afterwards of Alva, was already distinguished in the East India Company's service. He was twenty-five at this date, and two years before commanded a gun at Plassey. Some time earlier he wrote to James at Worcester to ask him to find out the price of any Scottish estate on the market. To him Edward applied, March 1759:—

"Dear Sir,—Your eldest brother and my worthy friend Capt. James Johnstone was so good as at my request to write several recommendatory letters in favour of a brother of mine who proposes to go to the Indies. The gentlemen he particularly wrote to were Colonel Coote and Major Robert Gordon now going on an expedition to that [your] part of the world. In the hurry the Capt. was then in and by a misfortune he since met with of having his right arm hurt he could not conveniently write, but with the letters delivered to me some time ago by a private hand he commanded me to write to you myself in obedience to which I presume to take that liberty. [After detailing Adam's misfortunes, he adds.] The Lad nevertheless is of good character and has both integrity, activity and resolution, and as he is a *Johnstone* remotely related to your own family I humbly recommend him to your protection. I am now the Minister at Moffat and though you were but young when I had the pleasure of seeing you I am confident you will remember me and permit me without flattery to tell you that the goodness of heart which your face indicated and the strong resemblance you early bore to your uncle Colonel John Johnstone gave promise of your future fortunes such as I thank God on your behalf as a youth whom I loved, has happened, and which I hope may continue till you return after a series of success a comfort to your friends, and an honour to your Native country. It is on good authority I tell you that Sir James, my lady, and your other relations in this part of the world are well. Without further words I think I can expect everything that is reasonable from your kindness. Humbly recommending you to Him who is the confidence of all the ends of the earth I am my dear Sir your most obedient and affectionate servant, Edwd. Johnstone.

"To John Johnstone Esq. at Calcutta."

A year later Edward wrote to his friend, the heir of Westerhall (whose good fortune, he told his brother, in marrying a most estimable lady with £600 a year was not even equal to his merits), March 16, 1760:—

"Dear Captn.,—I received with pain last Friday night by our friend Mr Hoggan the first accounts of your having actually sailed for India where may God protect you, and whence may you return with Health and Honour or to borrow your own words with the plunder of many a Nabob. The unfortunate Lad I did myself the honour to write to you about was absent when my letters arrived at London so lost the recommendations you kindly gave him. As he has been unsettled ever since the moment I heard you had sailed for India I tried to find him, not doubting that if he proceeds to India and can be so happy as to arrive where you are that you will consult his promotion as much as if any friend were present to remind you. Your friends in this country are all well. Hoggan had the pain to hear that his eldest son who by the death of the former had become Captain of his ship has been carried into Martinico after a brave resistance. I doubt not you will pay them measure for measure if the wishes or prayers of any person for the safety of another avail, then will you be safe and happy and return to the old Thorn-tree in all the splendour of triumph and success. That this may happen whether I live to see it or not is again the earnest prayer of Dear Capt. Johnstone your most affectionate and obliged humble servant Edward Johnstone.

"*P.S.*—I have enclosed this letter to my brother Dr Jas. Johnstone desiring him to ship Adam for the East Indies where I doubt not under your protection he will do well."

James had already offered to take his brother and find a place for him, and Edward replied that with his family (he had now five sons) it was too much to expect; but before this letter could reach India Adam obtained a commission in the Scots or North British Brigade.

For the first time since 1745 an order came to recruit 2000 men in Scotland for the British Army. The Johnstones were anxious to show their loyalty, and Edward, at Moffat, and his brother, Richard, spared no pains to induce suitable persons to join. Adam was sent with a portion of these recruits to Aberdeen to embark with his regiment for Bremen, under orders to serve with the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick and the Hanoverian troops on the side of Frederick the Great in the Seven Years' War. Adam's last letters to his father and brothers only a few days before his fatal wound are rather touching, as he seems conscious of the trouble he had caused his relatives. To James he wrote from Brimar Lake, May 29, 1760:—

"Honoured Sir,—Perhaps it may not be disagreeable to you to hear from me as I am now a great distance from you—we landed here a few days ago all in good health and spirits and began our march for Munden immediately, a place where our baggage is to be lodged in His Majesty's German dominions, and then to proceed to the Grand Army. In my last I was a little confused and now I am in haste and have only just time to correct my last concerning the agent of the Regiment,—that is I did not tell you where he lived. It is Channel Row I think. I hope you will be so good as to get the money I wrote for and send it to John Calcraft Esq. in the above place, Westminster,

and advise me of it by a letter and direct to me as before in Prince Ferdinand's Army in Germany. Pray write soon and oblige honoured Sir your humble servant, A. Johnstone."

He was only two years younger than James, whose medical books he had taken some trouble to make known to the doctors in Manchester, and in his letters from thence addressed his brother as Hon. brother. The extra stiffness showed there had been coolness. But a little later the gallant Scots strewed the ground of a lost battle near Wesel with their dead, including Ensign Johnstone. They were engaged from 5 A.M. till late at night, and this defeat, in which so many Scots suffered, was a final argument with Lord Bute, Prime Minister to George III. (who had just ascended the throne), when he advised his Sovereign to withdraw from the support, financially and otherwise, which Great Britain had hitherto given to King Frederick of Prussia against Austria and Russia in the Seven Years' War.

As a rule we make little of our reverses, and an account of this battle is only to be found in private letters and biographies; but it was a very hard campaign. The Marquis of Granby, who led the British contingent serving under Prince Ferdinand, wrote to the Duke of Newcastle (who succeeded Lord Bute) in Jan. 1761: "In Germany it is not like in Flanders, one battle, tranquillity for the rest of the campaign, with great plenty of all sorts of wine, etc. and good and early winter quarters."

Isobelle Murray wrote the particulars of their brother's death from his wounds to James (Dec. 14, 1760), and said that if she had had her way he never would have been sent out there; but like a true Presbyterian she adds that it was "the will of Heaven that he should have been unhappy a while and we should be disappointed," and then fills up her letter with ordinary news. Their eldest brother was gone to Edinburgh to get a sermon printed which he had preached on the death of the King (George II.); Richard, the youngest of the family, was spending the winter there studying for the law; Agnes, their sister, was still keeping her brother's house at Moffat; and John, "le pauvre incapable," seemed to miss the lively Dick, but they had got a new manservant who could play, and that was a mercy for him. Dr Gordon was going to England, and Sir William Maxwell of Springkell had died not long before, and poor Mrs Turner had lost her son. "Your old friend Mr Jaffray, who preached in Annan the day before you went away from it, is minister of Ruthwell, my old parish. Our father and mother are both a little tender, though they are as well as people of their years can expect; my father is much troubled with a cough, but can walk and go about his affairs as much as ever he did. Your friend Mr Spearman is in Edinburgh about that book, and poor man has much need of all that will arise from it. I am very glad you have served him with so many subscribers. He often speaks of you with great pleasure. Your parents send their blessing to you and your family, and my daughters desire their duty to their uncle, aunt, and cousins. May God long preserve you all for blessings to one another is the constant prayer of your affectionate sister and humble servant, Isobelle Murray."

Letters passed between the brothers about an occupation for Dick, whom Edward described as "a lad of much spirit and sense who cannot be put to anything mean," and his sister, "as very sober, and very promising." His parents wished to keep him at home. James suggested an appointment in Jamaica, or medicine. To stay at home would end with the estate being divided to provide for him, and it was only valued at £2000 sterling in 1750. It was a subject which gave James some uneasiness. He was an exile from home, working to support himself and his family; why should not Dick do the same? But after his experience of the West Indies for his sons no wonder that Galabank declined an opening there. In 1755 Edward wrote to James:—

"I came to Annan about 10 days ago at your father's request. He fancied himself ill, but is I think quite well. I came in time to prevent his making any settlement dishonourable to himself and hurtful to the legal and proper representation of his family and this I made no scruple to tell him that failing his heir-at-law ought to devolve in the natural course on the next, setting aside those whom debility and incapacity have rendered unfit. And I hope I brought him to think more justly. I don't chuse to divide a small estate nor to settle it on the youngest and most inexperienced Branch of the Family; yet property is so precarious here that some there ought to be to look after it. I have put our Father on a plan of giving all suitable encouragement to his youngest if he behaves himself but I could not consent to divide it on his behalf, as I want the estate to go to the heir at law and what I mean by that you'll understand but keep this to yourself. Old people must be treated with tenderness nor will they be wrong if it is not by false glosses and insinuations." He then refers to current politics, and alludes to his own failing health, ending with, "now dear Esculapius I hope Mrs Johnstone and the boys are all that you and I most sincerely wish them, and offer them my most respectful and affectionate compliments." Later he reminds his ambitious brother that his numerous sons will be against his ever taking up a title.

At the end of a letter, in answer to one from James asking him for information about Scottish estates, and after saying (1755) that the Duke of Queensberry gave £18,600 for Tinwald, and that Alva is in the market, he says that, without having any children of his own, he has the care of a large family, and, combined with his clerical duties, is worn out by riding backwards and forwards to Annan and Ruthwell about the Galabank and Belriding estates. The living of Moffat was one of the best in Scotland, and the incumbent filled inspectorships and other offices connected with the Kirk, which alone involved a good deal of travelling. He had "become a dissenter," he wrote, "in England," as he was directed by the Presbytery to supervise the restoration of a Presbyterian Chapel in Cumberland, and to collect the money. His reports on various subjects were printed by the Presbytery, which also published several of his sermons.

With reference to Galabank's settlement of his estate, and having been

over to Annan to arrange a tack of two farms—Closehead and Gladsmuir—to a Mr Nelson, Edward wrote to James “it would be sinful and vain to suppose that I shall much longer direct these matters.” He had been prohibited by Dr Rutherford from reading anything whatever—even the Bible—and had engaged an assistant to preach for him. He tells his symptoms to his brother, as to “a medical father confessor.” The levy of recruits which provided “many stalwart sons of Mars, if you in England will but find officers fit to command them,” and the administration of the oath of fealty to the young King George III., in which, as magistrates, he and his father took their share, and other public matters, with the improvement in the health of Lord Annandale, who was now able to play at whist with his mother every night, the loss incurred by his own father through a dishonest agent, and the necessity of providing another home for his unfortunate brother, John, filled up his latest letters.

“I congratulate you,” he wrote, July 5, 1760, “as I do all my countrymen on the behaviour of the troops at Quebec, mostly Scotsmen and headed by a young, but brave and sharp-sighted officer. Your remotences will perhaps make you unaware that General James Murray is youngest brother, or youngest but one to Lord Elibank consequently is a brother of Lady Johnstone of Westerhall and I have been told by good authority has all the peculiar vivacity of her family and a happy mixture of penetration and solidity, shown in his masterly letter to Pitt.”

On Jan. 15, 1761, less than five weeks after the news of Adam's death had arrived, he suddenly lost his sight, followed the same night by slight delirium, his mind running on the affairs of the Marquis and the Johnstones of Westerhall; and he expired the next day after only thirty-six hours' illness. His sister, Agnes, was with him. It was a terrible blow to James, too far off to attend the funeral, and he had thought his brother over fanciful about himself; but there was a very large gathering of friends and relatives when he was laid to rest in the old church, near the pulpit, at Moffat.

Among numerous letters of condolence on the occasion to Galabank one came from Captain (later Sir James) Johnstone of Westerhall, dated Hillington, near Lynn.

“Jan. 24, 1761.

“My dear Sir,—Would to God I could minister the least comfort to so worthy a Father mourning in the deepest anguish of heart, the best the most dutiful of sons. Permit me to mingle my tears with yours. I have lost a kind and affectionate Friend whose life and even his last moments was spent supporting the Johnstones. How tenderly must I feel his loss. How dear to me is his memory; who expiring wished me success and prayed for my welfare with his last breath. Alas my dear Sir I judge from myself what you must feel. May God of His Infinite Goodness support you under this heavy this unexpected stroke may you see all your other children flourish and multiply and may you never have cause to shed a tear is the wish and prayer of dear Sir your much obliged and most grateful humble servant, Jas. Johnstone. My best wishes to

Mrs Johnstone when you think it will be proper to make them and to all the rest of your Good Family."

Edward was insured in the Ministers Widows' Fund of the Church of Scotland, in whose books it is recorded that he died unmarried, leaving no children, and that his heirs were "his brothers and sisters, particularly Mr Richard Johnstone, writer in Edinburgh, to whom apply."

The allusions in Captain Johnstone's letter possibly referred to the differences between the Hopetoun and Westerhall families. Edward had done his best to act as mediator, as they partly arose from the friendship between the Westerhalls and the Dowager-Marchioness of Annandale, their near connection. The Marchioness had a charge of £1000 a year on the Annandale property. The young Marquis had attained his majority, and her second son, Lord John Johnstone, was elected to represent the Dumfries Burghs in Parliament when he was still only twenty. This took the young men to London, where they had inherited property from their grandfather, Vanden Bempd , and, with the pride of a new Member using his own frank, Lord John dated from the Speaker's room in the House of Commons his receipt to Bryce Blair at Annan for £277, 4s., lent by the Presbytery of Lochmaben to the Marquis, adding in a second letter from New Bond Street, Nov. 19, 1741, his hope "that the good Harvest will make the tenants pick up, and that the rents and arrears may be got with more ease." There was one petition already before the House to unseat the Member for Westminster, but he hoped to be let alone. As an acknowledgment of the kindness that Dumfries had always shown to his family, and to himself in particular, he presented it with a picture of King William and Queen Mary, "who are of course particularly interesting to me," and added that he meant to do all the good he possibly could for the Burghs. But his career was cut short by consumption. The Marquis, who seems to have been very warm hearted, and not the born idiot that he is sometimes represented, took the invalid to the south of France, and wrote to Edward Johnstone as well as to his mother reports of his progress. But a new writ was issued for the Burghs of Annan, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Lochmaben, and Sanquhar in the room of Lord John, now deceased, Dec. 21, 1742. The Marquis visited Scotland the next year, and gave Edward Johnstone a Greek Testament which had belonged to his brother as a memento. His signature to the official paper presenting Edward to the living of Moffat was the last he affixed to any legal document, but a statute of lunacy was not actually granted till Feb. 9, 1747. In this it was stated that he was living in the Parish of Hammersmith, and, although enjoying lucid intervals, had been "incompos mentis" since Dec. 12, 1744; but it only applied to the English property, and there was a deadlock in the Annandale estate owing to the friction between the two families. The Marchioness's jointure was unpaid, and houses were falling to ruin in Moffat and Annan. At last, in 1758, Lady Hopetoun and her son, as nearest heirs to the Marquis, obtained the declaration of his lunacy in Scotland, and the second Earl of Hopetoun became curator of the Scottish property, a private Bill

being passed to give him full powers. It was in virtue of that Bill that Newbie was a little later sold to Neilson, a member of an old local family, and Moffat provided with suitable accommodation for those who came to use its far famed medical waters. Captain Richard Vanden Bempd , as his mother's representative, assented to it.

The Marquis lived till April 27, 1792, under the charge of a doctor in Annandale House, Chiswick, and was buried in a nameless grave in Chiswick Churchyard. A historical lawsuit disposed of his estates according to English law, as it was decreed that his long unbroken residence in England made him an Englishman, not a Scot. Hackness Hall and the English property went to his half-brother, Richard, an officer in the 3rd Life Guards, and the Scottish estates to the third Earl of Hopetoun. Of the £415,000 personalty, a third went to each of his half-brothers and to the descendants of his half-sister, Henrietta. Richard was created a Baronet in 1795, and an Act of Parliament annulled a clause in Vanden Bempd 's Will obliging the owner of his English property to assume the Dutch name after Johnstone. Richard's grandson was made Lord Derwent in 1881.

It does not appear that the doctor revisited Scotland till after his brother's death, but he went there in the spring of 1761. He was still hardly thirty-one, but had a very wide practice—a good deal by letter—and had made most of the experiments necessitated by his medical books, particularly those on the nerves. He disdained to follow the custom of the day and obtain subscribers beforehand, and it was a great deal of trouble and expense to circulate his books. His brother's published sermons, being criticised by the *Edinburgh Review*, were more remunerative. He had a house in Worcester as well as Kidderminster, and visited Lichfield, Tamworth, Sutton Coldfield, Bromsgrove, Solihull, Nuneaton, Stafford, Shrewsbury, Bath, Wolverhampton, Warwick, and Birmingham professionally. At the last place he made acquaintance with Samuel Johnson, of Dictionary fame, at his friend Hector's in the Old Square. Lord Chesterfield, Lord Hertford, Richardson (the novelist), James Boswell, Lord Clive, Mrs Foster, Milton's grand-daughter, Mrs Siddons, Sir William Pulteney, Governor Johnstone, and Lady Huntingdon were among many eminent people who consulted him. His mother wrote very anxiously in June 1759 as she heard he was ill and was afraid that, like Edward, he was killing himself with study; she begged him to remember that his health was more precious than the best book he could write. He did not neglect his old home. He was constantly asked to send some prescription for Beatties, Neilsons, Irvings, Hairs, and other families in and around Annan, and did it gratuitously; and his parents would see no local doctor for themselves, but relied entirely on him. His father once begged him to send no more presents but keep his money for his children. He often wished he was nearer, for it was a very tragical ten years. First his favourite sister, Elizabeth, dying of consumption. Edward, writing to him the opinion of the Carlisle physician that there was no hope, adds, "if you could write a letter to her it would so please poor Lizzie, and tell her anything about her little nephews or your wife to amuse her." Then the poor "Antiguan's" vagaries,

alluding to his brother John, then Adam's difficulties and heroic end, Edward's sudden death,¹ and now Agnes, who had been with him spending her time between Moffat and Annan, could not recover from the shock, and was dying. All thoughts of pressing his father to settle his property so as to exclude John vanished when he arrived at home and saw the state she was in. He felt he could do so little, yet so much was expected from him.

He shared his post-chaise back to Kidderminster with a friend. In a letter which followed immediately, Richard hopes that "the noble squire and yourself arrived safely at Kidderminster and found your dear wife and family well. I got back," he adds, "on Sunday morning after a very disagreeable and fatiguing ride, for my horse tired several times and it was with the greatest difficulty I got into Wigton the night I parted with you and crossed over in the Bowness boat next morning. I found poor Aggie much as when you left. Dr Gilchrist has been sent for to this town and came to see her but she is weaker and can with difficulty walk from the bed to the fire and cannot now go out on horseback. She is very grateful to you for the care and concern you showed about her and sends her blessing to you all. Her distress makes me wonder if I can go back to Edinburgh this session or not. You'll no doubt write to her at once, it will please her and be a satisfaction to us all. Nothing has happened but old mother Blair is dead to the great grief of all concerned. Mrs Murray obeyed your orders about her children and they are now well. Remember us all most kindly to the good Squire and to Mrs Johnstone and your five boys. Your horse is recovering. I dress its foot myself every day. Your most affectionate brother, Richard Johnstone."

James found an overwhelming amount of business awaiting him, and Richard wrote again a fortnight later:—

"Dear Brother,—I wrote long ago, and we looked for news from you with great impatience, particularly poor Aggie would have been glad to hear from you before she dies. She is now extremely weak [he details her symptoms] and surely within a few days of her death. She fell away every day after you left us perceptibly and her cough is so violent she gets almost no rest, yet she bears all with a wonderful resolution. The other day she showed me her poor arm and said 'Dick, the churchyard worms will get nothing off me compared to what they had off old Mother Blair.' She speaks of death with the utmost composure and resignation. O doctor what severe shocks are these! The flower of our family to be cut off. I enclose a letter from Dr Gilchrist," etc. (June 19, 1761).

Then came another dated July 4: "My two last letters will have prepared you for this. Our dear Sister Aggie died on June 28 between 12 and 1 a.m. She was a perfect skeleton but retained her cheerfulness and resolution to the last. As death is inevitable it is a comfort to reflect that never was a girl so beloved, nor I believe more deserving. She is lamented by all who knew her.

¹ "She was then in the bloom of youth, spirits, and beauty," wrote James, "she was in every point of view an amiable and valuable relation, and a great loss to us."

She was interred in the burial place of our family on Wednesday last. All the gentlemen in the country round attended her to the grave. Her death is a particular loss to our weak family, for she was a surprising fine girl. Our father and mother are pretty well. . . . Either of your Scottish boys [*i.e.*, with the family names] is desired with great earnestness. It would be the greatest comfort to the old people and to Mrs Murray and me to have one of them to represent their father and mother at Annan, and they bid me assure Mrs Johnstone and you that they will be as careful of him as if he were their own son, and you may depend upon Mrs Murray's care and mine. I should be very glad to visit you and Mrs Johnstone after the harvest, and carry back one of your pretty boys. God bless and long preserve you and your wife and children, to all of whom I beg you will remember me in the kindest manner. Yr. affecte brother and obedt. servt., Richard Johnstone.

"*P.S.*—A chaise and everything that could make poor Aggie's life agreeable was got for her."

Five months later Richard wrote from Annan: "Dear Brother,—I was at Westerhall the other day where I was most cordially received by all that good family. My Lady J. was vastly well pleased with the basket, she had not done admiring it when I left them [of Worcester porcelain]. They all inquired for you and your family in the kindest manner, and my Lady desired her hearty thanks for your pretty present. She will be extremely glad to hear from you. You must direct her letter to the care of the Postmaster of Carlisle. They did not know where Mr R. J. [of Hackness Hall] is. Hoggan says he is in Yorkshire but I will be able to send you the address, and Major Johnstone's after I get to Edinburgh. The Major is now there where I hope he will remain all winter. He is a very warm friend. I received your last packet some time ago, but have been so tossed about that I could not answer them. I am to set off for Edinburgh in a day or two. I have got John's confirmation and approbation of the settlement as strongly wrote out as possible and I think there cannot be the least doubt of their validity. I am obliged to trouble you with a piece of ceremony I did not expect, but such is the exaction of my Lord H—— that till you who are one of the executors give my father a full power to receive your part and discharge the same he will not pay it. [He encloses a form and describes how it is to be filled in and returned to their father]. The old Gentleman's eyes are rather tender but he says it is old age. Mr Gott was quite transported with the present you sent him. I dined with Mr Beattie's mother the other day. She spoke much of your friendship for her son. Tell Jamie I have not forgotten to write to him but shall do so as soon as I get settled in Edinburgh . . . your affectionate brother and sincere friend, Richard Johnstone."

The old people might well feel alarmed when any of their children were ill, and both wrote in some consternation, having heard that James was suffering from fever, in May 1762. In July his father wrote again to express thankfulness at his recovery. Richard was studying in Edinburgh. Would James advise

him? They were hoping to see James at Annan, and that he would bring his son. This was little Edward. His grandparents particularly wished to see him on account of his name, recalling not only his late uncle but Galabank's father, who was still regarded with filial reverence. "I am sure Neddie must be a pretty boy," wrote poor Agnes not long before her death, "we all want to see him." Mrs Murray wished to effect a temporary exchange, and to take entire charge of Edward if one of her daughters might go to England and be under the care of her uncle and aunt. So Edward was taken to Scotland by his father, and remained there four years, when he was brought home lest he should pick up the accent, which was fatal to a career in England. Thomas wanted to join his brother, and wrote to his grandmother to show how well he could write; but he was viewed with less favour, having a Crane name, though he went to Scotland a few years later, and his amusing flow of conversation was appreciated by his relatives.

On Sept. 2, 1766, Galabank wrote to his son: "The man has come for Neddy in great haste to go with him in a post chaise. He is a very pleasant boy. I gave him 10/- to buy playthings. May the Lord bless you and your wife and all your children, and may He prosper you in your business." Besides Neddy, Henry, John, and Anna were added to the family. Richard wrote to his brother that their parents were particularly pleased at the two last, like Neddy, having been given old family names. Galabank adds in a postscript that there is a dearth of coffee in the county, as it can neither be bought in Annan or elsewhere.

James was over-anxious, his Scottish relatives thought, about the family estate, and in Oct. 1758 his eldest brother, in answer to two letters, waived the matter aside, saying he had not assurance enough to advise their father any further, as it was not in human nature to care to be hurried in these matters, and he went on to talk of Richard's future. He was having him educated in Scottish law, but as there was no opening for practice at home would his brother advise in the matter. James replied: Their father ought to set his house in order and do justice to his children for his own honour and the peace of the family. That if his elder was afraid of speaking in a matter of right and justice he hoped he would not fail to tell their father, as a message from himself, what he—James—thought about it. No one could be so blind as to think it unreasonable or unnecessary. This brought a severe letter from his mother, as if he had been ten years old. She said he distressed his father, who always meant to do him justice, and was uncivil to his brother Edward. There the matter rested till after Edward's death, when the invalid, whom Edward had observed "must be supported as a burden Providence has laid on the family," suddenly recovered, and was able to sign a resignation of his rights, as the eldest living son, and to come home.

It is evident by some of the letters in 1761-62-63-64 that things were not at first settled quite in accordance with James's wishes. But in 1762 he was impressed with his father's "great cleverness in the knowledge of business, and great steadiness in the disposition of it." He knew the old man had signed

deeds with a lawyer earlier in the day, but it was not till late in the evening that it was given into his hand with the remark, "Son, I most willingly deliver you this deed, and I only fear that I shall keep you too long out of it." The deed was the usual resignation of the estate in favour of James, reserving the life rent, but with a small portion detached for Richard.

In March 1764 the old man wrote that his eyes were very dim so that he could only read large writing, that he was now seventy-six, and anything James and Richard agreed upon should be done. James must let Richard have all the stone he wanted from the quarry for the house property he owned; and his mother was hurt that he did not mention her. Again on July 29 Galabank thanks his son and young James for their letters: "I am glad you are restored to health for the sake of your family and your business in South Britain. All tolerably well considering everything. I shall send you some salmon as soon as I can get it. Let no business here trouble you. Let your son stay here till you come, and write always and affectionately to your mother. Give Richard your advice with respect to your wife and children. Bless all your sons and my little namesake and thank James for his letter. My eyes are so bad I cannot look into my writs, and no one shall till you and Richard are both here together. Farewell."

The tenants of Galabank's farms held them at a smaller rent on condition that they provided a certain number of days' work for getting in the landlord's harvest, for shearing, for loading hay, and for cutting turfs or peat to supply the landlord's house with fuel. This distributed all round did not come hardly on the tenants. The provision made in the lease of a public-house that it was to entertain soldiers for six weeks every year was in force up till 1765 on Galabank's lands, and probably much later. One of the farms rented by John Irving was bound to cut and bring in sixteen carts full of peat, and eight carts full of turfs every year. The tenants kept their own premises in repair. Sheets, blankets, and the material for clothes were all spun and woven on the estate. It was arranged that the lands should be feued to James, who wrote, Dec. 4, 1764:—

"My dear Parents,—I received long ago your letter and very lately the salmon, for which and for all favours I thank you sincerely. I have been somewhat long in answering your letter, but you who know the heavy burden which a large family entails upon the mind will judge of my cares who have that burden as well as many more arising from my business. It has pleased Almighty God to restore me to better health than I had in the spring and to preserve me though exposed to much danger in attending poor families here labouring under an infectious fever. I desired Mr Palmer to raise me a great quantity of quick in your garden in order to plant new hedges in your grounds. . . . I desire also that some day labourer may be employed to dig a trench between the thorns in the Galabank dyke next the road, and I desire that some of the hazel nut trees may be rooted up skilfully and planted in the spaces so as to complete some of the fence. This I hope will not be neglected and that some person of skill will

be desired to direct the best manner of executing my design, which is part of a plan (of which I shall be able to judge of the success when next I see you) I have formed for fencing the Galabanks. I enclose two letters to be forwarded to Richard in Edinburgh. I sincerely wish him well and nothing can prevent me from doing everything in my power to serve him but his own folly. I can never be a friend to anyone who shall be so far my enemy and the enemy of the dignity to which your family may arrive, who shall try to impair or diminish the estate of Galabanks to its lawful successor, but all such views I hope will be no more thought of. Richard prosecutes his studies as he informs me with a view of being a surgeon rather than a physician, which last was my advice, but a life of action and business is not to be objected to in any way. I send you letters from my children. They would be glad to receive a letter from Galabank or any of his family. . . .

"I was more sorry to hear of the long hopeless illness of my cousin Jeanie Hair than of her death, which I hope and believe has changed her condition infinitely for the better. I condole with her brothers to whom present my kindest respects, and tell James Hair that I received his letter . . . and if I can have a clear view of the case and can in any prudent way be the means of extricating him from his difficulties I shall do it with my whole heart. . . . My wife sends her compliments to you and to my sister and her children, and wishing you all every happiness this world (how properly called a vale of tears) can afford I am with the sincerest duty and affection your dutiful and affectionate son,
J. Johnstone.

"*P.S.*—I hope to amuse Galabank when I see him with a history of his family and memoirs of his ever respected son the Minister of Moffat, which I have in M.S. and which would make a pamphlet of a tolerable size."

Although money came to Galabank and more was owed to him, both his sons said he had the credit of being richer than he really was, and, according to his son Edward, he was surrounded by hangers-on and dishonest employées or agents, who preyed upon him, and he could not be induced to proceed¹ against a debtor. Edward had helped with necessary expenses, but before James would do the same he must be assured that his descendants would reap the benefit. Richard was offered a cadetship in His Majesty's Navy, and also a commission in the Guards, but declined both to please his mother. Not originally wishing to be a medical man, he gave up the law to study for it, as there was an opening for a surgeon in Dumfriesshire. Again urged by James, he took up medicine instead of surgery, and went to practise for a time

¹ The result of experience, as these cases appear in the list of inhibitions :—

1740. John Johnstone of Gallabank *v.* William Carlile of Bridekirk for himself and as representing his father, the late Adam Carlile, and Sibella Bell, his wife.

1752. John Johnstone of Gallabank *v.* Mr Walter Cork, minister in Cummertrees.

1752. John Johnstone of Gallabank *v.* John Henderson of Broadholm, Robert Irving, and William Johnston, younger of Lockerbie.

1755, Nov. 28. John Johnstone of Gallabank *v.* Sir John Douglas of Kelhead, Bart. (ancestor to the Marquis of Queensberry).

1755, Dec. 24. Sir John Douglas put to the horn at the suit of John Johnstone of Gallabank.

under Dr Finlay to complete his education in London. But small as London then was compared to the present day, its atmosphere was noted for its ill effect on the youth from the North. Richard showed symptoms of consumption, and set off by post for Annan. A letter to James from their father gives the end :—

“Annan, *April 4, 1769.*

“Dear Dr,—This comes with the afflicting news of my dear son Richard's death. He came from Shield in a very weak condition, with a man in the chaise to take care of him. He lived here only 14 days; he died 28 March at 10 o'clock at night, was interred March 31 . . . there was a good attendance of friends. There is one thing more I have to acquaint you with; two poor houses built in front of the Closehead Farm; magistrates and council are determined to roup them to the highest bidder. Your brother, if he had lived, would have bought them if he could for a low price, not for the sake of the houses, but to protect the farm Provost Hardie has. He was your brother's good friend in putting off the sale as long as possible on account of this illness at London, therefore if you have a mind to buy them, write to Provost Hardie to befriend you in that matter, for it is believed Provost Anderson and his friends want to buy them to serve John Oliver, his brother-in-law. I have no son alive now that can help me but yourself. I pray that God may bless you and your wife and children. Send me the answer by post, and oblige your parent.
John Johnstone.”

The ten years of misfortune were not over before Mrs Murray's daughter, Elizabeth, had joined her father and little brother David in the vault in Ruthwell Churchyard. Her mother for some years past had taken her every summer to Moffat Spa or to try the whey cure at Belriding. But a brighter period seemed to dawn when Marianne, the surviving child, was engaged to James Lockhart of Lee and Carnwath, a General in the Austrian service, a widower with one daughter. Since the Rebellion of 1745, in which his family were involved, obliging him to enter a foreign army, he succeeded to family estates, and was in Dumfriesshire arranging his affairs when he met Marianne. They were married early in 1770 at Galabank's house. The want of repair and the old man's refusal to have anything done is alluded to in letters from time to time; but in 1769 James began to put the whole property into good condition, and his sister wrote on Oct. 16, 1769 :—

“We have heard nothing about the Closehead of late. I spoke to Provost Hardie, and he says he will not let them meddle with your dyke. As to the masons, they are so busy with this great house none of them has had time to make out an estimate of such a wall as you want, but the ground is set out long ago, so you may build as you please. Your father begs you to take care that Sir John Douglas don't drag you in too far, for he is very intent to have the dyke lifted. I told the schoolmaster he might have his half year's salary, and he says he never was paid that but once a year. I think myself greatly obliged to you for expressing yourself so kindly towards Marianne. You shall

never find me ungrateful. Your bill came in good time ; indeed, if it had not been for advancing poor Richard money I had not been in any strait. Bushby told me the day he was doing your business, that your bills were as good as the bank. Our harvest is not concluded. It was wet all August and most of September, but good ever since. Mr Thompson died about a fortnight ago, and Captain M. succeeds him. He has left Miss Douglas £500 if Mrs Hardie has no child. . . . We are all glad to hear of your Lordship's welfare, and hope to see your eldest son some time before he goes to Edinburgh. Marianne will write to you both. You are desired by the old lady and gentleman to write oftener. They send their blessing. Marianne joins in my affectionate wishes for you, your wife, and all the bairns. I am, your affectionate sister and humble servant,
Isobelle Murray."

Annan reminded Miss Wordsworth in 1803 of a town in France or Germany, from its large houses, too big for the present population, and the paintings representing various trades over the shop doors. Since then the houses have been divided or rebuilt.

CHAPTER XIX.

JOHNSTONE OF GALABANK—WORCESTERSHIRE—YOUNG JAMES IN SCOTLAND—
HIS LETTERS—EDINBURGH.

WHILE the cycle of misfortune was sweeping over Galabank's family the home in Worcestershire had not been spared. The only but terrible alternative to the smallpox scourge at that time was inoculation. Little Edward and Henry had undergone it, and as Edward had the complaint mildly the baby, Anna, was inoculated from him, but it gave her convulsions, and she died. The two next, John and Mary, were not inoculated, but John, aged four, took the smallpox and died, Aug. 1767. A sixth son, one of the family landmarks, born Oct. 22, 1768, was also called John, and for him and his junior, Lockhart, their father again tried inoculation, with success, in 1772.

The four elder boys were educated first at the Kidderminster Grammar School under the Rev. John Martin, the schoolfellow at Westminster of Horace Walpole and Lord Mansfield. Founded by Charles I., it was patronised by most of the neighbouring County families for their sons, and for so small a school sent out an unusual number of eminent men. The young Johnstones also studied at home under the Rev. Job Orton, and afterwards at Daventry under Dr Ackworth. The eldest, now sixteen, was preparing for Edinburgh, and destined to relieve his father as early as possible of some of his work. He wrote from Daventry, April 14, 1770:—

"We shall finish philosophy in a week or two, and then Dr A. intends to begin anatomy! You told me when I was with you there was no occasion to study it here. I am afraid Dr Ackworth will think it disrespectful if I do not, and it cannot do me any harm, but I leave it to you to determine. I saw in the paper lately the death of the member for Stafford. I hope your friend Mr Pulteney will be chosen in his place. I shall answer my mother's letter very soon. Pray give my duty to her, love to my brothers and sister. Your dutiful son,

James Johnstone."

Young James went to Edinburgh with Dr Ackworth's testimony, after three years' study of his character, that he was one of the most ingenious and promising young men he had ever known, with a remarkable quickness of insight and aptitude for literary work.

He left Worcestershire in September, and stayed three nights in Birmingham at the "Hen and Chickens," New Street, to buy a horse for his journey at the Autumn Fair, and saw a bull baited in the Bull Ring. This much annoyed his father, who had signed a petition to the Houses of Parliament some time before to abolish bull-baiting and cock-fighting,—the Bill to that effect being thrown out on the ground that they were manly, national sports! The elder James did not fail to let his son know his displeasure. The next letter, after an apologetic one, was dated from Dumfries, Oct. 10 :—

"Hon. Sir,—I came to Dumfries this morning and delivered the deed to Mr Bushby to be registered, and have this moment received the two copies, one of which I send. He began to write out the settlements some time ago, and discovered a mistake which will require a considerable alteration. The mistake is that the houses are held not of the town of Annan but of Lord Hopetoun.

"I reached Annan about seven o'clock on Saturday night, and found my grandparents quite well. Mrs Murray is gone to Dryden, and will remain there some time.

"They intend to set the in-fields immediately, and the out-ones as soon as they know your conditions, which they desire you to send as soon as possible.

"Neither my grandfather, grandmother, nor John Irvin can tell me how many acres the lands amount to. By Tate's account, he would not tell them, but promised that he would send you the plan a long time ago. I shall call on him and ask about it.

"I called at Mr Anderson's for the memorandum. He could not give it me then, but has promised it before I go out of this country. I asked when the common¹ was to be enclosed and divided. He said they would very likely come to a conclusion next winter.

"This is all the answer I can give you at present to the articles you desired me to enquire after. . . . I shall not have an opportunity of looking at the several parts of our property till next week, when John Irvin will finish his harvest, which he cannot possibly leave now.

"Mr Bruce Johnstone has been confined to his bed for this week past with a bad fever. He is now better, and desires his compliments to you. I am afraid he will not recover in time for me to have his company to the Birns.

"Please to let me know whether you will have me do anything relating to the stone intended to be put up to my uncle's memory at Moffat. My grandmother seems very desirous of having it done as soon as possible.

"My horse performed his journey exceedingly well, but I am afraid will not bring so good a price as we might have got for him in England. Several persons who pretend to be judges have passed their judgment upon him, but none of them set a higher value than four guineas.

¹ The dispute about the Common led to the case of the Magistrates of the Burgh v. the Curators of the Marquis of Annandale, Carruthers of Holmains, Johnstone of Galabank, etc., in 1771, and these were also defendants in a fishing case brought by Lord Stormont in 1772.

"Give my duty to my mother, love to brothers, etc., and respectful compliments to all friends.

"I am, yours dutifully and affectionately,

J. Johnstone."

"Annan, Oct. 21, 1770.

"Hon. Sir,—I received yours of the 15th yesterday, and I suppose you would have mine of the 10th soon after yours was sent.

"I have frequently visited the Gallabank, and more especially that part of it where the plantation ought to be. I have examined it closely, and cannot find a single plant except nettles and other useless weeds. I do not know the reason, but Irvin says the place is too cold, and that they should be planted in some warmer place, and not put there till they have grown pretty large.

"I have been with Anderson at least ten times about that paper. He told me that it must be signed by a majority of the Magistrates and Council, and that he must give in a fresh petition, which he has at last done, and got signed by eleven of them, but not without letting me know that a bowl of punch was a necessary article. Tate does not know how to send the plan he has nearly finished to you. The best way I could think of was to send it by a parcel from some of the booksellers to London, as he can easily convey it to me at Edinburgh. I asked him how many acres it was, but he could tell me nothing about it only that I should see by the plan.

"I cannot find that Mrs Murray has had any money from my grandparents or applied for any, but my grandmother tells me that she has spent no less than £200 in preparations for her daughter's marriage, £100 of which she borrowed of a person in this country and £100 in Edinburgh, and for that reason wants you, I suppose, to pay her the £200 due at Gallabank's death.

"Gallabank has been excessively busy till last night with his harvest. He and my grandmother desire their love to you, and will be glad to hear from you.

"I shall set out to Edinburgh early to-morrow and get to the Crook, ten miles beyond Moffat, if I can. You shall hear from me as soon as I get to Edinburgh, and am a little settled."

His father gave orders that the hedges on the Galabank should be replanted, but, according to a letter from his agent at Dumfries, the thorn trees were all stolen in 1773. "It seems that thieving is practiced in the Royal burgh, but the magistrates have not yet been able to find the thieves."

"Edinburgh, Oct. 27, 1770.

"Hon. Sir,—I should have written to you before, but was unwilling to do it without having it in my power to let you know that my box was come and my horse sold, neither of which I can do at present. My horse, indeed, I hope to dispose of this evening, as there is a person coming to look at him who wants such an one, though horses sell very low at this time (when there is such a number coming in). I hope my box will soon be here, as they expect several

London vessels at Leith in a few days. There are but two there, both of which are lading for their return.

"Messrs Wallace and Billingsley had been looking out for lodgings for me before I came, and showed me several from the prices of 2s. 6d. a week to 6s. The one I have taken will cost me 4s. a week. There is a dinner provided in the same house for a set of eight or nine at 5s. a week, and I find my own breakfast, supper, fire, candles, etc. I have a tolerably good room with a small closet for my books, and a bureau. The person I take them from is a widow, and seems a good sort of woman. One other person lodges in the house, and he is an Irish physician.

"I came here about 4 p.m. on Tuesday, and went to Dr Henry's soon after, but he was not returned from London. I called again this morning, and found him. I shall dine with him to-morrow. I went to Dryden on Thursday and met with a very polite reception from both the General and Mrs Lockhart, who desired me to make an apology to you for her not writing. She told me that she had begun to write twice, but was called away, and will write to you very soon.

"I have seen but little of Edinburgh yet, though by the appearance of it, and what I have been told, there must have been great alterations and enlargement since your time. They have been repairing that part of the bridge that fell. The three arches standing are the largest I have ever seen. Give my duty to my mother, love to brothers and sister, and respects to all friends, etc.

"P.S.—Direct to me, if you please, at Mrs Gilchrist's, in the College Wynd, Edinburgh."

"Edinburgh, Dec. 4, 1770.

"Hon. Sir,—I am ashamed to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, the last of which I ought to have answered almost a week ago. I should have writ to you on Sunday, but I went to Dryden on Saturday and was detained there longer than I intended, so that I did not come home time enough for the post. I spoke of your friend Mr Rae more than once, though I did not mention him to the General with any reference to a living, but I desired Mrs Lockhart privately to use her influence with him, and if she does as she promised, no doubt she will succeed, for the General does not seem disposed to deny her anything she asks. They behave extremely kindly to me, and desire me to come *sans ceremonie* as often as is convenient to myself. I have never said a word to any of them concerning the £200.

"Your objections to my lodging occurred to me when I first came to it, and for that reason I took it for only a week at a time, but now I have had between five and six weeks' trial of it, I do not find it liable to those inconveniences. The dinner in the house is not open to anybody, but a set who constantly come to it, and stay no longer than just while they are eating, for it is a constant rule to drink nothing but small beer. There are indeed some of the company not very agreeable, but these I have no connection with in the least, and I do not find any place where, upon the whole, I should do better; at least I am sure any of the public ordinaries are infinitely worse. I have

never gone to taverns, oyster houses, etc., or joined in any kind of extraordinaries, nor intend it, for I find the necessary expenses, even with the utmost care, must be great. I have hitherto kept a regular account of all my expenses, and shall continue to do it, and hope to keep such a one as will give you and myself satisfaction. I am very sensible of the importance of frugality and the justice of your observation, that great expenses are commonly closely connected with idleness and its consequences, and I shall want no greater motive to engage me to it than the examples of yourself and Lord Lyttelton.

"I wrote to Tate as you directed me, and let Gallabank know in a letter I wrote to him since, so that when they see him they may remind him of it.

[Then follows an abstract of the lectures he had attended.]

"I have spoken both to Donaldson and Kincaid concerning your book. They seem but indifferent about it. If you choose to put all of them in the hands of one person let it be Donaldson. The spirit of any of them in disposing of them will depend very much on the profit you allow them."

"Edinburgh, *March* 12, 1771.

"Hon. Sir,—I dined yesterday with Dr Henry.¹ . . . Your books arrived very safe with the *Success*, though many goods were spoiled, owing to the ship being leaky. I got them about a fortnight ago, gave fifty to each of the booksellers in Edinburgh, and have sent twenty-four to Foulis in Glasgow, with a letter to let them know that if they could dispose of more I would supply them. I gave one to General Lockhart, Dr Monro, Dr Rutherford, and Professor Stewart.² . . . I gave one also to Dr Black, as I have the honour to be a little acquainted with him, the rest I have deferred till I receive Mrs Montagu's letter to Dr Gregory, which I hope you will get soon.

"I have spoken to Mrs Murray on the business you desired me. She desires that you will write to London yourself for my uncle's books, and seems to be much offended at you for setting so small a value as 30s. upon them, and says they must be worth more than that if you value them at no more than farthings each. I say as little as possible to Mrs Lockhart on this subject, as I know it is a disagreeable one to her as well as myself.

"Before I left Annan I desired John Irvin, if my grandfather should be seized with any sudden or violent illness, to let me know it by a letter put with his own hand into the Post Office of Dumfries, which he promised to do.

"My stock of money is getting very low. I have but £1, 6s. 6d. remaining, and shall be very much obliged to you for a supply as soon as is convenient.

"This is my last frank. Be so good as to send me some other if you have any that will serve."

Richard had left his sister his executor and residuary legatee, but the elder James had lent him money and books, and there were bills for his rooms in London, and for a suit of Court mourning for the mother of George III., and

¹ A Scottish minister, at that time attached to St. Giles', Edinburgh, the author of a *History of Great Britain in the Reign of Henry VII.* and other works (1718-90).

² His son was Dugald Stewart, Mathematical Professor (1753-1828).

other expenses due to Mr Veitch, a relative of the late member for the Dumfries Burghs. He had assisted Dr Finlay, and Mrs Murray thought that money was due from him to Richard, but no one seems to have asked, and James ended by paying up everything.

"Annan, Aug. 31, 1771.

"Hon. Sir,—I have received your letters, and am very happy to find you so well satisfied with the execution of the business you directed to be done, and am sorry that it is not in my power to send you copies of the deeds, etc., as you desired both in your letters. Neddy's writing is very intelligible, and only wants a little practice to perfect himself in shorthand writing. The reason of my not sending you the booksellers' offers was that I had none to send in the least worth your acceptance. I offered them to him for 1s. each copy, but he said he could not think of dealing with me on such high terms. I told him I would not give them much lower, but keep them to advertize next winter. I was the less solicitous to sell them as I have great hopes of their going off next winter. Dr Gregory gives the *Institutions*, and I do not doubt but he will mention it honourably.

"The sum I borrowed of Dr Henry was £7, 7s. I will be much obliged to you, if convenient, to send it to him immediately. I intend writing to him this evening. His *History* has sold exceedingly well in Edinburgh. When at Dumfries I enquired of Thomas Bushby, who is cashier to the Bank, as well as of his brother John whether the assignation was intimated, and he assured me that it was, but there is a further necessary step he required the other notary to take, *i.e.*, writing the execution on the back of the original copy with the names of the notary. The person in whose hands the money is and another third person subscribed. This was done at Sir William Maxwell's and Mrs Moore's, and I desired Bushby to get the same done at the Bank. He promised me to do it last Thursday. I saw him in Annan on Wednesday, and shall be at Dumfries the beginning of next week myself, when if he has not done it I will take care to have it done.

"Gallabank desires me to tell you he has paid James Moffat 40s. for the dyke at Closeheads, and that there is as much as will cost 20s. more remaining to be done.

"This is all the business I have to write to you about, and have only to add that, as some persons through whose hands your letters sometimes pass to my grandfather and grandmother are not likely to put the best construction upon your words, I would wish when you write to them that you would cautiously word any expressions which may be misconstrued to your disadvantage, and when you mention General Lockhart will you be so good as to give him his title,¹ because when you write only Mr Lockhart it is misconstrued either as a wilful disrespect or pride. I know you will excuse me mentioning these trifles, as an attention to them may be a means of further promoting that family peace which you are so desirous of establishing.

¹ This was not usually done when the title was a foreign one.

"It is now time for me to inform you of the way I employ my time here. I brought Haller from Edinburgh with me to endeavour to make myself master of it before I return there, but find it not so easy a task as I imagined. I generally read the whole morning till twelve o'clock, and after that go and talk Latin, and read with John Irving, the blind man, whom you know to be an excellent Latin scholar. I am acquainted with everybody in the town that I wish to be, and am commonly out every afternoon.

"I bought the *Comparative View* last winter, and have read it over and over; it is a book in every respect worthy of its author. I cannot express its worth in stronger terms, and with all who are acquainted with Dr Gregory it cannot bear a higher character. When you see Mrs Montagu at Hagley, I beg you will present my best acknowledgements to her for the honour she has done me in introducing me to that excellent man, and my duty to his Lordship, if you think proper. I visited your friend Mr Gath¹ last Sunday. He is very well. The old people here ask a great many questions about home. My love to Neddy and all my brothers and sister."

"Annan, Oct. 11, 1771.

"Hon. Sir,—I received yours of the 20th ult. with the agreeable news of the birth of Lockhart on the 12th, and heartily join all friends here in wishing that the increase of your family may prove an increase of your happiness. I have not been able to go to Dumfries on account of the harvest till yesterday, when I went to receive the interest at the Bank.

"I made inquiry about John's confirmation, but the office can give no answer without searching the Register, and unless you can give the exact time it will be attended with much expense. . . . I am sorry I cannot, in spite of repeated solicitations, send you copies of the writings, etc., you desired, but my grandfather cannot look them out himself and will not allow me to do it. He once said he might let me have them if Mrs Murray was away, but now she has been at Locherwood some days he has altered his mind. Not a day passes but my grandmother has something to say about the monument. She is very angry at it being put off so long, and still persists that it shall be of marble, or (says she) 'I will send a man on purpose to pull it down the moment it is put up.'

"I read to Gallabank your letter. He says he has no money, but will try to spare enough to supply me to Edinburgh, though I am afraid it will be little enough as the good old man seems to have the prevailing passion of his years growing pretty fast upon him.

"The sale of Sir John Douglas's land will be next Tuesday. Mr Dickson will attend it on your account. He expresses great readiness to be of any service to you in his power.

"You ask what sort of a schoolmaster we have. As a schoolmaster I know little of him; but he is a very sensible man, has read a good deal, and is in his

¹ Minister of Graitney, an author, and noted for the strictness with which he ruled his flock.

behaviour much of a gentleman. He has not so large a school as his predecessor I am informed had; not for want of equal or superior merit, but for want of a certain degree of assurance which the other possessed, and not adapting himself to the conversation and company of the lower class of people."

The population had diminished during the eighteenth century, and in 1772 Annan only contained 500.

Galabank objected to a monument at Moffat at the time of his son's death, and said he would put the name on the family vault at Annan; but nine years later, by his mother's wish, James took it in hand, and paid £25 for the handsome marble monument attached to the piece of the chancel wall of the old church left standing at Moffat, which bears this still legible inscription:—

P. M. Reveredi Vivi
Edwardi Johnstone, A.M.
(Vetustae apud Annandie familiae de Gallabank
geniti) pastoris et conneionatoris olim in hac
pareccia per Annos quatuor decim celeberrimi
Qui obiit 16 Januarii 1761 aetatis suae 46
Hoc posnit
Jacobus Johnstone, M.D.
Delita spargens lacryma
farillam fratris amici.

Below are the family arms and motto, with old Galabank's name.

CHAPTER XX.

JOHNSTONE'S BOOKS—DEATH OF LORD LYTTELTON—CORRESPONDENCE WITH MRS MONTAGU—THOMAS'S ILLNESS—JAMES'S LETTER—SETTLES IN WORCESTER—GALABANK'S LETTER AND DEATH—EDWARD'S ILLNESS—IN EDINBURGH—LETTERS FROM DRs CULLEN AND GREGORY—IN BIRMINGHAM—SAMUEL JOHNSON AND DR PRIESTLEY—VISIT TO THE LOCKHARTS—ASSEMBLIES AT SUTTON COLDFIELD—MRS MONTAGU'S LETTER—GORDON RIOTS—THE JAIL FEVER—DEATH OF YOUNG JAMES—HIS CHARACTER—HIS FATHER REMOVES TO WORCESTER—MEMBERS OF THE LITERARY SOCIETY—THE ASSIZE.

THE result of Johnstone's experiments on the ganglions of the nerves were at first privately printed and presented to several physicians—among others to Baron Haller, the Swiss medical Principal of the University of Gottingen, who began a controversial correspondence with the author which lasted from 1761 to 1775. He was no vivisectionist, for, when speaking of his experiments with kittens and rabbits, he says they must be made immediately after the animals are killed; but with frogs he thought they could easily be deprived of sensation, and that this should be done before proceeding further. Dr Lyttelton (brother to Lord Lyttelton), who was Dean of Exeter and then Bishop of Carlisle, President of the Antiquarian Society, presented Johnstone's pamphlet to the Royal Society, and, with supplementary articles, it was printed in Volumes LIV., LVII., and LX. of the *Philosophical Transactions* in 1764. Another essay refuting objections appeared in the *Encyclopædia*, and both are favourably mentioned by Dr M'Kittrick in his *Commentaries on the Principle and Practice of Physic*, and also by Dr Tissot in his *Traite des Maladies Nerveuses*. Frederic Casimir seems to have adopted the whole system in a work published at Mannheim in 1774, and Dr Kolpin, of Stettin, translated it into German, the work being entitled *Versuch uber den Nussen der Nervenknotten von James Johnstone*.

Of this book the author wrote: "Solitary and indeed casual study produced my first sketch on the uses of the ganglions of the nerves, a subject on which no one had even plausibly conjectured anything probable. From this arose the little notice taken of it by the anatomists in this kingdom. No one had any idea of it; no one could pretend any claim to the discovery; on this single subject there was no room for wrangle—*more anatomico*—so one of the most important discoveries of the age has been but little noticed, at home especially, yet it is the key which unlocks the functions of the heart."

Johnstone continued to the last four years of his life to publish, in the organs of the Medical Societies of Edinburgh and London, remarkable cases that had come under his notice and the result. He was the recipient of the first medal presented by the London Society. In all he brought out seventeen books and essays, apart from writings on non-medical subjects. He was a member of the Philosophical and Literary Society of Manchester and of the Philosophical Society of Bath, and wrote in their journals. But his most important discovery was perhaps the treatment of fevers, and the arrest of infection by sulphuric or muriatic acid mixed with common salt placed in an open jar in the patient's room. He used it seventeen years before Guyton Morveau purified the Cathedral of Dijon with a similar mixture, and twenty-two years before Dr Carmichael Smyth corrected contagion in Winchester Prison in the same way. He even advised it to disinfect his father's house after his sisters and brother died of consumption in 1756, 1761, and 1769.

When George, Lord Lyttelton, was dying in May 1773, he told Johnstone to write minute particulars of his illness to Mrs Montagu, and also of a conversation on Christianity and his spiritual state, which he began by telling the Doctor that he was going to make him his confessor. Dr Samuel Johnson, in his *Lives of the Poets*, gives a part of the letter, and Miss Warner, in her *Notes to Original Letters*, gives the whole. Johnstone had to defend himself from some critics who accused him of revealing the secrets of a death-bed, which ought to be as sacred to the physician as to the priest, and he explained that he acted entirely by Lord Lyttelton's command.¹ Lady Lyttelton, the deceased's daughter-in-law, confirmed this statement to several of her friends, and she was a constant attendant at her father-in-law's death-bed.

Mrs Montagu's reply to Johnstone's "excellent" letter showed she appreciated it. "Lord Lyttelton," she wrote, "was enabled to be in death, as in life, the best of examples to mankind. The solemn event is often attended with such disorder of body and mind that the wisest and best men only show the weak and frail condition of humanity . . . and rather inform the spectator what he is to suffer than how to support suffering. This excellent, incomparable man was a noble instance how virtue, integrity, and faith rob death of its sting, the grave of its victory. . . . My house when he appeared in it was a school of knowledge and virtue to the young. . . . But as such a friend is the best worldly gift Heaven bestows, I most gratefully acknowledge the goodness of God in having permitted me to enjoy such a friend and such an example, and submit with humble resignation to the stroke that deprives me of a much greater good and advantage and honour than I ever could merit. I am glad that all that human skill and care could do was done to prolong a life so valuable to us, and that in you he had the consolation of the friend he

¹ In the so-called fictitious letters of Thomas, Lord Lyttelton, occurs: "When you are here I will amuse you with a pamphlet which is a complete physical or rather anatomical reply to those who defend the right of self-murder; it is a treatise on the Ganglions of the Nerves by a Dr Johnstone, a physician in my neighbourhood; it is written with the pen of a scholar, and possesses throughout a most perspicuous ingenuity. This gentleman attended my father in his last illness, and was not only his physician but his confessor."

loved as well as the physician he respected and trusted. I wished we lived nearer to each other, that I might hope to inherit some part of the friendship you had for this deceased friend. I will hope so far that if ever it is in my power to be of any little service to you or yours you will command me. If your son should go abroad to finish his studies it is not impossible I might be of some use in getting recommendations to persons whose acquaintance might be of some little use, as I have a pretty extensive acquaintance among foreigners. The character I heard of Mr Johnstone, your son, both from good Lord Lyttelton and Dr Gregory,¹ makes me sincerely congratulate you on the pleasing hopes you may reasonably indulge of his success in the world. He has been very unfortunate in losing two such friends, but his father's character and his promising genius will do everything for him."

The younger James graduated at Edinburgh in Sept. 1773. His papers and debates before the Medical Society of Edinburgh were considered by Dr Cullen and Dr Gregory as remarkably clever, and he acted as clinical clerk to Gregory to prepare cases for the lectures at the Infirmary. His thesis, "*De Angina Maligna*," was recommended to the attention of physicians by Dr Cullen, for, as he said, it was based on his father's observations. It was the subject of much congratulation in his family; and of two letters from his aged grandmother to her son in Worcestershire, in the second of which she says: "I pray indeed that James, Thomas, and Edward may be as you say good men. Your father, if he is spared, rests upon what you say as to the land, and we will be glad to see you here if it be with your convenience. Your father and I are both in our ordinary state of health, but we can get no money from Mr B—— or Mr C—— though the last has owed us £10 since June." (Nov. 5, 1773.)

Six months earlier she wrote: "You told me in your last that Thomas was ill of fever and that the young doctor was waiting on him. I am heartily sorry to hear it, and beg you will write and tell me how my grandson is, directly you receive this as I am very impatient to hear. May God bless you and all your family. I am dear son your affectionate Mother.

"Annan, *May* 9."

Young James had gone by sea from Edinburgh to London by his father's desire to look after Thomas who had been put into a merchant's office, and fallen ill. He wrote from London, April 30, 1773: "My brother has been gradually mending every day since I wrote last, but is not yet able to sit up above half an hour in the day. His spirits are exceedingly good and he is as lively in conversation as ever. I called at Mr Pulteney's on Wednesday last but he had gone to Shrewsbury. He is expected home in a day or two so I shall call again. I have been twice to Mrs Montagu but was so unfortunate as not to meet with her at home. Lady Valentia has received your letter; she desires me to tell you that she cannot leave town till May 6 but wishes to have the children removed to Mr Vicary's and inoculated as soon as you

¹ Mrs Montagu was related to Dr Gregory's wife, daughter of the fourteenth Lord Forbes.

think it proper. She will be with them before they sicken. I hope my uncle and Aunt Crane had a safe journey home, remember me affectionately to them as well as to my mother, Your dutiful son, etc."

And on May 7, 1773, he wrote again:—

"Hon. Sir,—I received yours this morning and (as you will see by the cover) have since been with Mr Pulteney. He sent me a very polite card of invitation to dinner to-day, and received me with great civility. On my way home I called at Mrs Soley's. That family is all in mourning for Mrs Marriot who died a fortnight ago. I was with Heydinger before dinner and have written to the Bishop that the copy is not complete, and that he expects others in six weeks time. Tom is daily recovering strength; he sat up eight hours to-day. Dr Fothergill urges his going into the country. If you think it proper that he should come in a post-chaise by short stages, I have no doubt that he will be able to do it by the end of the week. If you approve, I must ask you to send me a small bill for £5 more. I shall be on the look out for a third person to lessen the expense.

"Mr Fuller had engaged a person to go with him to Birmingham before he knew of my coming to Town. I went last night to see Garrick in the character of Hamlet the former part of the evening and I never was more entertained in my life. It is impossible to do justice to the merit of this inimitable actor. After the play I went to Ranelagh and stayed till mid-night. I have no time to lose and will see as much as I can, so at present lead a complete life of dissipation. Present my duty to my mother and respects wherever they are proper, from your dutiful son,
J. J."

After taking his degree James took his father's place at Worcester, and in the summer of 1774 was elected Hon. Physician to the Infirmary of that city. His colleague was Charles Cameron, educated at Eton and Baliol, the son of the elder Johnstone's rival, whose failing health had obliged him to resign the post. James took a house in Foregate Street, and a poetical letter from his twelve-years-old brother, Henry, who visited him, describes very fully occupied days of business and harmless amusement.

He was sworn in as special constable on the occasion of a local riot, and served with the Worcestershire Militia when it was called out. His friend, Dr James Gregory, coming to see him, he wrote to his brother "Ned" to join them under canvas. The regiment was afterwards moved to Warley, where a fatality occurred in the death of the senior officer, Major Clements, 1778.

The following year a commission in the Army was bought for Henry Johnstone.

Galabank's last letter to his son was dated Jan. 15, 1774. "Worthy Doctor," he wrote, "this day I received your letter and you have given me good council not to disturb my own mind in the affair of the burgh land that they speak of exchanging; my mind is not to exchange anything till your mother and I are dead. Take good care of the rights that you have from me for the

sake of your family, and I wish your spouse and children a happy New Year and many of them. This is all, from your affectionate father and mother,

"John Johnstone.

"I can get no interest from Mr Corrie Carlile paid. When you write to me be so good as to write to him and ask for regular payment. We have had a cold hard winter."

The old man survived till the next October, when he had a slight stroke which affected one arm. He said at once that it was the forerunner of death, and that he would neither see a doctor nor take any remedy. "Did they wish him to live to be 100 years old and a burden to everybody?" was his answer when his wife and daughter urged him to give himself a chance. His son did not arrive till the end had already come, Oct. 14, and it gratified him to see the respect in which his father was held by all the neighbourhood. "His word was as good as another's bond," and "Scotland never bred a more honest man," were common observations, and repeated in the funeral sermon by the Rev. W. Moncrieff.¹ He was in his eighty-seventh year, and the oldest freeholder in Scotland.

His Will was dated May 18, 1769. He left no debts, but £214, 3s. 4d. was owed to him by Mr William Corrie Carlile of Bridekirk. Except a small charge on his property for his son, John, and some special furniture to his daughter, Isobelle, besides an elbow chair, and six chairs, and a rococo bookcase to his grand-daughter, Mrs Lockhart, and a large silver spoon and silver tankard to his grandson, Edward, he left all else—"lands, crops, stock and utensils of husbandry, furniture, window curtains, pictures, prints, looking-glasses, beds, tables and chairs"—to his daughter, Isobelle, and his son, James. The Will, signed by himself and his wife, was witnessed by George Hardie, Provost of Annan, John Bushby, writer in Dumfries, and John Anderson, notary.²

His son speaks very warmly of him in his diary, and expresses thankfulness that he did not live to see the unfortunate end of his grand-daughter's marriage with General Lockhart, which was solemnised in his house after the Presbyterian fashion, which had crept in since he was married himself. No change was made in the establishment while the widow lived, but on June 18, 1776, her son records: "This morning died my dear affectionate mother, Anna, in the 81st year of her age." "My active feeling mother"—as he calls her elsewhere. "She was eight years younger than her husband. In the last year of her

¹ Only three ministers have succeeded him in Annan to the present day—his son, the Rev. J. Monilaws, and Dr Crichton.

² His monument in Annan Churchyard bears the inscription below the names of the children who had predeceased him. "Here also is interred the venerable father of this numerous family John Johnstone Esq. of Gallabanks, representative of the Johnstones of Milnfield and Newbie Castle, and an antient cadet of the Johnstones of Johnstone. He died the 12th day of October 1774 aged 86 years and 4 months.

"The hoary head is a crown of glory if it be found in the way of righteousness.

"Also Anna Ralston his relict who died the 18th of June 1776, and in the 81st year of her age.

"All flesh is grass."

life the usual infirmities of eighty years added to other complications made her patiently but earnestly look for death, the great remedy of incurable discomfort."

"Respecting family claims after my mother's death," he wrote rather later, "I settled everything due to my sister or her daughter, and have her discharge in ample terms with those of her daughter and General Lockhart, and I now remain sole male representative, and by deed as well as heirship sole claimant to the real and personal property anywise belonging to or derivable from my father."

Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall witnessed Galabank's deed of settlement.

The bills for the various family funerals show the difference in the value of money 130 and 140 years ago. The mourners often came from long distances, and in so hospitable a country they were of course entertained. The Presbyterian ministers said prayers and gave exhortations in the house, but the coffin, borne by relatives from the churchyard gate to the grave, was laid in the ground almost in silence. The previous generation was buried with the Episcopal service, for Edward Johnstone died only a year (1697) after the Presbyterian Kirk was established by law, and it had not then supplied a minister for Annan. But the entertainment in every case was much the same. For six dozen of wine supplied at Richard's funeral £5, 8s. sterling was paid. On the occasion of his mother's, "sixteen gentlemen dined at the Queensberry Arms Hotel in Annan for 16s.," four ladies for 4s., ten tenants for 5s., the wine being supplied from the house of the deceased; the porter they drank amounted to 5s., and horse hire 4s. 6d., for the churchyard was very near. There was a larger attendance when Galabank was buried, and the bill for dining the mourners and pall-bearers at the Hotel was £2, 2s. "Servants eating" was 8d. and beer; ale and porter 4s. 8d., wine being supplied from the house. Two guineas was paid "for an Achievement of the Arms of Gallabank, and all materials by me, Lewis Cleghorn," to put over the house door, and 4s. 6d. for the frame. A coffin was £1, 5s.

At another of these funerals, when fourteen gentlemen were to dine at the Queensberry Arms at 1s. per head, the dinner consisted of a ham and chickens, a roast leg of mutton, a pigeon pie, fish, a dish of flounders, besides tarts of various kinds, the wine and beer being extra, and 1s. for a dish of veal cutlets. Crape was 1s. 6d. a yard, ribbon 8d., cloth for a bombazine gown £1, 7s., white crape for a coffin pall 4s., a flannel shroud 15s. 6d., tape 2d. a yard, a set of white and gold coffin handles and letters 4s. 6d., mourning paper 10d. per quire, sealing wax 4d. a stick, cloth 5s. 8d. a yard, black silk thread 2s. per oz., almonds 1s. 8d. per lb., caraway seeds 6d., currants 7d., and raisins 6d. per lb., cheese 4d., etc.

A letter from young James on the occasion of his grandfather's death, dated Kidderminster, Oct. 21, 1774, shows that he had undertaken to look after his father's practice during his necessary absence. After giving details of the health of various people, he says: "We have this moment received yours from Warrington, and rejoice to hear that you reached that place so well.

Having gained your point on the first day, we are encouraged to hope that you were not much later than the appointed time on Thursday at Annan.

"My mother desires to join me in assuring you that we are very impatient to hear of your arrival at Annan and of the situation in which you find my good grandmother. We most cordially sympathise with you both. We hope you will not forget to offer our respectful duty to the worthy old lady, and let her know how anxious we are to have more pleasing accounts of her. There is a letter to you from Mr Pulteney. It contains no more than you know already, and I will answer it. Also one from General Lockhart to tell you that my cousin Mary Anne had a daughter born on the 15th, and that both are doing well. He regrets not having seen Neddy, and hopes he is quite well."

Edward's studies were interrupted by serious illness. He had assisted his father during the vacation in his work among the poor in Kidderminster and the neighbourhood, where there was an outbreak of typhus fever,¹ and he caught it. In after life he attributed his recovery, under Providence, to his father's skill and his mother's care and perfect obedience to his father's orders. As his younger brothers and sister were in the house, three of them quite little children, muriatic acid poured on common salt was placed in a jar on the stairs, and everyone who passed up or down was directed to stir it up with a stick. The efficacy of this new remedy was proved by no one in the house, including the servants, taking the complaint. "My brother," wrote John Johnstone in after life, "recovered almost miraculously from the last and worst stage of this dreadful fever. The muriatic vapour was kept rising continually in the room, and not one of the family, at that time consisting of sixteen persons, was infected;" but the boy, for he was not eighteen, was a long time before he got up his strength, and his future sphere of action was decided by his father thinking it desirable that he should live in a bracing climate.

General Lockhart, a man of the world who had won his title and the Order of Maria Theresa by his campaign in Poland, seems to have had a sincere regard for his wife's young cousins. He wrote to congratulate Johnstone when Edward was completely recovered, often asked him to Dryden when he was at Edinburgh, and later, when he was appointed Governor of the Austrian Netherlands, invited Edward to spend a month with them at the Viceregal residence.

As Edward was his father's executor, and destroyed all his own letters home while preserving those of his elder brother, only his careful note-books and thesis for his medical degree exist as memorials of his College life, but the letters of Dr Cullen and Dr Gregory to his father show that it was very creditable. The first wrote from Edinburgh, July 3, 1779:—

"Dear Sir,—An esteem and regard for your character very readily engaged my attention to your sons, who came to be our pupils here, and I cannot now

¹ Fever that the elder called putrid, the younger called typhus.

dismiss the last of them without telling you that tho' it was a regard for you that first engaged my attention, yet the good qualities I soon observed in the young Gentlemen themselves would have effectually secured it, tho' they had been otherwise unknown to me. I must say of both of them that they soon discovered very excellent parts, and have always given so much application to study, and shewn such correct and polite manners, that they have engaged both my affection and that of all their other Preceptors. I am fond by this testimony to do justice to the young men and to give you the pleasure which I am confident you will receive from it. I congratulate you heartily on your happiness in two such sons, and assure you I am with great affection theirs, and with great respect and esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient servant.

“William Cullen.”

Dr Gregory's letter, dated July 4, says:—

“Sir,—As your son is now going to leave Edinburgh after three years spent at our College, I cannot suffer him to depart without conveying to you my assurance that his Behaviour here, both in respect of his private conduct and his application to his studies, has been such as his best friends would have wished. Of this, and of his proficiency in his studies, all the Professors are perfectly satisfied, but I think myself better entitled than any other to assure his father of it, as I have had more particular opportunities of being acquainted with him than any of them could have, as I was not only frequently favoured with his company in the domestic circle, but also had his assistance in the capacity of my Clerk at my last course of chemical lectures, in which office his attention and judgement were such as to give me the highest satisfaction. So far as I can judge he has as good a title to success in his profession as personal merit can give him. Your most obedient humble servant,

“J. Gregory.”

Edward attended his grandmother's funeral at Annan, and visited that part once more on his way home in 1779 to see his invalid uncle, John, who lived sixteen years after the death of his mother broke up the family home. It was a tribute to the skill and kindness of his brother, who placed him under suitable care in Annan, that, as John approached seventy, the cloud over his mental powers seemed to pass away, and he finally succumbed, a practically sane man, to failure of the heart in 1792—a few months after Lord Annandale's decease at Chiswick.

No grass grew under the feet of the young Galabanks, and within three months of his admission to the Royal Medical Society in Edinburgh Edward was appointed an honorary physician to the newly built General Hospital in Birmingham, and his name appeared on a brass plate on a house in New Street, then the fashionable residential quarter of the rising village,—for it was nothing more. His colleague and senior was Dr Ash, but Johnstone admitted the first patient, a fact of which he was rather proud in his later life. He was very soon connected with the philanthropic associations in the town; but he could

play as well as work, as appears in a letter from the younger Dr Gregory, dated Cambridge in 1780, in which Gregory refers to Johnstone's frequent attendance at the dances given in the Assembly Rooms at Sutton Coldfield, seven miles distant, and imagines that the attraction must be either Miss G., one of the Galton family, who were then living at Great Barr Hall, or else Miss Jesson, a scion of an old Warwickshire family, who afterwards became Mrs Lynch. Gregory wishes that he could change places with him.

In the *Birmingham Directory* for 1783 Edward Johnstone is set down as living in Temple Row. The house was larger than the one in New Street, and just opposite St. Philip's Church, now the Cathedral. He selected it because it was on the highest ground in the place.

He had unsuccessfully tried to introduce his father's system of arresting contagion with muriatic acid mixed with common salt in the hospitals at Edinburgh when they were filled with the Duke of Buccleuch's Fencibles suffering from fever. The physicians were not accustomed to be instructed by their students, and raised a trivial objection to a second trial of it; but in Birmingham he at once proved its utility, and it continued in practice till replaced by the more convenient and less obtrusive modern disinfectants.

He also followed his father's new system of treating fevers. The first time he was called in by an apothecary to see a woman apparently dying from the effects of three weeks' typhus fever he called for the first stimulant that could be brought. It was a jug of ale. He gave some to the patient, while the apothecary looked on as astonished as if the young physician was pouring poison down her throat, and was still more surprised when she raised herself to take the jug in her own hand for another draught, and she recovered.

A coach ran between Worcester and Birmingham along the Bristol road, and Edward often went on the top of it to see his brother and consult with him about the serious cases that came before him. His father also came frequently to Birmingham. He was intimate with Edmund Hector, the kind friend of Samuel Johnson, and who lived in the Old Square, close to Temple Row. Johnson stayed with Hector, after his last visit to Lichfield, about two months before he died.

In Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson* he contradicts an assertion made by Dr Parr, that the author of the *Dictionary* had ever met Dr Priestley, on the ground that when visiting a College dignitary at Oxford Johnson turned his back and left the room on the appearance of a notable Nonconformist. Boswell admits that he knew very little of his friend's movements during the last year of his life, but Edward Johnstone told his friend Mr Hill that he was present when such a meeting took place. Samuel Johnson was a dying man, suffering from dropsy, when he reached the Old Square, but he wished to return to London. Hector, unwilling to let him travel alone, and finding that Johnstone was going to visit Dr Parr, who had only arrived at Hatton Vicarage the previous Easter, asked him to let the invalid accompany him, and to arrange that he should make Hatton the first stage of his journey. Dr Priestley also came there, and it was the one occasion when they met

at Dr Parr's. Samuel Johnson, aware of his own condition and softened by it, was as civil as his nature permitted to his fellow-guest. He rested again at Oxford at the house of his friend Dr Adams, thence went by the public coach to London, Nov. 16, 1784. Less than a month later he died.

In 1781 Edward Johnstone visited his cousin at the Viceregal residence of the Austrian Governor of the Netherlands at the Hague, her husband, Count Lockhart,¹ having recently been appointed to that post. This part of Europe in 1725 was restored to the House of Austria, represented in 1781 by Joseph II., Emperor of Germany, which was then an elective monarchy. Edward stayed a month with the Lockharts at Utrecht, the Hague, and Spa, and brought home a map of Spa and some very handsome books on Flanders and Brabant.

On Jan. 4, 1781, Mrs Montagu wrote to Johnstone: "I shall take every opportunity of mentioning your son at Birmingham to all my friends with esteem, and indeed one never declines doing justice when it gratifies one's private affections as it does mine where your family is interested. I beg my affectionate compliments to my young friend. I did not know till you told me that he was going to assume the grave character of a married man, but I heartily congratulate both you and him. . . . I have been building, near Portman Square, a house² I purpose to inhabit next winter. I assure you it will owe many of its decorations to Birmingham and its neighbourhood. The arts seem to be rising to a high degree of perfection in England, but the late horrid violences and outrages which have been committed in London too plainly prove that if we are polished in matters of taste we are savages and barbarians in principles and manners." This alludes to the riots instigated by Lord George Gordon in June 1780 to oppose what was known as the Catholic Relief Bill, a Bill warmly supported by the Whigs or Liberals of that day. It began on June 2, the next day the Chapels and numerous private houses of the Romanists were pillaged and burned, as well as Lord Mansfield's and those of prominent Whigs. Thirty-six fires were blazing at once, the jails, including the King's Bench, Bridewell, and Fleet, were broken open and the inmates released, the Bank attempted, and for six days the Civil Law was overpowered. Then the Militia from various counties arrived to reinforce the Horse Guards, nearly 500 rioters were killed and wounded, and many others tried and executed. Lord George Gordon was acquitted; but in six years a warrant was issued against him for libelling Marie Antoinette. He escaped to Birmingham, where he was concealed for some weeks, then captured, and died of fever in Newgate (1787) while awaiting his trial.

Two years later all Johnstone's friends joined him in mourning over the

¹ Madame D'Oberkirch, governess to the Grand Duchess Paul, afterwards Empress of Russia, wrote an account of a visit she paid in 1782 with the Grand Duke and Duchess to Utrecht, where they were entertained by "Lady Lockhart." "The Lockharts," she adds, "are an ancient Scotch family, of whom one member was Ambassador from Cromwell to the Court of France. The Grand Duke [Emperor Paul 1796-1801], who is very well informed, did not fail to make a delicate allusion to this personage."

² The large detached house now owned by Lord Portman.

death of the eldest son of the house. Nash, in his *History of Worcestershire*, Dr Valentine Green in his similar work (both authors were acquainted with him), give very sympathetic accounts of young James's career; and Howard, the philanthropist,¹ in his *State of Prisons*, alludes to his premature end: "In the course of my pursuits I have known several amiable young gentlemen, who in their zeal to do good have been carried off by that dreadful disorder the gaol fever, and this has been one incentive to my endeavours for its extirpation out of our prisons. I shall mention one affecting instance which happened here [Worcester] of a young physician falling a sacrifice to this distemper through a benevolent attention to some prisoners afflicted with it—Dr Johnstone, jun., of Worcester. He attained at an early period to great and deserved eminence in his profession, and will be ever regretted as a physician of great ability and genius, and as one of the most pleasing and benevolent of men, prematurely snatched from his friends and country." The *Biographical Illustrations of Worcestershire* gives a similar sketch of his career. "A much lamented martyr to a noble discharge of duty," wrote Dr Barnes of him in the *Manchester Memoirs*, Vol. II. The Governor, his wife, and the surgeon had all died of the fever which had broken out in Worcester Castle, then used as a jail, and the panic caused by it made it difficult to supply their place. Young Johnstone offered himself, and was at once accepted by the Magistrates, and for a short time was in charge. He was most successful in rescuing debtors as well as criminals with his energetic use of disinfectants and wholesome diet, and removal to better quarters of those who had not yet been affected,² and in his treatment of the sick. "He went into cells and dungeons full of pestilential contagion," wrote Dr Green, "and restored health to the miserable sufferers, but his own invaluable life fell a sacrifice. He was seized with the dire contagion, and, fully persuaded that the event must be fatal, he was conveyed to his father's house, there to receive the last attentions of parental skill and affection. He died Aug. 16, 1783, aged twenty-nine, a lamented victim to the discharge of one of the most dangerous duties of his profession. The oldest rarely attain to greater skill and knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocence, or leave it more sincerely mourned.

"Dr Johnstone's manners were as remarkably cheerful and pleasing as his abilities and knowledge were great and extensive. To these were superadded great sweetness of temper, mingled with vivacity and sensibility. He had vigour of body which seemed to promise a longer life, but by his premature death verified an old observation, 'Immedicis brevis est aetas et para senectus.'"

The Governors of the Worcester Infirmary in their Yearly Report in 1784

¹ He sent presentation copies of his works to Johnstone.

² "He ordered the cells to be fumigated with brimstone, and in the apartments of the sick the acid air was kept constantly rising. The prisoners were fresh clothed, their old clothes were burnt, and their hair cut off. They had fresh straw to lie upon every night, were allowed 2 lbs. of currants each every day, and had diluted vitriolic acid water for their common drink, and before the new clothes were put on each prisoner was obliged to wash himself all over in tubs of water placed in the open court of the prison."—*Account of the Discovery of Mineral Acid Vapours, etc.*, by John Johnstone, M.D., 1803.

Apparently the old Castle, which was close to the Cathedral, had never been modernised.

state: "It would be unpardonable to overlook the mournful occasion of this election of physicians by the death of Dr Johnstone, jun., who for nine years served this charity with great assiduity, humanity, and skill, and who fell a memorable sacrifice by his attendance on another public service."

The elder Johnstone tried his favourite disinfectant while his son was ill in the house, and proved its efficacy by no one taking the fever except Henry, who had driven from Worcester in the same carriage with the invalid; but as he had been in the best of health and not overtaxed by his duties he recovered.

Only four days after his son's death Johnstone offered to take his place as physician to the Worcester Infirmary, and was at once appointed. His parents-in-law were dead, also his friend Mr Orton, and his son Edward advised him to leave Kidderminster with its now tragic associations. He removed in the autumn to a house in the Foregate Street. His son was buried at Kidderminster, but a marble monument, with a Latin inscription by Dr Parr, was put up in Worcester Cathedral to his memory. From all parts of the kingdom letters of condolence poured in. Young James was engaged to be married to a sister of his colleague, Dr Russell, whose son, Sir John Pakington, was the first Lord Hampton of Westwood. They were also related to the family of Earl Somers. The lady wrote a touching monody on her dead betrothed. She ultimately married.

Johnstone's hopes had soared high with regard to the marriage of his eldest son; and in a letter when he was but twenty-one gives him advice how to proceed in the courtship of a young lady visiting Ombersley, and in whom the fond father thought he had discerned a predilection for young James—an instruction in moral gallantry he calls it, advised him how often to pay a visit, how long to stay, and when he might offer to kiss her hand. But at the back of the letter are the words "disappointed," whether on his son's part or the young lady's does not appear. In a postscript Johnstone adds that Lady Valentia (daughter to the first Lord Lyttelton) writes to him that the business they have gone upon will end without expense, and that he had "a very friendly letter from Miss Baines about the death of the Bishop (owing to a fall from his horse in Bath), an event which concerns me as I fear no successor will be equally my friend" (Dec. 14, 1774). This was not the case, as he was very intimate with the next Prelate, the Hon. F. North, and on familiar terms with Dr Hurd, whom he already knew as Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, when he was appointed to Worcester in 1781.

Kidderminster is fourteen miles from Worcester, and is described in 1783, the year that Johnstone left it, as containing 1180 houses and 5749 people. It owned 1700 looms in 1773, but hardly 700 in 1780, owing to the Cranes and another manufacturer having retired. The compiler of these statistics says: "It returned two members in the Parliament 23rd of Edward I., but luckily for the trade of the town has since then had nothing to do with politics."

Worcester, an ancient city of about 11,000 inhabitants, in 1783 was the most attractive town in the Midlands, in spite of the terrible epidemic which

had overshadowed it and fresh symptoms of rioting in the county which had brought out the Worcester Militia—among them two of the Johnstones. There was very good society in the city and county. Charles, the elder brother of the more celebrated Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and an M.P. in Ireland, came to live in the Foregate Street not long before Johnstone's death, and was introduced by him to a literary circle founded by Mr Dunster, a poet and author, who was Rector of Oddingley and Naunton Beauchamp in 1775. The other members between that date and 1802 were Sir Edward Winnington, James Johnstone, the Rev. Reginald Pyndar of Hadzor, Mr Dandridge of Malvern, Colonel Barry, Dr Russell, Rev. J. Carver, Prebendary of Worcester, Mr Coombe, author of *Dr Syntax*, Dean Swift, a relative of the author of *Gulliver*, and his relation Theophilus, Mr Ingram of the White Ladies, Worcester, Mr Berkeley of Spetchley and his chaplain, Mr Philips, the author of the *Life of Cardinal Pole* (both Romanists), Edmund Lechmere, Dr Goodinge, Master of the College School, Holland Cooksey, and Captain Clements, R.N. They met periodically at each other's houses, and are called by Chambers "a bright constellation of men of genius and talent who were the boast of this city and its environs in the last half of the eighteenth century." Mr Burney, uncle to the author of *Evelina*, also lived close by, and gave dancing lessons.

In Johnstone's diary he speaks of the "agony" he had experienced in the death of four lovely infants, but this—his eldest son—was a loss of a more serious kind, and "it was aggravated by the discovery of the embarrassment of my second son and by the difference which arose about this time between my niece and her husband."

There was quite a panic in London as to the sanitary condition of Worcester, and the Judge, Sir F. Buller, writing to condole with Johnstone, asked him to give a candid opinion as to the safety of holding the Lent Assize there or taking it to Bromsgrove. Johnstone reassured him, and stated that numbers whom his son had attended in the jail had recovered, and that no serious illness remained except one or two cases of fever at Droitwich. "The Judge gave a strong charge to the Grand Jury to reform their jail, and did not fail to mention with due concern and deserved honour the character and death of my son."

By Johnstone's advice the County Hall was fumigated during the whole of the Assize, as well as the jail, and the prisoners again supplied with new clothes. Alterations were also made in the jail, but "on too narrow and parsimonious a plan."

The account of Droitwich and its springs, in Nash's *History of Worcestershire*, was by young James, and that of Kidderminster and the character of Baxter by his father.

CHAPTER XXI.

VISIT OF GEORGE III. TO WORCESTER—THE KING'S ILLNESS—JOHN JOHNSTONE—DEATH OF THE SECOND LORD LYTTELTON—MRS MONTAGU'S LETTER—SIR WILLIAM PULTENEY AND THE ELECTION—GOVERNOR JOHNSTONE—HIS ILLNESS AND DEATH—THE ELECTION FOR DUMFRIES—WESTERHALL—DR PARR—MR ORTON—MISS PULTENEY—EDWARD JOHNSTONE—DR ASH.

ON August 5, 1788, at 8 P.M., George III. and Queen Charlotte, with their daughters, Charlotte, Augusta, and Elizabeth, arrived at the Bishop's Palace in Worcester (now the Deanery) to attend the Music Meeting (the Festival of the three Choirs). They drove from Cheltenham, having only three days before driven thirty-seven miles to Hartlebury Castle and back to visit Bishop Hurd in his country seat. The Bishop had been tutor to the Princes George (afterwards King) and Frederick, and one of the Royal Chaplains; and since he had been at Worcester he had confirmed Prince Edward and Princess Augusta in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and preached there before the King on Christmas Day.

The King was partial to Hurd, and offered him the Archbishopric when it was vacant in 1785, but he answered that "several greater men than himself were content to die Bishops of Worcester, and he wished for nothing else."

At 10 A.M. the day after the King arrived the Corporation and their Recorder, Earl Coventry, came and kissed hands, after which the King held a levée in the Great Hall. Johnstone and his sons, Edward, Thomas, and Henry, were presented by the Bishop. After the custom of the day, the King made a remark to each, and asked Edward at what time he left Birmingham. It was over by 11 A.M., when their Majesties walked across to the Cathedral preceded by the various functionaries and Bedesmen, who on great occasions went before the Bishop. Then came the King between the Bishop and Earl of Oxford, followed by the Royal ladies and the suite. After Matins and a sermon, the Music Meeting began. The two next days the Sovereigns attended service in the private Chapel of the Palace, and then adjourned to the Music Meeting, and on the last day the King gave £200 to the Charity. When they left for Cheltenham, Aug. 9, the King gave the Bishop £300 for the release of debtors in Worcester Jail and £100 for the city poor.

The King's appearance was rather a shock to Edward, who, less reserved

than his father, told an intimate friend that the King must be either intemperate or going out of his mind, and that the former was precluded by his well-known character. In less than three months the opinion proved correct, and the King was *non compos mentis* for about the same period.

Johnstone observes in his diary that Dr Hurd was the fourth Bishop of Worcester with whom he had been acquainted and the third whom he had attended professionally. His greatest pleasure in Worcester, he alleges, was derived from the Bishop's instructive and pleasing conversation; and with his family he was accustomed to spend every Christmas at Hartlebury. His fifth son, John, was preparing to enter his own profession. He had taken his degree at Merton College, Oxford, and then went to study medicine in London. His letters¹ from St. Martin's Street give the latest details of the King's illness direct from Dr Heberden and Dr Warren, and the opinion of outsiders that he could not live, which checked the manœuvring about a Regency, till, in February, he unexpectedly recovered, though he had been bled enough to turn most people into idiots.²

Johnstone had offered to send his son Edward to Oxford instead of Edinburgh, but Edward had spent some years of his childhood in Scotland, and preferred Edinburgh, where a shorter time was required before taking the M.D. degree. John was still an M.B., although a Fellow of the Medical Society of Edinburgh, when, on Nov. 1, 1793, he was unanimously chosen Hon. Physician to the Worcester Infirmary. The Governors present were Lord Sandys, Rev. Dr Nash, Rev. Mr Cooke, Mr Kelly, Mr Lawson, Mr Lygon, and Mr Foley.

His father, in a short speech, thanked the Governors for this expression of their "confidence in the third election of a physician in my family to serve this charity . . . and I flatter myself my son will not disappoint my hopes and your expectations."

John assisted his father for a year in Worcester, and was very popular. It was a great annoyance to the elder when his son, by the advice of Edward, resigned his post, Dec. 1794, and removed to Birmingham to help his brother, whose practice extended to Tamworth, Lichfield, Derby, and the neighbourhood of Shrewsbury and Wolverhampton. Possibly, as there were other physicians in Worcester, the young men saw that the fact of a third of the family coming there was not looked upon complacently by their rivals. Forty years later this happened in Birmingham. Johnstone's non-lowering system was in 1795 still opposed by the Royal physicians and others in London, and all over

¹ In one of these he describes a visit to the British Museum (only recently opened), where he saw the original Magna Charta, the South Sea Curiosities brought by Captain Cook, the Roman Antiquities, etc. "Among the annoli [rings] there is not one either so large or so perfect in gold as yours." This is a Roman Governor's ring found on the Borders, still possessed by his great-great-nephew.

² It would have been much to the advantage of the King if Johnstone had been his physician. Those about him hardly knew what to do for fear of *lèse Majesté*, and the specialist who was summoned had old-fashioned methods long exploded, and of which Johnstone was a great opponent. More than one who suffered from nerves, and was afraid of being shut up in an asylum, came to live in Kidderminster to be protected by Johnstone from such a fate. The retreat founded by the Quakers near York was the one enlightened home for the insane at that period.

the country; and those in or near Worcester who preferred the Johnstone method sent for John after his father's death.

Among these was the Marquis of Hertford, at Ragley. Johnstone took his son to call there, and said he hoped that when he retired the Marchioness would send for the young man. John was fair and very youthful looking, and Lady Hertford replied rather contemptuously, "What! that boy a doctor!" "I hope I may be grey," said John, "before your ladyship has need of my services." "Well done!" said she, "You ought to go to Court," and they were afterwards great friends.

In 1779 Johnstone became a magistrate for Worcestershire, and was often called to serve on the Grand Jury. He was a warm politician of the kind then known as Whig, like all Scotsmen who were not Jacobites, and the Lytteltons were the same. The second Lord Lyttelton, chiefly known to fame on account of the ghost story connected with him, consulted Edward Johnstone, then under twenty-three, a few months before his death, and was told that his symptoms were those of a stroke. "You are the first who has been bold enough to tell me that," he said, "but I know it." He had been very friendly with Johnstone senior, but avoided him after receiving a caution as to his mode of life. "His death," wrote Johnstone, "amazed the public more than it did me, who knew his feeble constitution and impressive mind. The letters which bear his name have much of his manner and many internal marks of being genuine, though they have been publicly denied by his executors."

A letter from Mrs Montagu to Johnstone, Jan. 4, 1781, alludes to it:—

"I was extremely shocked at the sudden death of Lord Lyttelton, and it made the deeper impression from the unusual circumstance of the dream or vision. Would to God he had given to repentance the three days he passed rather in the dread of death than an endeavour to divest it of the sting of unrepented sin and folly. . . . From what cause I know not this young man believed in ghosts and the appearance of departed souls while he doubted, or rather as a doctrine disbelieved in, the soul's immortality. On this subject he allowed the same thing to be and not to be. He denied the existence of the departed soul, and yet told you when it had appeared. Whenever I think of the poor young man I comfort myself in an opinion that he was to a certain degree insane. I remember his excellent father saying to me, with tears in his eyes, that he was obliged to consider this circumstance, so terrible in most cases, as an alleviation of his unhappiness. . . . People urge that Lord Lyttelton's dream had not any supernatural cause, because it does not appear to have had any effect, but this argument has little weight with me. There may be many ministering spirits, many subordinate agents between man and the Great Omniscient. . . . It is probable from the peculiar turn of this young man's mind that a ghost's warning would have more effect than the preaching of the Apostles had they been alive, and if not on him, still that the atheist should have borne testimony in this singular manner to

the existence of a spirit endowed with power and faculties so superior to humanity as to foreknow what in its highest perfection of nature and science no man can—the hour of his own and another's death—may make a deep impression on many libertines and freethinkers.

"I cannot agree with you that his lady might have reclaimed him. A woman who marries a most vicious and profligate rake, knowing him to be such, and promises to love, honour and obey such a wretch can with an ill grace discountenance the character to which she promised affection, respect and allegiance. Lord Lyttelton was not really as bad as the character represented of him, the lady had heard all the stories told of him, his behaviour to Mrs Dawson . . . she perfectly knew. You will say she intended to reform and reclaim the rake. Such a hope the vain credulity of youth and a first love might entertain, but failing in the first attempt I cannot wonder she did not make a second. The story you mention of the Duke of Saxony is very striking, it gives me great delight to find he made so excellent a use of the mysterious whisper of his guardian angel.

"I shall be very happy to enjoy as much of your society as you spare me when you can come to London, which I rejoice to find you think of doing. It seems to me that such a tribute is now and then due to our great metropolis though your engagements in the country will not allow you a long residence."

Johnstone took the warmest interest in the Shrewsbury election in 1774, when Sir William Pulteney opposed Mr Leighton, who was supported by the great Lord Clive,¹ and Mr Noel Hill. The very limited suffrage at that day made the influence of a few men important, and many Liberal votes were secured through Mr Orton and Mr Gentleman, great friends of Johnstone, and Presbyterians. Sir William Pulteney wrote confidently in June 1774, but hurried down to Shrewsbury hearing that the other side had assured the Dissenters that Pulteney, who was known to be their friend, would get in elsewhere if not successful in Shropshire. But in a letter to Johnstone, Sept. 24, 1774, he says that he shall not be in Parliament at all unless he gets in there. "Mr Gentleman," he adds, "seems to think that I shall not have a vote from Lawrence but I hope you have the means of fixing him." On Oct. 6 he wrote from Shrewsbury: "I shall be very glad to see you here as soon as possible, as I think it may be of consequence. I think it will be very proper to bring along with you the letter wrote by L. to Mr Orton, in which he desires that you may not insist upon his promise, and also all the letters to yourself in order to be shown to Mr Gentleman."

The usual amenities at elections were indulged in, and the opposition asserted that Sir William was mainly supported by a Scotch Dissenter. Johnstone answered that he was a Scotsman, and proud of it; but that he was not a Dissenter, for he had been a member of the Established Church in Scotland, as he was a member of the Established Church in England.

¹ M.P. for Shrewsbury till 1774, being an Irish peer.

The polling day was put off, as it used to be in old days, and was suddenly fixed for Oct. 11. Sir William wrote on Oct. 13:—

"The hurry of yesterday prevented my writing as I intended and I write now in great haste on the first scrap of paper I can find. The Poll is not ended but will close to-day. The event will be that by the Mayor's rejecting a good many of my good votes and admitting others against me in the same or worse circumstances I shall lose the return by five or six votes, but I shall not only have a great majority of the freemen but a certainty of getting the return set aside even upon the footing of the burgesses by a petition. Mr Mitchel, Crawford, Barrett, Rev. Fownes, Mr Symonds and Thomas Mason voted for me, but James Mason and two of their Shearman, Gittens and Lawrence and Benjamin Davies against me, which would have given a majority to me even on the Mayor's plan. I beg my compliments to Mr Orton, whose friendship I shall never forget. Yours with much regard.

William Pulteney."

Before Johnstone received this he had set off for Annan to attend his father's funeral, but, as anticipated, Sir William gained the seat.

Another letter from him, dated London, June 19, 1781, thanks Johnstone for his congratulations on Pulteney's brother, "the Governor," having beaten a French squadron at Port Praya. "It gives great satisfaction here as it promises to secure the object of his expedition [to take possession of Cape Town], for the French fleet will be obliged to touch at the Brazils to refit and water and by that means he will get before them to the Cape of Good Hope. I shall be glad to assist your son when he arrives in his object of promoting [raising] a company [of soldiers], but I know of no channel except by means of the agents of regiments. I am glad he has already got one step."

Four years later the correspondence is engrossed with reports of Captain George Johnstone's last illness.

The first intimation of its hopeless character appears in a letter from himself to Warren Hastings, who had resigned the Governorship of India and returned home to defend himself when he was impeached before the Houses of Parliament. Edmund Burke, in a speech lasting three days, accused Hastings of injustice and oppression of the native princes, and of unduly enriching himself and his friends. The Governor wrote from Taplow, Oct. 6, 1785:—

"If it were possible to arrest the decrees of fate your elegant and affectionate letter would have stopped the current of my disease, as it is with all the charm of words it could only produce a momentary cessation from the most cruel pains that a man has ever suffered. Without admitting womanly fears or vain delusive hopes it is clear to me that the period of my dissolution is not far distant, whether it may be within two weeks or two months is a question, but that it will happen on or about those periods I am myself satisfied. I grow daily worse and weaker and all the causes or symptoms which have reduced me continue to rage in a double degree.

"It is pleasing to me that you receive in the manner you have expressed my feeble endeavours in the public cause in the discussion of a subject in which

you stood the principal figure. If I was a chief instrument in warding off the blow of ignorance and oppression, whose arms were both lifted up against you, I glory in the deed, lying in the condition in which I describe myself in which there ought not to be any guile. I was anxious after your arrival to have discussed what had passed here and in India in the presence of Major Scott, to show that whatever has occurred either with respect to you or to him that I had acted a fair and consistent part agreeably to previous public declarations, and that the reason you find such a total reversion in the Power in India and in the Power of Indian affairs at home respecting persons and things from what you had reason to expect was due to meanness, duplicity and perversion of understanding in those whom you deem and not without reason your best friends. This was why I frequently solicited Major Scott to procure me the honour of meeting you not at a hasty dinner but such a meeting as would be required thoroughly to go over such subjects. It was natural for you to wish to see your most private and intimate connections first. The time is now past, as I am totally incapable of any public business, and, confined to my bed, I am unable to look for any necessary papers. The favour you had shown my son¹ made me anxious to convince you that in the generous communication of good offices I had not been capriciously wanting . . . your letters convince me that you must be satisfied my conduct has not been unfriendly to you." He spoke of the various times he had voted against Hastings being recalled with a vote of censure, but adds that "after all our labours, all our struggles the power of the East India Co. was entirely thrown into the hands of John Robinson; and Henry Dundas is now absolute Lord Paramount of East Indian affairs."

A month after this letter Sir William wrote to James Johnstone from London :—

"I intended to have come here by way of Worcester from Shropshire above a month ago on purpose to have paid you a visit, but some business in Northamptonshire obliged me to take that road. My brother the Commodore, better known as the Governor, has been for a long time afflicted with a hard swelling in one of the glands of his throat . . . and often very great pains which distract his head and has much disturbed his rest at night. He has had all the advice that this place affords and has tried various remedies without success . . . when he was at St. Helena on his way from the Cape of Good Hope it went almost entirely away. . . . His strength has greatly failed him, but when he is not in pain his spirits are very good. He has been advised to try Malvern waters, but could not go there on account of business at the proper season; he is desirous of going now, and my reason for troubling you is to know whether at the village of Malvern any tolerable accommodation could be had at this time of year, and whether if the waters are fit for his case he is likely to be disappointed of their effects in winter. I see by Dr Wall's pamphlet

¹ In his Will he describes George Lindsay Johnstone, James Primrose Johnstone, Alexander Patrick Johnstone, and Sophia Johnstone as his natural children.

that they have been used with success even in winter, but I have heard lately such accounts of the cold and exposed situation of Malvern that I wished to know whether in his reduced state there may not be hazard in going there so late in the year. He is very much set upon it, and the experiment is worth trying if there be any probability that the waters at this time can be of service. He means to go abroad about Xmas for the sake of a warm climate, and he has been advised if Malvern fails to try Venlo's vegetable syrup. I own I wish him to try Malvern, and I wish him to have the benefit of your advice. Hoping I may hear from you by return of post as my brother thinks of setting out next Tuesday I am, dear Sir, your most obedient.

William Pulteney."

As Johnstone's reply was favourable, the next letter, dated Nov. 29, 1785, from the Worcester Hotel, says: "My brother has bore the journey tolerably well. We have travelled slow, but one of the days he was too much fatigued by coming thirty-five miles from Oxford to Broadway. We go to-day to Malvern. I write this to give you a caution. He has met with so many disappointments from the faculty that he has said, and repeated it since we got out from London, that he had hopes from Malvern water, but would have nothing more to do with physic or any who belonged to it. As that was his temper I did not inform him that I had wrote to you, but only mentioned it to Mrs Johnstone [the invalid's wife] and the rest of the company, and therefore you must come to him as a family friend and not as a physician, and leave him either to talk to you or not about his complaint. We can give you all the information you will want, and we can contrive that he shall follow your plans without being fretted about it. Our great endeavour is to keep up his spirits, and it is surprising that under so much pain and loss of strength he is not more nervous and irritable."

On Dec. 22 Sir William wrote from Great Malvern: "I think my brother is going on well, but he is not very governable, and has over-fatigued himself with exercise beyond his strength and by eating more than he ought, but we are now all combined to keep him in order, and I hope will be too many for him. He has been on horseback two days at the top of the highest mountain, and walked down with only the help of a stick. He has had no pain till last night, but he eats enough to give a man in health a fever. We beg you will come to us to dinner on Monday, and bring Miss Johnstone and your sons, as we have some venison, and will try to make a little dance if my brother is well. If Colonel Hume will do us the honour to come with you we shall be glad of his company."

The invalid had not left Malvern many days when Johnstone heard again from his friend. "My brother," he said, "stood the journey very well, and all the inn-keepers on the road remarked how much better he looked; on Wednesday night there was an alarm about him, and Mrs Johnstone sent an express to me from Taplow which arrived at mid-night. I set out immediately and carried Sir George Baker with me. Before we arrived he was better and Dr Lind had arrived from Windsor. He proposed coming to town to-day. I

enclose a strange letter I received to-day with my answer, which I must trouble you to read and send. I beg my compliments to Mrs and Miss Johnstone and the young gentlemen. I heard from Laura yesterday. She is well at Sudbro'."

They came to Malvern again the following August, and when the Governor wished Johnstone good-bye he said, "I do not mean to compliment your heart, but I am sure that if it had been in the power of medicine to cure me it would have been done by your skill." They adjourned to Clifton, where the lady wrote on Feb. 1 :—

"I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the Governor goes on pretty well. He has had the honour of receiving a letter from you which he means to answer very soon ; at this moment he is a little hurried, as his cause comes on to-morrow before the Lords Mansfield and Loughborough—I mean the Sutton prosecution. May I trouble you, Sir, to put a direction upon this note, and have it delivered at the China shop that Miss Johnstone was at with me in Worcester, and this other note at the Glove Manufactory opposite the Hop Pole. I beg you will remember me with kindness to Mrs, Miss Johnstone, and the rest of your good family, and begging forgiveness for the liberty I have taken, hope you will believe me to be your most humble servant.

"C. Johnstone."

A letter from Miss Pulteney, written a few days later, thanks Johnstone for sending "a piece of news which gave us so much pleasure. I can say little about my uncle, who now talks of going abroad. He is at present at Taplow, twenty-five miles from town. Papa joins me in best compliments to all your family. I hope Miss Johnstone has danced a great deal this winter."

Miss Dee wrote on April 4 to thank Johnstone for settling Mr Wheeley's wine bill, and would send the money by the first person going to Worcester. "I am sorry I did not know that the 14th was your birthday, as we might have met half way and celebrated it together, as it happens to be mine too. Is it true that Lady Huntingdon¹ is to go to Vienna? Surely her zeal is great, and if we do not all go to Heaven it is not her fault. I am sorry I cannot give you a good account of the Governor. He grows weaker and weaker. My sister is well. So is Jock, and all join in kind compliments to you and yours."

The last letter that "the Governor" wrote to Johnstone was to enclose one from his brother-in-law, Lord Kinnaird, "granting the request I made to him at your desire in favour of Dr Beattie, to whom I beg my compliments. All of the family desire their compliments to you and yours. I am sorry I cannot add any favourable account of my own health ; upon the whole it seems resolved I should wait the issue at this place, where the air has certainly agreed with me better than any I have yet tried, and as to Jock and my sister Nellie, it has quite restored them. Your little book, *Ikon Basilicon*, I receive

¹ Johnstone was not disposed to laugh at Lady Huntingdon. She wrote to him to obtain religious privileges for the prisoners in Worcester jail, and he cordially agreed with her.

as it was meant, a token of your friendship, but you should not have robbed your library of so valuable a composition. I am, with respect, dear Sir, your obedient and obliged servant.

George Johnstone.

"Bristol, *Nov.* 14, 1786."

During the last few months of his life Governor Johnstone added repeated codicils to his Will—some with his own hand, some dictated to Miss Dee. As his elder brothers had no sons, he knew that his heir would be eventually well provided for, and he left him only £200 a year, with a stipulation that he was to be brought up in Scotland from the time he should be six years old. He left his wife £500 a year, and various legacies to those whom he said had been very kind to him during his long illness. His chief anxiety seemed to be for the future of the illegal scions of his house, although the eldest was well provided for in the Civil Service of the H.E.I.C.S. He left £5000 among the younger three, his swords, and the most valuable of his personal treasures. He desired to be buried at Westerkirk, and that his bearers should be chosen from the villagers. They were to be given new suits of clothes, and £10 was to be spent in drink, to be distributed in Westerkirk, on the day of his funeral.

On May 25, 1787, Miss Dee wrote :—

"Mine is the melancholy task to acquaint you of the death of my brother and your relation, Governor Johnstone. He departed this life yesterday morning at nine. It will be pleasing to you to know, what will ever be a comfort to us, that he died perfectly happy and easy, not an instant of delirium, and watched his own dissolution to the end. His exit was as truly great and edifying as it could be, and a more blessed end I never saw, heard, or read of. He died like a lamb, and had no pain or crisis, as we had expected . . . The only thing on his mind was that long tedious cause, and that, thank Heaven, he lived to enjoy and see the most honourable conclusion to in his favour. It came on in the House of Lords on the 22nd, when it was given for him by the unanimous opinion of the Judges and also by a division of the Peers, and he felt the satisfaction of knowing that not only the law but the opinion of the House had done him justice."

A letter from the same, dated Taplow, June 27, 1787, adds that the funeral took place at Westerkirk, where "he was laid by his father, according to his directions, and there was a very respectable attendance of friends. My sister is as well as we can hope. Jackey is stout and well and merry; happily for him he is too young to know the magnitude of his loss."

Sir William Pulteney also wrote to Johnstone :—

"Notwithstanding the little hope for some time past which could be entertained of my brother's recovery his death was a shock to me, but he died with so much satisfaction that his honour was vindicated that it afforded me much consolation. He was indeed an ornament to his country, and the delight of his friends. . . . Tell me if I gave you my pamphlet on the Sutton case. If not, I will send it to you."

A few years later Sir William wrote from Edinburgh describing his nephew, Jock, who was with a tutor preparing for the University.

The following is from Westerhall (Sir William's brother) when he stood for the Dumfries Burghs:—

"My dear Doctor,—I well know the ardent attachment of all your family to mine. Mr Lawson and his brother-in-law are not so sanguine in my interest as we could wish. A line from you would make them both my friends. Do, my dear doctor, write to them immediately, and add to the obligation already conferred on your sincere, grateful, and affectionate
James Johnstone.

"Annan, *March* 18, 1784."

Sir James was elected and kept the seat till 1790, when he was defeated by Captain Miller in the famous contest of "the Border Knight and the Soldier Laddie," sung by Burns. When the poet found that the Duke of Queensberry¹ was backing Captain Miller he openly took Sir James's side:—

"Up and waur them a', Jamie,
Up and waur them a';
The Johnstones hae the guidin' o't,
Ye turncoat Whigs awa'."

Shortly before, Sir James replied to a letter from Worcester:—

"London, *May* 11, 1789.

"Dear Doctor,—No man can be more sensible than I am of the attention and kindness that you and all your family have always testified to me and mine. . . . It would give me infinite pleasure that the Bill I am bringing in would be of the smallest service to you and give you a vote for the county. I think, from the experience of thirty years, I have a pretty good guess who you would choose for your representative, but the Bill I am bringing in will make no alteration whatever either in the qualifications or in the present mode of election. It goes no further than to take from the Sheriffs of Scotland a discretionary power of executing the writ of election when they think proper, either in one week or in six months, and obliging them to execute the writ exactly in the same time that is allowed in England. I take it very kind your having wrote me on this subject, as it gives me an opportunity of explaining my Bill. I shall be ever happy to hear from you, and still more so if you can suggest anything in my power by which I can prove to you the gratitude and affection of, dear doctor, your much obliged humble servant.

"James Johnstone."

A secret memorandum² to the Government showed that, owing to the

¹ "I am too little a man," wrote Burns to Graham of Fintry, "to have political attachments . . . but a man who has it in his power to be the father of his country, and is only known there by the mischiefs he does in it is a character that one cannot speak of with patience."

² It describes the resident landowners: "Sir Jas. Kirkpatrick, a lawyer; Sir R. Grierson, has a brother a merchant in Glasgow; Charles Sharpe of Hoddam, a lawyer, Keeper of the Harriers to the Prince of Wales; Patrick Miller of Dalswinton, made his fortune as a banker

restricted suffrage and the many lairds who lived in England or were disqualified, there were only fifty-two names on the electorate in Dumfriesshire in 1788.

Johnstone corresponded with his brother's old pupils, the Vanden Bempd  Johnstones. The second, Charles, stayed with him in Worcester, and after inheriting a third of Lord Annandale's personalty retired from business as a Hamburg merchant, and settled first in Pembroke (where he had a numerous family) and afterwards near Ludlow. His son Charles lies buried, by his own wish, next to Johnstone's younger son, Lockhart, in Hindlip Churchyard, near Worcester.

Johnstone left on record his view of the characters and preserved the correspondence of most of the eminent men he was acquainted with, and many of whom he had attended professionally—two Viscounts Dudley and two sons; Lord Foley and his numerous family; Sir Edward Winnington, whom he speaks of most warmly; four Bishops of Worcester; two Lord Lytteltons; Richard Ingram of the White Ladies; John Murray of Murraythwaite; Dr Erasmus Darwin; Mr Mynors; Dr Withering; Dr Seward; Dr Priestley; Dr Samuel Johnson; James Boswell; the Marquis of Hertford; Lord Yar-mouth; Graham of Blaauw, who died at ninety-six, and recollected his great-grandparents, George Johnstone (died 1649) and Agnes Graham; three Bishops of Lichfield and Coventry; Mr Stedman, the Vicar of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, to whose son, Henry James, he stood sponsor; and many others. He shared his son's admiration for Dr Parr, and describes him as "a man of ancient probity and purity of manners, a modern theologian without servility, though one of the most accurate and distinguished scholars of his age, still only curate of Hatton, though his great talents ought to be employed in some great and important work of permanent interest to mankind." According to John Johnstone (Parr's biographer) the admiration was mutual. In a letter from Parr to the elder Johnstone, with an introduction for Professor Porson

at Edinburgh; George Milligan Johnston of Corhead and George Johnston of Cowhill, both new proprietors who made their fortunes as merchants; Sir Robert Herries, a banker in London; Alex. Fergusson of Craigdarroch, advocate; David Armstrong, advocate; Wm. Copland of Collistoun, advocate; Robt. Maxwell, his affairs much embarrassed; Archibald Goldie in Shaws, of Tinwald, and brother—doubt if they will swear; William Pulteney, Esq., of Bath House; Sir James Johnstone (Westerhall), a very independent, honest character; Richard Bempd  Johnstone, son of the late Col. Johnstone; John Mackie of Palgowan, Revenue officer in England; Jas. Carruthers of Wormanbie, no children; Wm. Elliot of Arkleton; Sir Wm. Maxwell of Springkell; Wm. Jardine of Apilgirth; R. Henderson; R. Wightman; Dr Jas. Hunter, physician; Hugh Corrie, W.S.; Thos. Goldie, writer; Lord Annandale, insane; Duke of Queensberry, no children—commanding interest; John Carruthers of Holmains, no children; Geo. Kirkpatrick, a bachelor; John Johnstone of Denovan, brother to Westerhall, immensely rich; Wm. Campbell, W.S.; Rev. Dr A. Hunter of Barjarg; John Hunter, W.S.; John Murray of Murraythwaite; Peter Johnston of Carnsalloch, English barrister; Hon. Jas. Veitch, Lord of Session; the Duke of Buccleuch; John Bushby, sheriff's clerk; Jas. Irving of Gribton; Lord Stormont; Charles Charteris-Wellwood Maxwell, etc." Persons were disfranchised who, within a year of an election, had been twice present at divine service where the pastor had not taken the oaths to Government or did not in express words pray for the King, his heirs, and successors by name, and for all the Royal family. The oaths to Government included the assertion that the heirs of James VII. had not the slightest claim to the throne.

and a young student of Merton College who wished to see Worcester, Parr writes: "I thank you for the instruction I have received from your writings, and beg leave to assure you that I consider my friendship with Dr [Edward] Johnstone of Birmingham as one of the happiest circumstances of my situation." John says of his father: "His personal appearance, always dignified, was in his last years *visuque et auditu juxta venerabilis*. His mind was replete with knowledge and inventive, and his character full of originality and fire. Dr Parr has done justice to his accomplishments in every place where he could express an opinion."

Johnstone speaks warmly in his diary of the Rev. Job Orton, who published several books, and left Shrewsbury to live in Kidderminster, near his friend. He suffered from nervous depression, for which Johnstone prescribed regular occupation, and allowed him to assist in the education of his sons. Dr Hugh Blair, minister of the High Church in Edinburgh, corresponded with Johnstone and sent him all his sermons. His theological library was a very large one, and, from the marginal notes, the books—most of them presentation copies—were carefully read.

A letter from Miss Pulteney, afterwards Countess of Bath, asks Johnstone to obtain admission to the Worcester Infirmary for a blind fiddler. The man went back to Montgomeryshire, cured of an injured knee and with his sight restored by an operation, as Johnstone at once saw that he suffered from an old case of cataract. On this, Sir William asked him to receive a gamekeeper of seventy who was becoming blind, and the man was cured. These were followed by many more from Sir William's extensive estates, till Worcester became quite famous for its oculists. After Johnstone's death his son, Edward, admitted outlying cases sent by friends into the Birmingham hospital, which soon rose to fame, although his colleague, Dr Withering, persisted in treating consumption by bleeding and low diet, and Dr Ash's practice was so eccentric that the elder Johnstone thought it only to be accounted for by his subsequent insanity.

CHAPTER XXII.

BIRMINGHAM—THE RIOTS—EDWARD JOHNSTONE—DR PARR'S LETTERS AND PAMPHLET—THE DISSENTERS—MRS WEBSTER OF PENNS—SUNDAY SCHOOLS—FAMINE—MARRIAGE—FORMER OWNERS OF FULFORD HALL—LOCKHART—GALABANK—DEATH OF MRS E. JOHNSTONE.

IN 1778 Birmingham, occupying a corner of three counties, contained 8042 houses; more than double those of Manchester. According to the mode of estimating the population at that time—six to a house—the inhabitants were set down as 48,252, including neighbouring villages connected with it by isolated houses standing in orchards and gardens. Edward, Duke of York, came there on Oct. 1765, and danced at a ball held at No. 11 in the Old Square. He said a town of such magnitude ought to have a bigger ball-room with a better entrance, for it stood in a back-yard; and this remark stimulated the erection of Dadley's, afterwards Dee's Hotel, with its ball and concert room, in Temple Row. The Lunar Society, which met there, at Great Barr Hall, Sutton Coldfield, and other places, was so called because it assembled when there was a full moon. Writing to Edward Johnstone, Dec. 16, 1788 (*see Edgbastoniana*, Feb. 1884), the poet and naturalist, Dr Erasmus Darwin, says: "I was in Birmingham yesterday, and meant to have waited on you to return the visit you once favoured me with at Derby. I dined at the Hotel with the Philosophical (lunar) Society and was sorry to see no physician there but Dr Withering. How does this happen when philosophers are liberal-minded and agreeable and there are so many ingenious of the faculty at Birmingham?"

The members of the Society were: Matthew Boulton; Dr Erasmus Darwin; Dr William Small, Physician and Chemist of Virginia; Thomas Day, author of *Sandford and Merton*; Richard Lovell Edgworth; Dr William Withering; James Watt, F.R.S.; John Baskerville; Rev. Dr Joseph Priestley; William Murdoch; Rev. R. A. Johnson, of Kenilworth; Samuel Galton; Mr Samuel Galton, jun., his son; Dr Stoke; Captain James Keir (Secretary).

As Birmingham has played an important part in the political life of the Empire for over eighty years, it is worth while to look back when she was only a village governed by the old Baronial Court system, with her High and Low Bailiffs, and when the County families took houses there in the winter to enjoy

the balls at the Assembly Rooms and the excellent hunting in the neighbourhood, and when it troubled itself little about politics and returned no member to Parliament. Sutton Coldfield, seven miles distant, was an ancient town, with a parish extending many miles over parks and halls, and between them Aston, a country village, with its Elizabethan Manor-house and picturesque old Church, filled with Holt, Holden, Caldecott, and Bracebridge tombs. On the west side Edgbaston Hall and Park, two miles away, had been bought from the heiress of the Middlemores, married to Lord Falconer, by an East Indian nabob, Sir Richard Gough. It was a noble effort for so small a town when it planned that fine structure St. Philip's for its second church, now the Cathedral. It had been ten years building when the money fell short, and Sir Richard Gough applied to Sir Robert Walpole to ask for assistance from the King, who gave £600; and, in gratitude, the Gough crest—the boar's head—still surmounts it. The Blue-coat School was founded at the same time, to bring up the children of impecunious members of the Church of England, and the same names appear on both committees. But the chief manufacturers and the richest people were Nonconformists—notably most of the Lunar Society—and there was a large sprinkling of Romanists, who were quietly allowed to maintain their priests and places of worship in the district, at a time when their very existence was contrary to law. Even in 1791 neither Romanists nor Nonconformists could sit in Parliament or hold any office under Government, yet paid church rates and the enormous taxes of the day. They had their own schools and colleges, for they could not enter Oxford or take degrees at Cambridge; and the public grammar schools, from Eton downwards, were entirely directed by Churchmen and taught by clergymen.

It was not strange if the interests of the Nonconformists were not those of Churchmen, and if they viewed the downfall of the Established Church and of monarchy in France with a hope that it might bring about some amendment in British law as regarded themselves. Those in Birmingham organised a dinner to be held at Dudley's Hotel in Temple Row on the second anniversary of the capture of the Bastille. The tickets were 5s., including a bottle of wine, and about twenty-three toasts were to be drunk. The usual loyal ones, then, "The Prosperity of the glorious form of Government ratified in France on July 14, 1790," "The Majesty of the People," "The Rights of Man," "The United States: May they ever enjoy the liberty they have so honourably acquired," and ten more, all desiring peace with France and the whole world; yet no one was more shocked and astonished than Dr Priestley, the promoter of this dinner, when Louis XVI. and his Queen were guillotined.

The majority of Englishmen had not forgotten nor forgiven the American Secession, and the whole prosperity of Birmingham was bound up in its manufacture of implements of war; so the working class was easily made to believe that it would starve if there was a long peace.

As Edward Johnstone's mother was of a Nonconformist family, he had many dissenting acquaintances, which had long included Dr Priestley; but among his intimate friends were the Rector of St. Philip's, Dr Spencer, at whose

house he first met Dr Parr; Charles Curtis, the Rector of Birmingham and Solihull; the Stewards; and others well known as Tories and Churchmen. He did not attend the dinner, but his house in Temple Row being very near, the railings in front were pulled up and his windows broken by a few rioters brought over from the mining districts to make a disturbance when the Dissenters sat down to dine at three. They proceeded to demolish two Meeting Houses, and to attack some shops with cries of "Down with the Dissenters!" "Hurrah for Church and King!" till they were dispersed by Mr Curtis. But the next day, led by the Town Crier, they were increased by crowds in the town, and a mob accustomed to cock-fighting and bull-baiting was sure to be a brutal one. The owners of threatened property tried to buy it off with money, ale, beer, and expensive wines, but this made matters worse, and for nearly a week there was a reign of terror, Tories and Churchmen suffering as much as Dissenters.

It took the rioters two days to pillage Edgbaston Hall, for it was so strongly built they could not burn it, though the occupant, Dr Withering, like most physicians, was a philanthropist. His botanical and zoological specimens were destroyed, while the old coachman sat crying helplessly in the coach-house. Dr Priestley's house and unique chemical laboratory and library were burnt, but he and his family had already left it. Edward Johnstone¹ offered to shelter him at Moor Green, a house he had just taken in Worcestershire, but as Moseley Hall, the residence of Lady Carhampton, was burned down close by, Dr Priestley thought it wiser to leave the neighbourhood. Washwood Heath, Bordesley Hall, Spark Brook, Showell's Green, Baskerville House, and other buildings were laid in ashes, and the rioters spread over the country to King's Norton, Kingswood, The Leasowes, Hales Owen, Northfield, and Bromsgrove. It is notable that the suburb occupied by manufacturers was unhurt. It was not till the sixth day that any military arrived, but the respectable townspeople were mustered under Captain Edward Carver, who arrested the leaders when they were intoxicated, and produced something like order. Many householders fled to Sutton Coldfield, for they could not trust their own servants.

There were no police in the country at that time, but the residents in Birmingham had for two years past supported a night patrol, partly volunteers. Many years later a single watchman kept guard over the whole parish of Edgbaston. Colonel de Lancey, who first appeared with a troop, brought a sympathising message from the King: "His Majesty heard with the greatest concern of the terrible scenes that had taken place in his loyal and industrious town. Such was His Majesty's anxiety to provide for its security that he had given orders for a vast number of troops to march from different quarters for its relief." On being assured that Captain Carver had quelled the riot, Colonel de Lancey sent notice of it in the hope that the troops might be stopped, but the 1st Dragoon Guards and the 11th Light Dragoons arrived the same night, and were quartered on the inhabitants.

¹ "A wise and worthy man," wrote Dr Parr of him to Lord Leicester, "whose firmness in seasons of difficulty and danger would stand even comparison with your own."

Captain Carver (afterwards Colonel)¹ is buried in St. Philip's Churchyard, in the same vault with his parents, his brother (Colonel Henry Carver), and their sister (Mrs Steward). The Carvers owned property near Birmingham in the reign of Edward III., and were engaged on every good work in the town during the eighteenth century,—as members of the Committees which built St. Philip's, the Blue-coat School, and the General Hospital, and as Governors of King Edward's School. The Stewards were Tories; but the Carvers must have been Whigs, as they were at the dinner held to commemorate the centenary of the Revolution of 1688. That dinner probably suggested the one in 1791, but it appears from Dr Parr's letters to Edward Johnstone that much had been done to prevent it. One of the Berringtons of Little Malvern, a Romanist family, being asked to join by Dr Priestley, declined on the ground that "Catholics" were in better odour with the Government than Dissenters. He might have added, as he was a priest, that the Revolutionists were sending the Bishops and clergy out of France, and that they were being received as brethren by the Anglican Bishops and clergy and given shelter in their houses, while the Dissenters had nothing to do with them.

Dr Parr speaks of Edward Johnstone in his writings as a skilful physician and a very enlightened man, and to him (Aug. 10) he wrote of the infatuation of the county, "Where all ranks approve of the riots. Only two exceptions agreed with me in lamenting the unsocial pride which prevented the Dissenters from attaching themselves to any party, and of course excluded them from the protection of every party. In the London Riots the King said he would do his duty, though the magistrates had not done theirs. Does he say so now? I hear on the best authority that great care had been taken by the Sheriff not to put on the Grand Jury any person suspected of a bias in favour of the Dissenters. One of his friends told me so. . . . I saw the chaplain, who dined the other day with Sir George Shuckburgh, who, as other men are, is an open apologist and a secret exulter, and he told the preacher that he had a fine field, etc. I said I will hear your sermon, and if you utter one word unbecoming your office I will communicate it to those by whom you will be chastised without appeal. . . . Are not these alarming symptoms of the general temper of the country. The gentlemen, the clergy, the farmers all say, Why punish the rioters? Were they not acting for the King? Is not Dr Priestley so and so?"

"Dr Johnstone this is most important. Pray meet me on Tuesday at Solihull or somewhere before the Assizes come on. Indeed, dear Sir, you will see at last that my judgement on the conduct of the Dissenters is deep and solid. . . . God bless you. . . . The Chaplain is a sensible, popular, but Toryish clergyman. I believe he will keep his word and be wise."

¹ Carver was invalided from wounds, including the loss of an eye.

"There is something scandalous," wrote Catherine Hutton, "in putting on the Committee the justices who first lighted the firebrands of the mob. All the Committee whom I know are the professed enemies of Dissenters except Mr Carver, who I believe is the enemy of no man."

Carver's brother-in-law, Mr Steward, a barrister, was thanked by the Committee for assisting as a magistrate. He died suddenly in the Court at Warwick while conducting a case.

A collection of newspaper extracts of the day show that the press, without exception, supported the rioters, some of its organs pointing out that Dr Priestley's opinions, not being Anglican or Christian, were illegal, as the law protected the Church, and he had therefore put himself outside the law. Edward's answer seems to have been more indignant with the promoters of the riot than Parr quite approved, for he wrote again :—

"Dear Sir,—You are a philosopher with the spirit of a religionist. Let me entreat you to use your influence to obtain the mildest measures possible in punishing the rioters, who were misled and inflamed we know by whom and by what means. A declaration to this purpose will do immortal honour to the sufferers, and direct the scorn of all good men from the rabble to the proper objects. Anticipate the mercy of the crown by your own . . . this will be wisdom and virtue. I entreat you, dear Sir, to use healing and moderate persuasions for the peace of the country . . . above all praise were the friendly exertions of my parishioners in quelling the reports which held me out as a Presbyterian."

To his brother John, who was at Oxford, Edward wrote (the letter is endorsed by John, "when I was trying for Merton," 1791):—

"Dear John,—The agitation of mind which our late terrible riots occasioned has made me unfit for anything; you will have seen full accounts of these in the papers, and I shall only add that Government seems inclined to take the matter up with spirit, and that there is little doubt of the business being investigated fully and the secret encouragers¹ being detected and punished. But say nothing, when I see you I will tell you more. However I have not been inattentive to your interests. [He mentions the votes he has secured.] Notwithstanding all these promises success is very uncertain, and if we are prepared for the worst the pleasure of attaining the object will be the greater. It is a satisfaction to have done everything we could. Let me see you on your return, and do not fail to write if chosen. Your paper deserved a better fate, but the sentiments it contains are too open, too refined, for the age and country in which we live. At present Truth is the greatest libel that can be spoken, and the avowal of those undoubted rights of mankind, placed in such a striking point of view by Locke, and will render his name immortal, is a crime of the deepest dye for which our houses are to be burnt and ourselves chased from Society, whilst the principles which have actually caused two Rebellions against the King and Constitution are cherished and those who profess them rewarded, Yours affectionately, E. Johnstone."

A year later Edward Johnstone became a member of the Liberal Club in London, and subscribed £100 to Mr Fox, who was in pecuniary difficulties.

The Dissenters were so convinced that the riots had been got up by Government to show the danger of democracy, and by those interested in bringing about a war with France, that they began to organise a second dinner

¹ Among these was supposed to be Lord Aylesford, who lived at Packwood.

on the third anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. Dr Parr's forcible rhetoric, and the courage with which he inveighed against oppression or vice in all stations of life, gave him great influence in the Midlands. He even contradicted the Prince Regent, when dining at Carlton House, on the respective merits of the two Bishops who had educated the Prince. He wrote to Edward Johnstone, May 14, 1792: "Private. At our Quarter Sessions I was told that the Dissenters intended to meet again in July, but I thought it impossible till I heard it again yesterday and believe it. Dear Sir, I am frozen with horror. . . . If it is so, grant me a great request. Some thoughts occurred to me last night which I will throw into a friendly pamphlet, and by to-morrow I will finish it. It shall be printed by Thomson at Birmingham, who must be told to finish expeditiously. I hope that you or your brother will correct the press, my name must not be known."

The next day he wrote again: "This letter shall not depend upon the Dissenters not having made up their minds to dine, for I shall publish it if they have taken any step to give alarm, and I am doing them a substantial act of friendship if they are wise enough to think so."

John, less engaged than his brother, undertook to correct the press, and to him Parr wrote in a familiar strain (he was not twenty-four), very unlike the formal manner (the fashion of the day) in which he addressed the elder brother: "You must know John that the Socinian writers publish their books in Holland or Poland with the quaint names of Eleutheropolis or Irenopolis, and I think it won't be amiss to imitate them in the title page (though to be sure, my boy, very few of your Oxford doctors will understand it), let therefore the title run thus, 'A letter from Irenopolis etc. etc.,' . . . ten copies must be disposed of to the Prince of Wales, Duke of Portland, Earl of Dartmouth, Mr Mackintosh (Sir James), Mr J. Tweddell, Dr Priestley, Mr Wakefield, Rev. Mr Martyn, Lord Grey, and Mr Fox. You have done well, well, well."

The result was:—

"At a meeting of the Committee appointed by the Societies belonging to the new and old Meeting Houses in Birmingham—

"Resolved unanimously, that the thanks of the Committee be respectfully presented to the Rev. Dr Parr for the candour and benevolence he has displayed in the eloquent and energetic pamphlet lately addressed to the dissenters under the title of 'A letter from Irenopolis to the inhabitants of Eleutheropolis.' William Russell, Chairman."

With the Resolution this letter was posted:—

"Birmingham, *June 23, 1792.*

"Rev. Sir,—It is with much satisfaction that I enclose the resolution of a Committee who represent as honest and independent a body of men as the kingdom contains. Smarting under unmerited suffering and disgrace, they are feelingly alive to every generous attempt to restore peace and order in this distracted town. Their thanks naturally follow your excellent and nervous address, and I assure you they are deeply sensible of the dignity of your

sentiments and the uprightness of your intentions; and that they will long retain their gratitude and respect for a character which so forcibly delineates the man of honour, the Christian and the good citizen.

"I am gratified by the present opportunity of begging you to accept my fervent wishes for the prolongation of your valuable life, and for the still further extension of your sphere of usefulness and enjoyment, and of assuring you that I remain with very high respect, Rev. Sir, your sincere and obedient.

"William Russell."

Considering the severity of the law at that date,¹ the Dissenters had cause to complain of the sentences passed by the magistrates—the Rev. Dr Spencer (Rector of St. Philip's), Mr Carless, Captain Carver, and the Rev. Charles Curtis. Only fifteen were committed to the Assizes, and when they were tried at Warwick great efforts were made to save them. One of the judges, Lord Chief Baron Eyre, observed that never in his life had he seen so much rancour and ill blood. In the end three were executed; but of the claims preferred for property destroyed during the riot only £26,961 were allowed.

Several of the burnt houses were left in ruins for many years, and residents, like Lady Carhampton (who was taken to Canwell by Sir Robert Lawley), neither owners of property nor attached to Birmingham by profession or business, quitted the place altogether, and it was many years before it recovered its prosperity. The terrible distress of 1800-1 was an indirect consequence of the riots.

There is another undated letter to Edward Johnstone from Parr about this time. Madame Belloc observes that Parr had been a tutor very early to boys who were statesmen before he was middle-aged, and that he continued to influence them. "Mr Mackintosh (Sir James) came hither on Thursday and he will be glad to see the town and avail himself of your hospitality. If you will meet him in your chaise at Hockley House I will attend him on horseback and we will dine together, and he can go on with you to Birmingham. I never saw so philosophical a mind at his time of life mingled with so much delicacy of spirit and strength in elocution. . . . In truth, my good friend, the Dissenters have such narrow views . . . so visionary and inexperienced, yet so rash, that society has no confidence in their policy. Pitt will oppress them, insult them, yet retain them for his shifting purposes. Had they possessed your firmness, temper and penetration what is bad would not have happened nor could. Yours sincerely and respectfully. S.P."

One of Edward's friends was Mrs Webster² of Penns, a very pretty country house six miles and a half out of Birmingham. Her husband met with an accident, which caused his death, in 1788, when hunting with the Warwickshire hounds in Chelmsley Wood, accompanied by the Rector of Solihull, who had

¹ For attending a political meeting in Edinburgh a West Indian proprietor was sentenced in 1794 by a Scottish jury to fourteen years banishment to Botany Bay. He died very soon after landing from the hardships of the voyage.

² Her father was Mr Parkes, the banker at Warwick. She was great-aunt to Madame Parkes-Belloc.