
XXIV. *Memoir of the Life and Writings of the Honourable*
ALEXANDER FRASER TYTLER, Lord Woodhouselee. By
the Rev. ARCHIBALD ALISON, LL. B. F. R. S. LOND.
& ED.

(*Read June 3. 1816, and January 6. 1817.*)

ALEXANDER TYTLER was born at Edinburgh, 15th October 1747. He was the eldest son of our late venerable associate WILLIAM TYTLER, Esq. of Woodhouselee, in the county of Mid-Lothian, and of ANNE CRAIG, daughter of JAMES CRAIG, Esq. of Costerton, in the same county.

If the most important education is that which is received beneath the paternal roof,—if it is there that the principles and tastes of future life are chiefly formed, the education of Mr TYTLER began under fortunate auspices. His father was a man of high honour, of generous affections, of cultivated taste, and of distinguished eminence in his profession. His mother was a woman of elegant manners, of great gentleness and tenderness of disposition, and of still greater firmness of moral and religious principle. And the society in which they lived was nearly that of all those who then were distinguished in

this city, by their manners, their talents, or their accomplishments. These advantages were not lost upon Mr TYTLER; and in this domestic school he early acquired that taste in life, or that sensibility to whatever is graceful or becoming in conduct or in manners, which ever afterwards distinguished him, and which forms, perhaps, the most important advantage that the young derive from an early acquaintance with good society.

In the year 1755, he was sent by his father to the High School, then under the direction of Mr MATHESON. In that school he remained five years, distinguished to his school-fellows by the gaiety and playfulness of his manners, and to his teachers, by his industry and ability; and, when he left it, he left it with the highest honours which the school can bestow, as Dux of the Rector's, or highest class.

The High School, however, although then a respectable seminary of education, had not yet acquired the eminence which it has since attained, by the zealous activity of the late Dr ADAM, and, more recently, by the enlightened improvements of the present Rector, Mr PILLANS. To complete the classical education of his son, Mr TYTLER, therefore, determined to send him to one of the academies of England; and for this purpose he chose the Academy at Kensington, then under the care of Mr ELPHINSTON, a man of learning and of worth, and distinguished by the friendship of Dr SAMUEL JOHNSON. It was in the year 1763, when he was fifteen years of age, that Mr TYTLER went to Kensington. He was himself at that time conscious of the imperfection of his classical knowledge; he felt that he had yet much to learn, particularly in the articles of Prosody and of Composition, and he entered the academy with the ambition of returning an accomplished scholar. The progress of youth, and the instructions of his father, had now awakened

awakened him to a sense of the beauties of classical composition; and the names of JOHNSTONE and BUCHANAN reminded him, that the accomplishments which he now travelled to acquire, were once the produce of his own country.

With this ambition, he soon distinguished himself among his school-fellows of the Academy. He became the favourite pupil of Mr ELPHINSTON, and received from that worthy man all that cordial assistance and encouragement which knowledge has so fortunate a pleasure in affording to the ardent and aspiring mind of youth. A little incident, at this time, too, occurred, which served to confirm Mr TYTLER in his love of Latin poetry, and in his ambition to excel in it.

The celebrated Dr JORTIN was at that period vicar of Kensington. Upon some occasion, when Mr TYTLER had particularly gratified Mr ELPHINSTON, by a copy of Latin verses, the good man carried them in exultation to Dr JORTIN. The verses pleased Dr JORTIN so much, that he requested to be made acquainted with the author. Mr TYTLER was accordingly introduced to him. He received him with the greatest kindness, and, after praising the composition, and encouraging his assiduity, he took down a copy of his own Latin poems, and requested Mr TYTLER to accept of it, as a memorial of his approbation and regard. This volume, with a little inscription in the author's handwriting, Mr TYTLER ever afterwards preserved with veneration, and often acknowledged, that much of his attachment to Latin verse was owing to this little incident.

It is among the most important effects of these studies in early life, that they awaken the minds of the young to a new sense of the beauties of Nature, and of the charms of poetical imitation. Both these effects Mr TYTLER seems at this period to have experienced. It was during his residence at Kensington,

ton, that he first began the art of drawing, and the study of landscape-painting ; a pursuit which he continued ever afterwards to follow, and which formed one of the most favourite amusements of his future life. At the same time also, in his hours of leisure, he began by himself the study of the Italian language ; and in the early admiration of the poetry of that country, with which his industry was then repaid, opened to himself a field of elegant and of refined amusement, which he never ceased to cultivate with increasing delight.

There was another acquisition which Mr TYTLER accidentally made at this time, of which he always spoke with gratitude. It was the love of the science of Natural History. When he went to Kensington, he was particularly recommended by his father to his early friend Dr RUSSELL, the celebrated physician of Aleppo, who at that time resided in the neighbourhood of Kensington ; and with this respectable and intelligent man Mr TYTLER used always to pass his holidays. Dr RUSSELL was then engaged in the pursuits of natural history ; and seeing the ardour of his young friend for knowledge, he made him acquainted with the general principles of the science, associated him as his companion in study, and delighted him, in their leisure hours, by his accounts of the scenery and productions of the East. To these studies Mr TYTLER was then alone led by the charm which, in his eyes, they threw over Nature, in the illustrations they every where afforded of the wisdom and benevolence of its Author. He did not foresee that they were afterwards to become to him the source of unfading consolation, and to relieve many an oppressive hour of lassitude and pain.

In 1765 Mr TYTLER returned to Edinburgh, after two years passed at Kensington, with equal happiness and improvement. Of these years he always spoke with pleasure, and of
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Mr ELPHINSTON with the most grateful and affectionate regard. He continued ever afterwards occasionally to correspond with him ; and so little did the lapse of time, or the business of mature life, diminish the remembrance of early obligations, that when Mr ELPHINSTON died, he had the satisfaction of associating himself, with his respectable widow, in erecting, in the church-yard of Battersea, a monument to his memory.

In the close of the year 1765, Mr TYTLER entered the University of Edinburgh, and upon a new field of knowledge and of study.

The profession to which his own disposition, and the wishes of his father inclined him, was that of the Law ; the profession, of all others connected with literature, most attractive to the ambition of a young man, both by the variety of powers which it demands, and the importance of the distinctions to which it leads. It was to this end, accordingly, that his studies were now chiefly directed ; and although he attended the lectures of Mr RUSSELL upon Natural Philosophy, and of Dr BLACK upon Chemistry, yet he seems to have limited himself to a general knowledge upon the subject of physical science, and to have reserved the vigour of his attention for those classes that more immediately related to his future profession. While he was pursuing, therefore, the study of Civil Law, under the tuition of Dr DICK, and afterwards of Municipal Law, under that of Mr WALLACE, he followed with interest the useful and perspicuous prelections of Dr STEVENSON in the science of Logic : he improved his taste by the celebrated lectures which Dr BLAIR was then delivering upon the subject of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres ; and he listened with ardour to that memorable course of Moral Science, in which Dr FERGUSON illustrated, with congenial power, the various systems of ancient philosophy.

philosophy, and occasionally exhibited all the splendors of ancient eloquence.

Of the progress or success of Mr TYTLER's studies during these years, no record, indeed, remains in the annals of the University. It has been the practice, and perhaps the wisdom of the Professors of that distinguished Seminary, to seek more to gratify the desire of knowledge in the young, by the instruction they convey, than to stimulate it by the distinctions they confer ; and to look for their reward rather in the future eminence of those they instruct, than in the display of early and premature exertion. Of the dispositions or attainments of the young, however, there is, at this age, one unfading proof to be found, in the character of the friends and associates whom they select. The circumstances of the times, and the celebrity of the Professors, had at this period excited in the young men of the University, an unusual spirit of literary ambition, and many of those who have now arisen to the highest distinctions in their country, were at this time laying the foundations of the eminence to which they have attained. It was in this class that Mr TYTLER sought for friends, and it was in this class he found them. The vivacity of his temper, the variety of his attainments, and the high spirit of honour which distinguished even his earliest years, rendered him acceptable to all the young and spirited of his own age ; while his zeal for knowledge, and his ambition of distinction, conciliated the regard of those who were older. It was in these years, accordingly, that the great friendships of his life were formed ; and it was his peculiar happiness, that among those to whom the affections of his youth were given, the course of his mature life was passed, and its final period was closed. The list is an ample one, and will not be heard in this Society without emotion ; for it contains the names of HENRY MACKENZIE, of ALEXANDER ABERCROMBIE

ABERCROMBIE (late Lord ABERCROMBIE), of WILLIAM CRAIG (late Lord CRAIG), of ALLAN MACONCHIE (late Lord MEADOWBANK), of WILLIAM ADAM (now Lord Chief-Commissioner), of ROBERT LISTON, of ANDREW DALZEL, of WILLIAM ROBERTSON (now Lord ROBERTSON), of JOHN PLAYFAIR, of Dr GREGORY, and of DUGALD STEWART,—men, whom in this place it would ill become me to insult with praise, but from whose friendship, I may be permitted to say, there is no name so illustrious that would not derive distinction.

If the seasons of academical study were thus happily and usefully employed by Mr TYTLER, the seasons of the summer vacation were not less so. Upon these occasions, he retired to Woodhouselee, the beautiful seat of his father, near Edinburgh, a scene endeared to him by the remembrances of infancy,—by all the ties of domestic affection,—by the improvements which his father was then annually adding to it,—and, perhaps, by those anticipations of greater embellishment which it was afterwards to receive from his own hands. Amid the solitude and quiet of this romantic residence, and at a distance from the prescribed routine of academical labour, he felt all the happiness that arises from the freedom of study, and was at liberty to follow out, without interruption, those literary pursuits to which inclination and taste most strongly inclined him. The character of his age, and of his mind, led him naturally to those compositions which, as addressed to the imagination and the heart, constitute the polite literature of every country. His knowledge, both of the ancient and the modern languages, enabled him to indulge this desire; and in the course of successive summers, he seems to have formed and to have executed, with this view, a plan both of comprehensive and of systematic study.

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He began with the great writers of antiquity,—the Poets, the Orators, and the Historians of Greece and Rome, to whose works he now returned with that increase of knowledge, and that improvement of taste, which enabled him more fully to seize and to appreciate their various excellence. He next resumed, (though with more enlightened views), the study of Italian literature, and perused with new admiration the writers of that brilliant period which succeeded the revival of letters in Europe, and who, though formed, in the great principles of composition, upon the models of classic taste, have yet added to them all the splendid courtesy of feudal manners, and all the romantic interest of chivalrous adventure. After the extinction, or (as I trust) only the slumber of Italian genius, he followed the progress of taste into France, and pursued the singular history of composition in that country, from the period that the genius of CORNEILLE first gave to its imperfect language the dignity of poetry, to the time that the eloquence of FENELON, of BUFFON, and of ROUSSEAU, rose above the level of its poetic diction, and gave to prose composition all the powers and all the pathos of poetry.

The study of foreign literature led Mr TYTLER naturally to that of his own country, and, in comparing the great writers of England with those of the different nations of the Continent, he was enabled to form a more accurate estimate, both of the extent of English genius, and the powers of the English language. While engaged in this pursuit, his curiosity was led into a field at that time little cultivated in this country, I mean to the study of the ancient writers of England, those original masters of composition, in whose writings the genius of the people and of the language is most strongly displayed, and who conducted him (in the language of SPENSER) to “*the pure well of English undefiled.*” The pursuit not only rewarded him at the

the time, but tended to form his taste in future days; and he was among the first literary men of this country, who felt the beauty of our language in its first stage of improvement, and foresaw the advantages that the study of our earlier writers would give to modern composition, by introducing greater unity of character, a purer analogy of construction, and the peculiar energy that arises from idiomatic expression.

The same taste which guided the studies of Mr TYTLER at this period, directed also his amusements. The art of Drawing, which he had at first begun to practise at Kensington, he now resumed with ardor, amid the beautiful scenery he inhabited. The love of Music, which was hereditary in his family, had been cultivated by the example, and under the instructions of his father, and he willingly became a performer, not only to indulge his own taste, but that he might add his assistance to the little family concerts with which that excellent man loved always to close his active day. But the amusement in which at this period Mr TYTLER peculiarly delighted, was that of making excursions to visit the remarkable scenery, either of England, or of his own country. He had an early love of the great and beautiful in Nature; and his sensibility in this respect had been increased by his study of landscape painting. But his taste was not of that servile kind, which looks only to the art of imitation: and he felt that there were many other sources of beauty in the scenery of Nature than the painter can employ. His mind was open, not only to all those moral expressions which form what has been called the *poetry of Nature*, but to all those local and accidental expressions which it receives from the events of time; and he loved to mingle in such scenes, with the sensibilities of taste, the associations of poetical description, and the memory of historical events. In this manner, Mr TYTLER used always to pass some parts of the

summer or autumnal months ; and, in the course of a few years, there were few scenes, either in England or in Scotland, which he had not visited, that were distinguished, either by natural beauty,—by poetical celebration,—by the residence of eminent men,—or by the occurrence of memorable transactions. In such employments, to him (as to all who are capable of it) there was something more than amusement ; and he never returned from them, without feeling his taste improved, his ardour in study animated by the memories of illustrious men, and his love of his country increased, both by the monuments of its former glory, and the appearances of its progressive prosperity.

In the year 1770, Mr TYTLER was called to the Bar ; and in the spring of the succeeding year, he accompanied his friend and relation Mr KERR of Blackshiels on a tour to Paris, from which they returned by Flanders and Holland.

The year 1776 was marked by the most important as well as the most fortunate event of his life, by his marriage to Miss ANNE FRASER, eldest daughter of WILLIAM FRASER, Esq. of Balnain,—an union which had long been the object of his secret wishes,—which now accomplished all the hopes he had formed of domestic happiness,—and which, after the long period of thirty-six years, unclouded almost by misfortune or distress, closed at last in more grateful and profound affection than it at first began.

At this period, when the business and the duties of life were opening fully upon him, Mr TYTLER seems to have made a very deliberate estimate of the happiness that was suited to his character, and to have marked out to himself, with a very firm hand, the course he was afterwards to pursue. His profession opened the road both to professional fame, and to civil distinction, and the circumstances of the times were of a kind to ani-
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mate all his ambition of literary distinction. The period to which I allude, was perhaps, indeed, the most remarkable that has occurred in the literary history of Scotland. The causes which, since the era of the Union, had tended to repress the spirit of literature in this country, had now ceased to operate: the great field of England was now opening to the ambition of the learned; and the ardour with which they advanced into it, instead of being chilled by national prejudice or jealousy, was hailed by the applause of that generous people. The fame of Mr HUME was now at its summit of celebrity. After the honours with which the *Histories* of *Mary* and *Charles V.* were crowned, Dr ROBERTSON was laying the foundation of new claims to historical reputation; and in the solitude of his native village, Mr SMITH was preparing that illustrious work which was afterwards to direct the laws, and to regulate the welfare of nations. The different Universities of the country were vying with each other in the ardour of scientific pursuit, and in the dissemination of useful knowledge; and from them there were annually advancing into life, some of those men who have since supported or extended the reputation of their country. The profession of law partook in the general spirit of improvement: the pleadings of the Bar began to display a more cultivated taste, and the decisions of the Bench to be directed by a more enlightened philosophy. The eloquence of Mr LOCKHART was still occasionally heard; and Mr ERSKINE was beginning that brilliant career which so lately only has been closed. Lord HAILES was carrying into the obscurity of our antiquities the torch of severe but sagacious criticism; and Lord KAMES was throwing over every subject almost of science or of literature, the lights of his own original and comprehensive genius.

These were circumstances sufficient to excite and to justify ambition ; but although Mr TYTLER was ambitious, it was not so much of fame he was ambitious, as of usefulness. The modesty, as well as the benevolence of his nature, disqualified him for those adventurous speculations, in which nothing but personal celebrity is attained ; and in looking at the literary scene before him, the path that invited him, was not that which rises amid dangers and difficulties into solitary eminence, but that which follows out its humbler and happier way amid the duties and charities of social life. In all his ambition, too, there was (if I may use the expression) something always domestic. The honours to which he aspired were those which he could share with those he loved, and the “ eyes ” in which he wished *to read his history*, were not so much the eyes of the world, as those of his family and friends. It was with this moral and chastised taste that he looked even to the honours of his profession : And when he recollected the brightest distinction it ever received, it was not CICERO in the Forum or in the Senate House, that was so much the object of his admiration, as CICERO at his Formian or his Tusculan Villa, amid the enjoyments of domestic friendship, and the delights of philosophic study.

With these dispositions, Mr TYTLER soon found, that the share of business which a young man can acquire at the Bar, was insufficient to employ the activity of his mind, and that the merely occasional attention which particular cases required, was at variance with those habits of continued study in which he was accustomed to be employed. To consider law as a science was more congenial to his mind, than to consider it only as a profession ; and he became desirous, therefore, of engaging in some continued work, where (like some eminent men before him) he might entitle himself to the honours of
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his profession, rather by the labour of solitary study than by the celebrity of actual practice. While he was forming this resolution, the advice of his patron and friend Lord KAMES, not only encouraged him to execute it, but suggested to him also a subject in which it might usefully be executed. As this incident gave origin to the first work which Mr TYTLER published, and as it is descriptive of the benevolent attention of that distinguished man to his younger friends, I am happy to be able to relate it, in Mr TYTLER's own words, from a little manuscript account of the principal events of his life, which he has left for the instruction of his family.

—“ The first time (says he) I became intimately acquainted with Lord KAMES, was, I think, in autumn 1767, when he asked my father and me to accompany him on the Southern Circuit. We passed a few days with him at his estate of Kames, and thence travelled to Jedburgh and Dumfries. From that time I had the satisfaction of perceiving that I had some share in his good opinion, of which he gave me many proofs. While prosecuting my studies in the law, I was wont frequently to resort to him for his advice, and in the vacations I made many excursions to Blair-Drummond, where I staid for ten days or a fortnight at a time, and partook in all his occupations either of study or of amusement. Having read to him a little literary Dialogue which I had composed, with which he was pleased, he gave me his advice, to fill up my intervals of leisure by composing a set of Literary Essays : In consequence of which, I wrote a few detached sketches, which I shewed him from time to time. It was upon one of these visits to Blair-Drummond, about three years after I had put on the Gown, that, in talking of some of his Law Works, he asked me if ever I had attempted to write any thing in the way of my profession. I told him
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“ that I had not, but that I was at that time meditating some-
 “ thing of that kind. He then proposed to me to write a Sup-
 “ plemental Volume to his Dictionary of Decisions, bringing
 “ down that Work to the present time. I told him, that the
 “ boldness of the undertaking terrified me ; but that the good
 “ opinion he had shewn of me by making such a proposal, was
 “ certainly a strong inducement to me to make the attempt.
 “ I took, however, some time to deliberate upon it ; and ha-
 “ ving at length resolved to undertake the work, I went out
 “ again to Blair-Drummond, to inform myself of the method
 “ he had followed in abridging and arranging the cases. These
 “ he communicated to me, and I set to work under his eye.
 “ The simple abbreviation of the printed cases occupied me
 “ above four years, and during all that time I read over occa-
 “ sionally to Lord KAMES, the sheets of my abstracts, on which
 “ he gave me his notes and emendations. The arrangement
 “ of the cases gave me another year’s employment ; and while
 “ this was going on, I shewed the sheets, from time to time, to
 “ Lord KAMES, a great part of them to Mr ILAY CAMPBELL,
 “ as also to the Lord President DUNDAS, to all of whom I was
 “ much indebted. When the Work was completed and print-
 “ ed, I was much gratified to find that Lord KAMES was plea-
 “ sed with it. Some passages in the Preface, apologizing for
 “ defects, he desired that I would strike out. ‘ The Work,
 “ (said he,) *does you honour ; and a man ought not too much to*
 “ *undervalue his labour, or depreciate his own abilities.*” This
 volume of the Dictionary of Decisions was published in folio,
 in 1778 ; and of the character and value of the work, no other
 testimony is necessary after the sanction of the great Lawyers
 that have been mentioned.

Mr TYTLER had now avowedly dedicated his life to the pur-
 suits of Literature, and his friends became anxious to see him
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placed in some one of those public literary stations, where his talents and his industry might be more conspicuously displayed than in the retirement of private study. An opening of this kind soon occurred, which Mr TYTLER willingly embraced. The late JOHN PRINGLE, Esq. had been recently appointed to the Professorship of Universal History and Roman Antiquities in the University of Edinburgh ; but finding the discharge of the duties of it incompatible with his other employments, had expressed his inclination to resign it. The Class, (I believe,) in its original institution, in this and in other Universities of Scotland, had been intended as subsidiary to the study of the Civil Law. It had been taught always by Members of the Faculty of Advocates, and attended by students of that description : And it had, therefore, that degree of relation to Mr TYTLER's own profession, that forfeited none of the hopes or expectations he might form of its future distinctions. An arrangement was soon made with Mr PRINGLE. In 1780, Mr TYTLER was appointed Conjunct Professor, and in 1786, sole Professor of Universal History.

From that period until the year 1800, Mr TYTLER devoted his life almost exclusively to the duties of his Professorship ; and ten years of assiduous study were employed in the composition and improvement of the Course of Lectures which he annually read in the University.

Of the character and value of that Course of Lectures I should have felt it a duty to have attempted some slight description, if I were not prevented by the presence of many, to whom every attempt of this kind would be superfluous, and by the recollection, that while they remain unpublished, they cannot be the objects of public criticism. I may be permitted, however, to offer to the Society a few observations upon the views with which Mr TYTLER entered upon his Professorship,

ship, and upon the plan he pursued in the conduct of his Lectures.

The Class had hitherto been taught chiefly in relation to the Science of Law, to which it was considered as subsidiary. It was not so much Universal History that was the subject of prelection, as the History of Rome; and the views that were exhibited of Roman Antiquities, were chiefly those that were illustrative of the principles or progress of the Civil Law. Mr TYTLER felt that it became him to take a more comprehensive view of the subject; to aim at higher utilities than those of a single profession; to adapt his Lectures to the more liberal opinions which had arisen with regard to education, and the increasing celebrity of the University where they were to be delivered; and *in the course of them*, (as he has himself expressed it,) *to exhibit a progressive view of the state of mankind from the earliest ages, of which we have any account,—to delineate the origin of states and empires,—the great outlines of their history,—the revolutions which they have undergone,—and the causes which have contributed to their rise and grandeur, or operated to their decline and extinction.*

In the execution of a design so extensive, Mr TYTLER's attention was first directed to the choice of a *Plan*, or to the formation of a system of arrangement, by which he might be able to give some degree of unity and consistence to the great mass of materials that were before him. In examining the methods in which Academical Lectures on this subject had hitherto been conducted, either in this country or on the Continent, he perceived that there were two different systems which had chiefly been followed, and which may, perhaps, not improperly be styled the Narrative, and the Didactic Systems. In the first, the principle of arrangement was simply that of Chronology: the only order observed was the order of time, and the
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the only object of the teacher was to convey to the student the knowledge of the succession of historical facts. In the second, the principle of chronological arrangement was altogether disregarded: the events of history were considered not as a branch of knowledge in themselves, but as a ground work for the conclusions of science; and the great object of the teacher was to convey to the students the knowledge of the general principles of public law and of political philosophy.

In neither of these systems did Mr TYTLER find the utilities which it was his ambition to derive from the subject of his lectures. The first appeared to him only a barren detail of chronological events, in which nothing more was conveyed than the mere knowledge of the succession of these events; and all that is included under the name of the Philosophy of History was necessarily omitted. In the second, he feared that too wide a field was opened to the ambitious speculations of the teacher, and that while the attention of the student was liable to be occupied by hasty or by unfounded theories, the interest of historical narration was necessarily lost, and all the moral instructions of history neglected.

The system which Mr TYTLER finally adopted for his own course of lectures, was one which combined the advantages of both these systems, and was very happily adapted, both to maintain the interest and to consult the instruction of the student. In surveying with an attentive eye, the ancient history of the world, he observed, (to use his own words,) that it was distinguished, in every age, by one prominent feature; *That one nation or empire was successively predominant, to whom all the rest bore as it were an under-part, and to whose history, we find that the principal events in the annals of other nations may be referred from some natural connection.* In this remarkable

feature Mr TYTLER saw that a principle of natural arrangement was afforded him, which might give to his course a sufficient degree of unity and order; and which, while it preserved to the student the interest of historical narration, gave to the teacher the opportunity of exhibiting those general views of the progress of the human race, which form the most important instruction we can derive from its history.

It was on this principle that his course of Ancient History was conducted. After some general prospects of what is known of the Assyrian and Egyptian Empires, he began with the brilliant and interesting subject of Greece. He treated at length, the events of its civil and political history, and in conducting his narrative, brought occasionally into view the situation of the nations by which it was surrounded. He then examined the nature of the various governments which distinguished it,—the different political institutions which they had adopted,—the character of their military establishments,—their principles of colonization, and of internal regulation: And when time had conducted him to the melancholy period of the extinction of their independence, he took a retrospective view of its literary history,—of the state of its attainments in arts and science, and, above all, of the nature and causes of that unequalled excellence which it attained in all the arts of taste.

The next great subject which presented itself was the history of Rome: and in the views he took of this magnificent portion of his course, he followed the same arrangement, and employed the same method of instruction. After recounting its obscure origin and infant institutions,—after tracing the progress of its political constitution, until it terminated in that illustrious Republic, which, though so long extinct, still reigns, as by some magic spell, over the minds and imaginations of mankind,

mankind,—he followed the progress of its arms through a world hitherto unknown ; and thus gradually introducing to the observation of his students, those various nations of the North, that were destined in future years to overturn this mighty fabric, he made the easiest, but the most fortunate, transition to the history of Modern Europe, and to the examination of the causes that produced the fall of Rome. At this eventful period, he again availed himself of the pause which history afforded him, to take a retrospective view of this great people, —to consider their attainments in arts and arms,—to compare their progress in science and in literature with that of the mighty people that had preceded them,—and to indulge himself in that illustration of the excellence of their greater writers, which he was so well qualified to give, and which, far better than mere critical examination was fitted to excite the admiration, and to form the taste, of the young who heard him.

The history of Modern Europe afforded not to Mr TYTLER the same fortunate principle of arrangement which he had found in the Ancient : But another principle of connection presented itself, of which he willingly availed himself. To the historian of Modern Europe, the natural place of observation is his own country. It is the point of view to which all his interests most obviously conduct him, and from which all the events of the surrounding world fall into somewhat of systematic order and harmonious distance. It was on this principle, therefore, that Mr TYTLER conducted his views of modern history. Considering the history of their own country as the subject most important in the instruction of his students, he began by the narration of the great events of its civil and military story : He traced the successive steps of its progress in industry, in legislation, in opulence, and in refinement ; and unfolded with care the gradual rise of its political constitution,

constitution, until it terminated in the memorable era of the Revolution. From this central point of observation, he took occasion, at different times, to direct the attention of his students to the contemporary history of mankind,—to mark to them the successive changes that were occurring upon the Continent of Europe,—to introduce to them those new empires which at one period the frenzy of fanaticism, and at another the avarice of commerce, had revealed to the European eye,—and to awaken their attention to the mighty consequences which the establishment of Christianity, the invention of printing, the discovery of the New World, and the spirit of the Reformation, have had upon the general character and manners and happiness of modern times. With these great subjects he gladly at times interwove the history of literature and science; and while his attention was chiefly directed to the progress of British literature, he led the observation of his students to the contemporary history of learning upon the European Continent, and to the examination of those general causes which had influenced the successive steps of its progress, from the time of the revival of letters to the brilliant period when his lectures closed.

The success of this course of lectures was sufficient, (as Mr TYTLER has said,) “to compensate the labours of the author.” They came to form an important part in the system of general education; and he soon numbered among his students, not only those who were destined to the profession of the law, but the young of every different description, whose education was conducted upon liberal and philosophical principles. The little volume which he published in 1782, under the title of *Outlines of a Course of Lectures*, for the assistance of his students, became so popular, that he found himself called upon to present it to the world, in a larger form, under the title of *Elements of General*
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neral History, in two volumes. This work has since passed through four editions, and has been found so useful by those engaged either in the business of private or public education, as affording a concise and luminous arrangement of historical events, that it is now used as a text-book in some of the principal seminaries of education in England, and has become (as I understand) the ground-work of historical study in some of the Universities of America.—Of the lectures themselves, while they remain unpublished, it would be preposterous to offer any opinion: yet, when they are given to the world, I shall be much deceived, if they are not found to fill up an important desideratum in English literature,—to afford to the minds of the young more pleasing and more enlightened views of the history of Man, and the progress of the Human Race, than any other similar work in our language presents them, and to accomplish the generous ambition of their author, *in rendering the study of history subservient to the great end of all education; that of forming good men and good citizens.*

The labours in which Mr TYTLER was thus employed, were sufficient to occupy, but not to engross, his attention. He continued assiduously his practice at the Bar; and he followed, with the interest of a man of letters, the progress of Science and Philosophy around him. The reputation which his taste and talents had now acquired, created many appeals to him for literary advice or assistance, and to him every labour was welcome, in which he could serve the cause either of literature or of friendship.

In 1778, when Dr GREGORY was publishing an edition of the Works of his Father, Dr JOHN GREGORY, he solicited Mr TYTLER to prefix to it a short account of his life and writings. It was a task which Mr TYTLER willingly undertook, from his
early

early acquaintance with that eminent and amiable man, and he executed it with the simplicity almost of filial reverence and affection.

The year 1779 was distinguished in this country by the appearance of the celebrated periodical paper, *The Mirror*. Of the progress of a work which, both in its design and execution, did so much honour to Scotland, Mr TYTLER could not be an indifferent spectator. Although not properly a member of the Society, he was yet the friend of all who were known to be members of it. To the beauty and excellence of the serious papers in this work, Mr TYTLER felt that nothing could be added; but it seemed to him that something was wanting upon the side of levity and gaiety; not only for the purpose of temporary popularity, but to give to the serious papers themselves their proper importance and relief. With this view, he contributed to the *Mirror* the papers, Nos. 17. 37. 59. and 79.; and in 1785, to the *Lounger*, the papers, No. 7. 9. 24. 44. 67. 70. 79.

Of these papers the original manuscript happens still to remain; and it affords a very pleasing memorial of the manner in which Mr TYTLER was accustomed to pass his most vacant hours. The manuscript occupies the blank leaves of some sketch-books with which Mr TYTLER always travelled, for the purpose of landscape-drawing, and was written at inns, in the evenings after the journeys of the day were done. It was in this manner that the chearful activity of his mind found employment and amusement every where; and that the hours which most men pass in indolence or fretfulness, were passed happily by him, in the offices of friendship, or in the enjoyments of elegant composition.

On the institution of the Royal Society in the year 1783, Mr TYTLER was one of its constituent members, and was un-
animously

animously elected one of the Secretaries of the Literary Class,—an office which he continued to fill with zeal for many years; and in the execution of which he drew up that “*Account of its Origin and History*,” which is prefixed to the 1st volume of its Transactions.

In 1788, he contributed to the Royal Society a biographical Memoir of the late ROBERT DUNDAS of Arniston, Lord President of the Court of Session,—a paper valuable, not only for the just and vigorous delineation which it gives of the character of that eminent Judge, but for the interesting account it affords of some of the earlier branches of a family, so long and so honourably distinguished in the legal annals of Scotland.

In 1789, Mr TYTLER read a paper to the Royal Society upon the *Vitrified Forts in the Highlands of Scotland*. Of these singular antiquities, the prevailing theory had been, that the vitrification was produced in the process of their erection, and that it was the substitute of a rude age for cement. The theory which Mr TYTLER suggested was the reverse of this;—that the vitrification was the result,—not of their erection, but of their destruction,—and that it was produced by the efforts of enemies in attempting this destruction by fire. The theory is certainly not without some appearances of probability: it assimilates sufficiently with the period of society to which such buildings undoubtedly refer; and Mr TYTLER was able to support it with learning and ingenuity. Of the impression it made at the time upon the Society, I am happy to be able to refer to an evidence of no little weight, in a letter from our late illustrious associate Mr SMITH to Mr TYTLER upon the subject; and, although the letter is very short, I persuade myself that it will not be unacceptable to the Society, both because there are unhappily very few letters of this great man remaining, and because it involves also the memory of some other men, whose

whose names can never be listened to in this place without emotion :

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I have read over your paper with the greatest pleasure. The composition is what it ought to be, simple, elegant, and perfectly perspicuous, and will be a very great ornament to our Memoirs. Some of my chemical friends, however, are of opinion, that the degree of vitrification which takes place in the specimens of these forts, is too great to be the effect of any accidental fire, such as you suppose, and could be produced only by a great accumulation of wood, heaped upon the wall after it was built. This is a subject of which I am ignorant. You had convinced *me*, who fancied that this imperfect vitrification was more likely to be the effect of accident than of knowledge. The friends I mean, are Dr BLACK and Dr HUTTON, who in every other respect entertain the same high opinion of your composition which I do. You had better converse with them : you may convince them, or they may convince you ; and even though neither of these two events should happen, the offence, I apprehend, will not be great, either to them or to you. I have the honour to be, &c.

“ ADAM SMITH.”

In the year 1790, Mr TYTLER read in the Society those papers on Translation, which they who heard them will remember to have been listened to with so much pleasure, and which he soon after published without his name, and under the modest title of an *Essay on the Principles of Translation*. The work was scarcely published, when it occasioned a correspondence with the late learned and ingenious Dr CAMPBELL, Principal

cipal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, from which, however painful at first, Mr TYTLER might easily have foretold its future fortune in the literary world. Dr CAMPBELL had, some time previous to this, published his Translation of the Gospels, to which he had prefixed, in a preliminary dissertation, some very acute and ingenious observations upon the principles of translation. Upon the publication of Mr TYTLER's anonymous work, he immediately procured it, and was so much struck with the coincidence of their views upon the subject, that he wrote to his printer Mr CREECH, to know who was the author; and while he acknowledged himself "*to have been flattered not a little to think, that he had in these points the concurrence in judgment of a writer so ingenious,*" he expressed at the same time some suspicion, that the author might have borrowed from his Dissertation, without acknowledging the obligation. Mr CREECH, with great propriety, communicated the letter to Mr TYTLER; and he instantly wrote to Dr CAMPBELL, acknowledging himself to be the author, but assuring him, that the coincidence of sentiment was purely accidental, and that the name of Dr CAMPBELL's work had never reached him until his own had been composed. "*The coincidence of our general principles, (says Mr TYTLER), is indeed a thing flattering to myself; but I cannot consider it as a thing at all extraordinary. There seems to me no wonder, that two persons, moderately conversant in critical occupations, (I am far from thinking equally so), sitting down professedly to investigate the principles of this art, should hit upon the same principles, when in fact there are none other to hit upon, and the truth of these is acknowledged at their first enunciation. In my opinion, there would, on the contrary, be just matter of wonder if they did not hit upon them. But in truth, (concludes Mr TYTLER), the merit of this little essay, (if it has any), does not, in my opinion, lie in these particulars. It lies in the*"

VOL. VIII. P. II. 3 Y "*establishment*"

“ establishment of those various subordinate rules and precepts, which
 “ apply to the nicer parts and difficulties of the art of translation;
 “ in deducing those rules and precepts which carry not their own
 “ authority in gremio, from the general principles which are of
 “ acknowledged truth, and in proving and illustrating them by
 “ examples. How far you may have anticipated me even in this
 “ respect, I cannot say, until I have perused your Dissertations.
 “ They appear to contain a rich mine of philological and critical
 “ learning; and I am confident, that if my book comes to a se-
 “ cond edition, I may be able to profit much by your remarks. In
 “ that case, I shall most cordially, and with the highest pleasure,
 “ acknowledge my obligations.”

To those that are acquainted with the character of Dr CAMP-
 BELL, it will be unnecessary to add, that he received Mr TYT-
 LER's explanation with the most candid and polite liberality.
 “ The letter you favoured me with, (says he), made me both
 “ ashamed and vexed, that I should have been so rash as to ex-
 “ press myself to Mr CREECH in a manner which could give a
 “ moment's uneasiness to a man of merit, especially one whom I
 “ consider myself as having the honour to call a friend. When
 “ I wrote that letter, I neither knew nor suspected who the au-
 “ thor of the Essay was. Had I known what I now know, the
 “ name of the author alone would have convinced me that the co-
 “ incidence was merely accidental.—Your arguments are good,
 “ but I was sorry you had recourse to them; sensible as I am,
 “ that if your declaration had not been sufficient to satisfy me, I
 “ did not deserve to be satisfied. Mathematical demonstration,
 “ were you to attempt it, would not give me stronger conviction
 “ than I already have, that what you say is the truth.—But to
 “ have done with the disagreeable part of this mistake, (he con-
 “ cludes), I cannot avoid mentioning one circumstance in this in-
 “ cident, which to me is always extremely agreeable, the evidence
 “ which

“ which it gives of a concurrence in sentiment upon critical subjects with persons of distinguished ingenuity and erudition. Such a discovery makes a man more confident in the justness of his own sentiments. I have only to add, that your illustrations of the general doctrines, and your examples from the ancients, please me exceedingly.”

The opinion of Dr CAMPBELL was very soon justified by the voice of the literary world ; and I believe that there is no work of literary criticism which this country has produced, that so soon attained celebrity in England, as the Essay on Translation. The different reviewers of the day, contended with each other in the earliness of their notice, and in the liberality of their praise. The most celebrated scholars of England, Dr MARKHAM, Archbishop of York, Dr DOUGLAS, Bishop of Salisbury, Dr PERCY, Bishop of Dromore, Dr VINCENT, of Westminster, and Dr WATSON of Winchester Schools, wrote to the author in terms of high approbation. “ Were I not afraid,” says Mr MURPHY, the well-known translator of *Tacitus*, in a letter to the author, *“ of being thought a dealer in compliment, I should say, that I esteem it the best performance I have ever seen on the subject. Ingenious hints, and cursory remarks, are to be found in many authors, ancient and modern ; but they remained scuttered, and nothing like a regular system has been formed until now.”* And Mr CUMBERLAND, the extent of whose learning, and the fertility of whose genius gave so much value to his opinion, was so much delighted with the work, and so grateful for the just praise which Mr TYTLER had bestowed upon his admirable translations from the fragments of Greek comedy, that he wrote to his friend Sir WILLIAM FORBES, to beg of him to procure Mr TYTLER’s permission to dedicate to him a translation of *The Clouds* of ARISTOPHANES, which he was then preparing, and which the praise of so distinguished a critic had encouraged

him at first to undertake. To the opinion of these eminent men, it may be supposed I very willingly subscribe ; yet, I must add, that the work has always appeared to me as entitled even to a higher praise. In its plan, indeed, it appears to relate only to the principles of translation ; but in its execution, it necessarily involves the principles of composition in general ; and in the nature and variety of the examples he adduces, and the acuteness and delicacy of the criticism he employs, Mr TYTLER seems to me to have made use of one of the happiest methods to lead the minds of his readers to a sense of those fine and evanescent beauties in composition, which abstract language can so imperfectly express, and which affords the best preparation, not only for the task of translation, but for the higher purpose of original composition.

The *Essay on the Principles of Translation* has now passed through five editions, in each of which the author has been anxious to repay the approbation of the public, by the additions he has made ; and after the experience of fifteen years, it may now be considered as one of the standard works of English criticism.

While Mr TYTLER was thus actively and usefully employed, the Government of Scotland began to consider him as one who was fitted to share in its administration, and Lord MELVILLE thought himself now entitled, by the character which Mr TYTLER had established, to testify to the public the sentiments of his private friendship. His practice at the Bar, though not extensive, had been respectable, and, in the conduct of it, he had shewn sufficiently the talents he possessed for business. His honour was high,—his integrity acknowledged,—and his manners amiable and conciliating. His political opinions were those of hereditary loyalty ; and in the acceptance therefore of office, he had none of those sacrifices of principle to make, by
which

which the course of political ambition has been sometimes degraded. In the year 1790, he was appointed Judge-Advocate of Scotland, in the room of Mr CHARLES HOPE.

The office of Judge-Advocate, it had hitherto, (I believe), been usual to execute by deputy; but Mr TYTLER was not of a character to make any compromise with duty, or to accept of office, without accepting of all its obligations. He made it his business, therefore, to attend upon every trial: he gave to every case his most careful and considerate attention; and so anxious was he to fulfil his duty to the utmost, that he took the trouble of drawing up, for his own direction, a *Treatise upon Martial Law*, which afterwards, when he retired from the office, he gave to the public, and which has (I understand) been found of the most important use in the decision of cases of this kind.

Into the detail of Mr TYTLER's conduct in the discharge of this delicate but important office, it would be presumptuous in me to enter; but I may be permitted to relate, from his correspondence, a single incident, which illustrates both the consciousness with which he discharged his duty, and the respect in which his opinion was held by those who were then at the head of the Military Department.

A court-martial had been held at Ayr, with the sentence of which Mr TYTLER was extremely dissatisfied, and to the injustice of which, he had anxiously, but in vain, endeavoured at the time to awaken the attention of the Court. Upon transmitting the proceedings to London, Mr TYTLER thought it his duty to communicate the grounds of his dissatisfaction with the sentence to Sir CHARLES MORGAN, then Judge-Advocate-General, and, in the most earnest terms, to implore his attention to the case, if his Majesty should (as was probable) refer it to his decision. Sir CHARLES MORGAN cheerfully undertook the

the revision of the case: his opinion coincided in every respect with that of Mr TYTLER; and to the letter in which Sir CHARLES communicated to him his Majesty's disapprobation of the sentence, Mr TYTLER added the following note: "I have thus had the satisfaction of procuring from his Majesty a disapproval of this very unjust sentence, and a rectification of it in every point where it was wrong."

In the year 1792, Mr TYTLER had the misfortune to lose his father, at the advanced age of eighty-one. Of the character of this excellent man, the Society already possesses a description by Mr MACKENZIE, which no one will attempt to improve. The loss to his son was of a kind which it is the fortune of few men to experience. Their connection had subsisted for the long period of forty-five years, undiminished by distance, and unbroken by misunderstanding; and there was so singular a correspondence in their tastes, their pursuits, their principles, and even their prejudices, that Mr TYTLER felt he had not only lost a father, but his best and oldest friend. His first employment was to design a little monument to his memory, which he soon after erected in the pleasure-grounds of Woodhouselee, upon a spot which his father had particularly loved; and he engraved upon it the following inscription, which so well expresses the filial tenderness of the author, and so happily obeys that profound and merciful propensity of sorrow, which leads us still to fill the scenes we love, with the presence of those we have lost.

M. S.

GULIELMI TYTLER, de Woodhouselee.

H. L. P. F.

En virides aras, en hanc quam ponimus urnam,
 Tu, fili ex manibus respice dona, Pater !
 Sic, venerande Senex, olim qua rura placebant
 Sint eadem busto nunc decorata tuo.
 Neve Tibi desit post funera sueta voluptas,
 Proximo ab umbroso cantet avis nemore,
 Et qui Te placido lenibat murmure rivus,
 Dulcia perpetuis somnia portet aquis.

By the death of his father, Mr TYTLER had succeeded to the estate of Woodhouselee; and some years before that period, Mrs TYTLER had, in a similar manner, succeeded to the paternal estate of Balnain in Inverness-shire. He was now in circumstances of affluence,—his friends were numerous,—his own disposition in the highest degree hospitable and kind,—and he felt himself at liberty to attempt to realise some of those visions of retired and rural happiness, which had long played in his imagination, and which form, perhaps, one of the earliest reveries of every generous or cultivated mind. He began, therefore, immediately to embellish his grounds, to extend his plantations, and in the enlargement of his house, to render it more adequate to the purposes of hospitality; and in the course of a short period, he succeeded in creating a scene of rural and domestic happiness, which has seldom been equalled in this country, and which, to the warm-hearted simplicity of Scottish manners, added somewhat of the more refined air of classical elegance.

elegance. It was here, from this period, that all his hours of enjoyment were passed,—that all his works were composed,—and that, in the bosom of his family, and amid the scenery and amusements of the country, he found the happiness that was most congenial to his character and disposition.

His morning hours were uniformly given to study; but his studies were of a nature that tended rather to animate than to fatigue his mind. It was not in abstract or metaphysical speculations he was engaged, where the understanding only is exercised, and where the progress of discovery is so little proportioned to the time or labour that is employed; nor in works of imagination, where the mind is ever in pursuit of that ideal excellence which it is never destined to attain. The historical, the antiquarian, or the critical studies in which he was engaged, required no painful concentration of thought, and no laborious processes of reasoning. They related to the deeds and language of men, where it was not the understanding alone that was employed, but where the imagination and the heart were perpetually exercised; and he could rise from them to the common business or offices of life, with a mind undistracted by doubt, and unfatigued by abstraction. The employments to which he gave his hours of exercise, were of the same gentle and cheerful kind. He had little relish for the sports of the field, unless angling, in which, like the amiable and contemplative WALTON, he had from his early days delighted; but he took great delight in gardening, in the embellishment of his pleasure-grounds, and, more than all, in improving the dwellings, and extending the comforts of his cottagers,—an occupation, in which taste so fortunately combines with beneficence, and in which, for all the labour or expence he bestowed, Mr TYTLER found himself every day rewarded, by seeing the face of nature and of man brightening around him.

The

The society that assembled at his table, was the best that at that period this country afforded,—his own family-relations,—the families of the neighbouring proprietors in the populous county of Mid-Lothian,—most of the men eminent in science or in literature, of which our metropolis was then so profuse,—and occasionally those strangers of distinction, whom the love of science or of nature had induced to visit Scotland. His hospitality was cordial, but unobtrusive,—his attentions were so unostentatious, that his visitors found themselves at once at home,—and he himself appeared to them in no other light than as the most modest guest at his own table. The conversation which he loved, was of that easy and unpremeditated kind in which all could partake, and all enjoy. To metaphysical discussion, or political argument, he had an invincible dislike; but he gladly entered into all subjects of literature or criticism,—into discussions on the fine arts, or historical antiquities; or the literary intelligence of the day; and when subjects of wit or humour were introduced, the hearty sincerity of his laugh, the readiness of his anecdote, and the playfulness of his fancy, shewed to what a degree he possessed the talents of society. His sense of humour was keen, but at the same time characteristic: it was the *ludicrous*, rather than the *ridiculous*, in character or in manners, which amused him: those excesses rather of the amiable than of the selfish or sordid passions, which are observed with a sentiment of tenderness as well as of disapprobation, and which the poet has so happily expressed by the phrase, *circum præcordia ludit*. The humour of most men is unhappily mingled with qualities which add little to the amiableness, and still less to the respectability of character. From the gayest conversation of Mr TYTLER, on the contrary, it was impossible to rise, without a higher sense of the purity of his taste, and the benevolence of his nature.

His evenings were always passed in the midst of his family, either in joining them in the little family concerts with which, like his father, he always wished to close the day, or in reading aloud to them some of those works by which he thought their tastes or their minds might be improved; or, not unfrequently, when none but his more intimate friends were present, in sharing with his younger children in those various youthful amusements which contribute so much to the gaiety of domestic life, and in which the affections of kindred, and the love of home, are so well, though so insensibly cultivated.

Of this scene of simple and virtuous happiness, there are some present who will not easily part with the remembrance, though accompanied with the melancholy reflection that they can meet it no more; and Mr MACKENZIE will, I trust, forgive me for reminding him of an expression which he used to me many years ago, when I accidentally met him upon the road as he was returning from Woodhouselee, and which conveys so much better than any thing I can say, the character of the scene. "I hope," said he, "that you are going to Woodhouselee; for no man can go there without being happier, or return from it without being better."

To this picture, however, there is yet another feature to be added: it is in the sentiments with which Mr TYTLER felt the prosperity he enjoyed. In the little MS. volume from which I have formerly quoted, (and from which I should more frequently quote, if I did not feel it a kind of profanation to expose to the eyes of the world that train of secret thought which was intended only for the eyes of his children), I find the following passage, for the introduction of which, I am sure I need no apology, and which expresses, in a manner which no biographer can do, the governing principles and persuasions of his mind. It was written on his birth-day, 15th October 1795.

" I

“ I have this day (says he) completed my forty-eighth year,
 “ and the best part of my life is gone. When I look back on
 “ what is past, I am humbly grateful for the singular blessings
 “ I have enjoyed. All indeed that can render life of value,
 “ has been mine. Health, and peace of mind;—easy, and even
 “ affluent circumstances;—domestic happiness;—kind and af-
 “ fectionate relations;—sincere and cordial friends;—a good
 “ name;—and, I trust in God, a good conscience. What
 “ therefore on earth have I more to desire? Nothing; but if
 “ He that gave, so please, and if it be not presumption in me
 “ to pray,—a continuance of those blessings. Yet, if it should
 “ be otherwise, let me not repine. I bow to His commands,
 “ who alone knows what is best for his creatures; and I say
 “ with the excellent GROTIUS,

“ *Hactenus ista: latet sors indeprensa futuri:*

Scit, qui sollicitum me vetat esse, DEUS.

Duc genitor me magne! Sequar, quocunque vocabor,

Seu Tu læta mihi, seu mihi dura, paras.—

Sistis in hac vita? Manco, partesque tuebor

Quas dederis. Revocas, Optime? Promptus eo.”

The melancholy change for which Mr TYTLER seems thus to have prepared his mind, was soon to take place. In the autumn of the year 1795, he was seized with a long and dangerous fever, accompanied with delirium, and tending frequently to relapse. Under the anxious care of his friend and physician Dr GREGORY, he recovered from the fever; but in one of the paroxysms of the disease, he had the misfortune to rupture some of the blood-vessels of the bladder,—an accident which not only protracted his recovery at the time, but which threatened to degenerate into one of the most painful diseases to which the human frame is subject.

In the state of weakness and suffering which succeeded this severe illness, Mr TYTLER was for a long time incapable of returning to his professional studies : but his mind was incapable of inactivity ; and he turned willingly to those pursuits in natural history which had formed the amusement and the delight of his youth, and which are perhaps of all others the most suitable to the grateful feelings of convalescence.

Among the works with which he now amused himself, was the once celebrated treatise of Dr DERHAM, entitled *Physico-Theology*. In perusing it again, with all the affecting associations which the past and the present afforded him, he could not but lament, that it was in some degree rendered obsolete, by the innumerable discoveries with which science has been enriched since its publication, and that its popularity among those to whom it might be most serviceable, was restrained by the number of Latin quotations which remained without a translation. It occurred to him that his hours of convalescence could not be better employed than in remedying these defects, and in thus extending the usefulness of a work of which he had himself felt the value. This pleasing and unfatiguing task he executed with his usual ardour, and prefixing to it a short but valuable dissertation on Final Causes, published it in the year 1799.

Of this work, it is unnecessary for me to enter into any further detail ; but I cannot omit a passage relating to it, which I find among Mr TYTLER's papers, and which marks distinctly the great principle by which his studies as well as his conduct were governed.

“ Of all my literary labours, (says he,) that which affords me
“ the most pleasure on reflection, is the edition which I published of *Derham's Physico-Theology*. The account of the
“ Life and Writings of Dr DERHAM, with the short dissertation

“ tation on Final Causes, the translation of the Notes of the
 “ Author, and the additional notes, containing an account of
 “ those more modern discoveries in the sciences and arts
 “ which tend farther to the illustration of the subjects of the
 “ work, are all the original matter of the edition to which I
 “ have any claim ; so that the vanity of authorship has a very
 “ small share in the pleasure I enjoy from it. But when en-
 “ gaged in that work, I had a constant sense that I was well
 “ employed, in contributing, as far as lay in my power, to
 “ those great and noble ends which this most worthy man
 “ proposed in his labours, by enforcing on the minds of man-
 “ kind the conviction of an all-wise and all-beneficent Author
 “ of Nature. The demonstration, in short, of that great and
 “ central truth, on which depends our present happiness and
 “ our future hopes. Since the publication of this edition,
 “ some other excellent works have appeared upon the same
 “ subject, from which many valuable additions may be made
 “ to the Notes on DERHAM, and I intend, accordingly, to make
 “ those additions, if a new edition should be wanted in my
 “ lifetime.”

The year 1799 was distinguished by the agitation of the great
 question with regard to the Union with Ireland ; and in attend-
 ing to the debates it occasioned, Mr TYTLER thought that no
 view of the subject could be better fitted to conciliate the minds
 of the Irish people to this important measure, than a represen-
 tation of the benefits which Scotland had derived from the
 Union with England. These observations he threw into the
 form of a letter ; and they were published at Dublin, with the
 title of *Ireland profiting by Example ; or the Question consider-
 ed, Whether Scotland has gained or lost by the Union ?* Of this
 little work it is enough to say, that such was its merit, or its
 popularity,

popularity, that three thousand copies were sold upon the day of its publication.

In the year 1801, a vacancy occurred in the Bench of the Court of Session, by the death of Lord STONEFIELD. The friendship of Lord MELVILLE had a new opportunity for its display ; and the friends of Mr TYTLER had now the satisfaction of seeing him elevated to the highest honours of his profession. On the 2d of February 1802, he took his seat upon the Bench with the title of Lord WOODHOUSELEE.

Of Lord WOODHOUSELEE's qualifications for this important office, it would be presumptuous in me to offer any opinion ; and I feel, with gratitude, that it is unnecessary, as, of all the honours which the Government of this country has to bestow, those which have been in the estimation of the public most purely won, and most honourably worn, are those which belong to the Administration of Justice. He brought not the Bench, indeed, either that profound acquaintance with the details of law, which nothing but continued and extensive practice can give ; nor that metaphysical acuteness, which so often seeks to distinguish itself by subtlety of distinction, or novelty of interpretation ; nor that impatient eloquence, which loves to find in the most trivial cases, an opportunity for its own display. But he brought to it qualities, in a country like this, of higher value, and of more genuine usefulness,—a just and enlightened admiration of the laws he was called to administer,—the most conscientious patience in the investigation of truth,—and a mind incapable either of being intimidated, in the discharge of duty, by the dread of censure, or of being misled by the love of praise. In his conduct on the Bench, the characteristic integrity and modesty of his nature were apparent. In this, as in all other situations, his highest ambition was to be *par negotiis, non supra*,—to be able to fulfil his duty without seeking
for

for personal fame ; and to accommodate his conduct, not so much to the opinion of men, as to that higher standard, which existed in his own breast. There were, however, occasions when his powers were more peculiarly called forth ; and, upon some of these appearances from the Bench, there are many of us who can remember the high praise that was bestowed by the late Lord President BLAIR,—a man whose praise was fame, and who was of too proud an integrity to bestow it where he did not feel it was deserved.

From the period of his elevation to the Bench, Lord WOODHOUSELEE devoted his time exclusively, (while the Courts were sitting,) to the business that arose ; but, during the vacations, he was always happy to return to his private studies. The solitude of the country, (to which he then always retired,) invited him to labour ; and as he was now free from his academical engagements, and from that continued attention which the improvement of his lectures occasioned, he had time to return to the consideration of some of the literary projects which he had formed in his earlier days, and which he hoped he might now be able to resume. One of these, I find, was the literary and political Life of BUCHANAN ; a subject which was interesting to him from many associations, and in which he proposed to do ample justice to his genius as a poet, and his merits as a historian, but to examine, with firmness and accuracy, his conduct as a man, and as a politician.

Another was to give a faithful translation of CAMDEN's *Annals of Elizabeth*, illustrated with notes, and comparing it with the best accounts of her time that have since been published. The subject had been suggested by Dr CAMPBELL in the *Biographia Britannica*, and in the view which Lord WOODHOUSELEE took of it, it promised him the opportunity of exhibiting a fuller and more faithful picture of that interesting period in
English

English history, than had yet been accomplished in any one performance in our language. The most important, however, of these literary projects, was that of a continuation of Lord HAILES's *Annals of Scotland*, from the period when Lord HAILES's researches closed, to the accession of JAMES VI. to the Crown of England; a work to which no common talents were adequate, and of the difficulty of which no stronger evidence can be given, than that, however desired, it has yet remained unattempted.

All these projects, however, yielded to another, which was much more interesting to Lord WOODHOUSELEE himself, and to the accomplishment of which he was animated by something more than the hope of literary fame,—this was the Life of his earliest friend and patron Lord KAMES. “He had waited, (as he says,) with his usual modesty, for more than twenty years, in the hope of its falling into abler hands.” He was now raised to the same Bench which had been dignified by the presence of Lord KAMES; and the business in which he was engaged, served every day to bring him to his remembrance, and to afford him the new opportunities of appreciating his learning and his genius. From this fortunate concurrence of circumstances, Lord WOODHOUSELEE felt himself emboldened to undertake the task, and having determined upon his plan, he entered with eagerness upon the study of his works, and the collection of materials; and in the course of the vacations of only four years, he was able to accomplish his design. The work was finally published in two volumes, quarto, in the year 1807, with the title of *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of HENRY HOME, Lord KAMES*.

It is impossible not to admire the motives which led Lord WOODHOUSELEE to this undertaking, and it is impossible also not to respect the ability with which, amid the distractions of public

public business, and the sufferings of infirm health, he has been able to execute it ; yet I know not if the friends of Lord WOODHOUSELEE's literary fame have not some reason to lament his choice of a subject ; and there are circumstances in the extent and variety of Lord KAMES's powers, which seem to me to place him almost beyond the reach of the biographer.

The fortunate subjects of biography are those, where some powerful and uniform interest is maintained,—where great minds are seen advancing to some lofty and determinate object,—and where, amid the toils or the difficulties they have to encounter, the mind of the reader feels somewhat of the same anxious and unbroken interest, with which we follow the progress of the drama, or the narrative of the epic poet. The lives of conquerors, and of legislators,—of discoverers in science, or of inventors in the arts,—of the founders of schools in philosophy, or of sects in religion, it is impossible even for the rudest hand to trace, without awakening an interest which all men can understand, and in which all can participate ; and even the history of inferior men can yet always be made interesting, when one object of ambition is seen to be steadily pursued, and one correspondent sympathy is awakened. Of this unity of pursuit, and of interest, the *Life of Lord KAMES* was singularly destitute. There was a vigour in his powers, and an elevation in his ambition, that were incapable of being restrained within the limits of any one pursuit ; and he seems to have felt it to be his peculiar destiny, to take the lead in every science by which the reputation of his country could be exalted, and in every art by which its prosperity could be increased. To delineate the progress of such a mind ; to follow his steps in all the various fields of inquiry through which he travelled,—to mark with precision the accessions that science derived from his labours, or the arts from his suggestions, was

a task to the execution of which, few men could bring adequate knowledge or capacity ; and, even if it could have been executed, there were still fewer readers who could preserve any continuity of interest in a progress so eccentric, or be able to make perpetual transitions from the subtleties of metaphysics to the details of husbandry, or from the refinements of philosophical criticism, to the technical questions of Scotch law. The emblem of Lord KAMES's genius was not that of the Ganges or the Indus, which roll forward their condensed streams, and fill the eye of the spectator with their simple and increasing majesty ; but that of the Rhine or the Nile, which divide the volume of their waters into innumerable branches, and, while they fertilize a wider surface, yet perplex the eye, that labours to number and pursue them. What fidelity and affection could do, upon a subject so difficult, Lord WOODHOUSELEE, I apprehend, has done. He has given the portrait of Lord KAMES, with all his various and characteristic features ;—he has *surrounded him with his contemporaries*, and sketched out, in many pleasing and interesting details, the literary history of the age in which he lived ;—and his work, like those of PLATO and of XENOPHON, will descend to posterity with an interest which no other can now possess, that of being executed from the living subject, and of blending the veneration of the disciple with the fidelity of the historian.

In the year 1811, Lord WOODHOUSELEE was appointed to the Justiciary Bench, on the elevation of the Lord Justice-Clerk HOPE to the President's chair.

Although Lord WOODHOUSELEE was now advancing in age, and his strength declining, yet the publication of the *Memoirs of Lord KAMES* did not put a period to his literary activity. It was now too late, indeed, for him to resume any of the literary projects which he had once hoped to accomplish : but he
returned

returned willingly to another occupation, with which he had always intended to close his literary career. This was the revision of his lectures upon history. In the composition of these lectures, the best years of his life had been employed, and at the distance of time that had intervened, he was now able to review them with the eye of impartial criticism, and to make such additions or alterations as might better fit them for that general usefulness for which they were originally intended. To this pleasing occupation all his remaining seasons of leisure were devoted ; and with the usual cheerfulness of his temper, he flattered himself, that he might be able to accomplish a revision of the whole of the lectures that composed his Academical Course. As the first great subject of these lectures related to Grecian History, he now began anew the study of the Greek historians ; and as his views included the history of science, of literature and of the fine arts, he was led insensibly to the study of the moralists, the orators and the poets, of that interesting period. So fascinating to his mind was the occupation, that, in the course of a few vacations, he was able to compose anew the whole of his lectures upon Grecian History, and to be rewarded by that peculiar delight, (which has been so often observed in the later years of literary men,) the delight of returning again to the studies of their youth, and of feeling, under the snows of age, the cheerful memories of their spring.

In the year 1812, the death of his friend and relation General Sir JAMES CRAIG, (the late Governor of Canada,) and the property to which he succeeded by his will, rendered it necessary for Lord WOODHOUSELEE to undertake a journey to London. As Sir JAMES CRAIG had been distinguished by the Order of the Bath, it became the duty of Lord WOODHOUSELEE, as his nearest relation, to return to the Prince Regent the ensigns of

the Order ; and for this purpose his Royal Highness was pleased to grant him an audience. Of this interview Lord WoodHOUSELEE always spoke with gratitude, not only as it afforded him the opportunity of observing that dignified courtesy by which the manners of the Prince Regent are distinguished, but as it shewed him the intimate acquaintance which his Royal Highness possessed with regard to the affairs of Scotland, and the interest which he took in her progress in science and in literature. Some time after the interview with the Prince Regent, it was intimated to Lord WoodHOUSELEE, that, if agreeable to him, the dignity of Baronet would be conferred on him, which he requested permission to decline,—an instance of modesty, which surprised no one to whom Lord WoodHOUSELEE was known ; and which (I am proud to say) was to none so acceptable as to his own family, to whom no illustration could be so dear as that of their father's name.

I am led, besides, to mention this journey of Lord WoodHOUSELEE to London, as it gives me the opportunity of introducing a little composition to which it gave occasion, and which ought not to be omitted in any account of his life. He had for some time believed, that the disease under which he laboured was soon to be fatal ; and a little before this, he had given orders that his family burial place should be repaired, and had inscribed upon it an epitaph, full of tenderness and of affection, to the memory of his father and his mother. In leaving London for the last time, and returning to his own country, it was natural for him to look forward to the event which he had long thought approaching, and to that final home where he was to rest with his fathers. Under these impressions the following lines were composed, as he was returning homewards ; and as they afford a picture of his mind which no Biographer could reach,

reach, I trust I need no apology for introducing them in this place.

The Verses are entitled :

IN Sepulchrum meum avitum, in Cemeterio Franciscorum,
Edinburgi, nuper re-ædificatum.

Jam duodecimum condere lustrum
Contigit,—et jam cernere canos
Vertice summo, dum fatiget
Impigra quondam membra gressus,
Nec oculi vigeant nec aures,
Hæbeat et prorsus sensuum acumen.—
—Hæc sunt nec tardæ indicia mortis.—
Hisce admonitus Fati nunciis,
Refici avitum denuo Sepulchrum
Curo, et cineris protegi injuria
Mistæ ut amicis reliquiis cubent,
—Hic enim juncti quondam vita
(Nec sivit divelli fatum),
Dormiunt una Pater et Mater,
Purusque et pius ordo Parentum. —
——Salve ! O vitæ Anchora et Portus !
Salve ! laborum terminus et quies !
Salve ! brevi subeundaque tecta
Hospitium viatori fesso !
Te specto impavidus ; te longam
Per noctem fidus sis custos,
Et reddas (precor) incolumem DEO.

The event to which Lord WOODHOUSELEE thus steadily looked forward was now approaching. In June 1812, after superintending

intending his workmen in some improvements he was making at Woodhouselee, he felt that he had fatigued himself, and he was soon sensible of the recurrence of the same unfortunate accident which had laid the foundation of so many years of suffering. From this period, the remainder of his life was a scene of continued pain and increasing debility,—borne, indeed, with the most calm and even chearful resignation, and relieved by every thing that filial and conjugal tenderness could supply, yet too visibly approaching to a period which neither tenderness nor magnanimity could avert.

In the beginning of winter, he was prevailed upon to leave his favourite Woodhouselee, and to remove into town; and from this time his disease appeared to make a more rapid progress. On the 4th of January 1813, he felt himself more than usually unwell; and in the evening, when his family, with their usual attentions, were preparing to read to him some work of amusement, he requested that they would rather read to him the evening service of the Church, and that they might once more have the happiness of being united in domestic devotion. When this was finished, he spoke to them with firmness, of the events for which they must now prepare themselves: He assured them that to him death had no sorrow but that of leaving them: He prayed that Heaven might reward them for the uninterrupted happiness which their conduct and their love had given to him; and he concluded, by giving to each of them his last and solemn blessing.

After the discharge of this last paternal duty, he retired to rest, and slept with more than his usual tranquillity, and in the morning, (as the weather was fine,) he ordered his carriage, and desired that it might go out on the road towards Woodhouselee. He was able to go so far as to come within sight of
his

his own grounds ; and then raising himself in the carriage, his eye was observed to kindle as he looked once more upon the hills, which he felt he was so soon to leave, “ *and which he had loved so well.*” There was an influence in the scene which seemed to renew his strength, and he returned to town, and walked up the stair of his house with more vigour than he had shewn for some time ; but the excitement was momentary, and he had scarcely entered his study, before he sunk down upon the floor, without a sigh or a groan. Medical assistance was immediately procured, but it was soon found that all assistance was vain ; and Dr GREGORY arrived in time only to close his eyes, and thus to give the final testimony of a friendship which, in the last words that he wrote for the press, Lord WOODHOUSELEE had gratefully commemorated as having *borne the test of nearly half a century.*

His remains were interred in the family burial-place in the Grayfriars Church-yard, beside those of his father and mother, to whose memory it was then found, that his filial piety had so exclusively dedicated it, that their epitaph occupied the whole of the tablet, and no room was left for any inscription to himself.

I have very ill executed the melancholy task I have undertaken, if it is now necessary for me to conclude this account with any laboured delineation of the character of Lord WOODHOUSELEE. I am speaking to some, in whose memories his virtues are written in better characters than those of words ; and I am too conscious of the partiality of friendship, to trust myself to any other representation than that which his own life
and

and conduct can supply. Upon his literary character, it will be the province of posterity to pronounce; and to it I willingly leave to determine the rank he is to hold among the writers of his country. To us in these moments, when we are again, as it were, leaving his grave, there are other reflections that belong; and there are recollections of no vulgar kind that arise, when we review the life of which we have seen the close.

It was a life, in its first view, of usefulness and of honour. He was called to fill some of the most important offices which the constitution of human society affords,—as a father of a family,—a possessor of property,—a man of letters,—and a Judge in the Supreme Courts of his country; and he filled them all, not only with the dignity of a man of virtue, but with the grace of a man whose taste was founded upon high principles, and fashioned upon exalted models. It was a life, in its second view, of happiness as well as of honour: happy in all the social relations which time afforded him,—in the esteem of his country,—the affection of his friends,—the love and the promises of his children: happy in a temper of mind which knew no ambition but that of duty, and aspired to no distinction but that of doing good: happier than all in those early and elevated views of Religion, which threw their own radiance over all the scenes of man or of Nature through which he passed, and which enabled him to enjoy every present hour with thankfulness, and to look forward to every future one with hope.

The records of this Society contain the histories of greater men,—of none, I believe, more virtuous, more amiable, or more happy: And while the lives of these illustrious men,
(written

(written by men of kindred genius,) will, I trust, long continue to inspire in this place the spirit of philosophical ambition, I dare to hope, that even the faint outline which I have now given of the character of Lord WOODHOUSELEE, may tend to cherish that *moral* ambition which all men are called to indulge; without which learning is vain, and talents are dangerous, and to which rewards of a nobler kind are assigned, than either the praise of men or the splendors of literary fame.