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*Richard C. Cole*

## James Boswell and Robert Colvill



The eighteenth-century Scots poet Robert Colvill has been long forgotten, even by scholars, and probably deservedly so. There are, however, some interesting links between Colvill and a far greater Scots author, James Boswell, that are worth exploring. Two of Boswell's central interests in his early career were the Corsican rebellion headed by Pasquale Paoli and the Douglas Cause. Frederick A. Pottle has analyzed these two interests in a definitive way in his biography of the young Boswell, but Colvill's ties with Boswell in these two great controversies remain to be shown. Since so little is known about Colvill, a summary of his life and work should precede a discussion of the points at which his literary career and Boswell's touched.

Robert Colvill (d. 1788) was a Church of Scotland minister at Dysart, Kirkcaldy presbytery, Fifeshire, from 1758 until 1784.<sup>1</sup> During these years he published a number of long poems both in Edinburgh and London, most of which passed through at least a second edition. *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* lists fourteen long poems separately printed in quarto in addition to a collection entitled *Occasional Poems*, published both in London and Edinburgh in 1771 and a posthumous *Poetical Works of the Revd. Mr. Colvill (Containing his Pastorals, Occasional Poems and Elegies on Illustrious Persons)*, a two-volume collection published in London in 1789. Ten of these individual poems and the two collections are to be found

in the British Library, but there appears to be no other large collection of Colvill's poems in Britain. Eight of the individual poems and the 1789 collection are to be found in various libraries in the United States, though all are rare except Colvill's most popular poem, *Savannah, a poem in two cantos, to the memory of the Honourable Colonel John Maitland*, which went through three editions and is to be found in thirteen libraries.<sup>2</sup> No editions of Colvill's poems have been published since the eighteenth century, and no publications on Colvill's work are listed in NCBEL or the MLA annual bibliographies for 1970-77. He does not seem to be included in anthologies of Scottish poetry or mentioned in histories of Scottish literature, even Alexander Campbell's *Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1798), which mentions a great number of long forgotten poets.

A letter by Boswell is an important source of information about Colvill's early education and his early career in the Church of Scotland. Writing in 1767 to his friend Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield, apparently in response to Colvill's request, Boswell urged Sir Alexander to appoint Colvill to the vacancy in Corstorphine church, of which Sir Alexander was patron. Boswell stresses Colvill's inadequate stipend and his large family and observes that Colvill is an "old schoolfellow" of his.<sup>3</sup> Boswell and Colvill attended James Mundell's school in Edinburgh, though they probably did not overlap since Colvill entered the school in 1739 and Boswell not until 1746. Probably, however, the two met at some of the annual reunions that former pupils at the school held the last Saturday of January.<sup>4</sup> Prof. Pottle tells us that though Boswell was unhappy at Mundell's school as a small boy, he enjoyed the reunions.<sup>5</sup> Boswell's intercession on Colvill's behalf seems to have been in vain; the Rev. John Chiesley received the post at Corstorphine, and Colvill was obliged to remain at Dysart for the rest of his career in the church.<sup>6</sup>

After their school days Boswell and Colvill appear together as neophyte poets in a two-volume collection of Scots poems published by Alexander Donaldson in Edinburgh during the years 1760-62. Five poems by Colvill, two eclogues, two sonnets, and one elegy, all highly derivative, are included in the first volume, *A Collection of Original Poems by The Rev. Mr. Blacklock and Other Scotch Gentlemen*, pp. 184-203. Prof. Pottle has listed the thirty poems by Boswell in the second volume of Donaldson's collection, *A Collection of Original Poems, By Scotch Gentlemen*.<sup>7</sup> Colvill's poems have little to recommend them but Boswell's are no better.<sup>8</sup> The difference is that Boswell would soon achieve fame at an early age as a publicist and prose writer, while Colvill, though he would continue working on the craft of poetry, would never move much beyond his

earliest efforts.

The literary careers of Boswell and Colvill touch next in the British response to the Corsican rebellion and its generalissimo Pasquale Paoli. As Prof. Pottle makes clear, Boswell's abiding passion during his early career, especially during the years 1765-69, was Corsica.<sup>9</sup> Boswell's pilgrimage to Corsica near the end of his thirty-month stint on the Continent had been not only the high point of his Grand Tour but had provided the matter for his highly successful *An Account of Corsica, The Journal of a Tour to that Island; and Memoirs of Pascal Paoli, his British Essays in Favour of the Brave Corsicans*, and the dozens of periodical writings that would determine his reputation for the rest of his life and career as "Corsica Boswell." As Boswell said to Paoli many years after the collapse of the Corsican war for independence: "It was wonderful how much Corsica had done for me, how far I had got in the world by having been there. I had got upon a rock in Corsica and jumped into the middle of life."<sup>10</sup> Although much of the enthusiastic reception of *An Account of Corsica* in newspapers and other periodicals came from Boswell himself under assorted pseudonyms, there was a favorable response from readers and critics alike. Pottle identifies poetical tributes to Boswell by Edward Burnaby Greene, Capel Lofft, Anna Letitia Aikin (Mrs. Barbauld), and by Colvill;<sup>11</sup> he quotes six lines from Colvill's poem *The Cynrean Hero*, but the poem, which went through two editions 1771-72, deserves a fuller treatment. The poem in heroic couplets is written in honor of Paoli as the title suggests; Colvill notes that he uses the ancient Greek name "Cyrna" instead of the modern name "Corsica," and this use is appropriate since he tries to present Paoli as a classical hero, as does Boswell in *An Account of Corsica*. The poem chronicles Paoli's early victories in Corsica against the Genoese and French, his defeat by overwhelming military forces, and his subsequent flight to Britain where he is enthusiastically received as the leading European champion of liberty. Near the end of the lengthy poem Colvill records Paoli's triumphal tour of Scotland in 1771, and it is here that Boswell assumes a prominent role. Colvill lauds Boswell's pilgrimage to Corsica in 1765 to find the man romanticized by Rousseau, Voltaire, and other intellectual leaders on the Continent:

See HIM [Boswell]! whom genius and true worth adorn,  
And early wreaths, from stern oppression torn;  
Who, rous'd by freedom's and by virtue's flame,  
First heard the clarion peal PAOLI's name:  
Left learned ease and ALBION's blissful shore,  
In distant climes thy fortunes to explore:

There brav'd infested seas, nor fear'd to go  
 Thro' hostile camps thron'g'd dire with freedom's foe,  
 Till every peril past, 'mid fire and sword,  
 Glad BOSWELL hail'd high Cyrna's warlike LORD.<sup>12</sup>

The tribute to Boswell continues for another ten lines as Colvill describes the friendship between Paoli and Boswell and Boswell's attempts to enroll all Europe on the side of the Corsican rebels in their war against the French. This section of twenty lines builds up to the most memorable part of the poem, Colvill's comparison, presumably suggested by Addison's *Cato*, of Paoli to Cato and Boswell to Juba of Mauritania:

So when proud *Caesar* [Louis XV] stretch'd his iron rod,  
 Expelling freedom from her fam'd abode:  
 The *Mauritanian*, smit with virtue's charms,  
 Ador'd the *Goddess* in her *Cato's* arms;  
 Arrang'd his myriads, kindling at the call,  
 To humble *Caesar*, or with *Cato* fall.

A long footnote on pp. 11-12 essentially represents a prose paraphrase of the twenty-six lines of verse saluting Boswell's achievement as an intrepid traveller and as a skillful and entertaining writer.

This lengthy footnote to *The Cyrmean Hero* praises Boswell not only for his espousal of the Corsican cause but for "his warm attachment to every good cause, and more particularly by his writings in defence of DOUGLAS." The Douglas Cause was another of Boswell's great passions during his early career, and Colvill seems also to have enrolled himself on the Douglas side in that great controversy. A reversal of their roles takes place as the eulogist becomes the eulogized; Colvill praises Boswell in *The Cyrmean Hero* for his contributions to the Corsican cause but is praised in turn by Boswell for his long elegy on Lady Jane Douglas. The Douglas Cause, probably the most famous civil trial affecting status in the history of Scotland, needs to be reviewed for the modern reader.<sup>13</sup> Shortly before his death in 1761 Archibald Douglas, first Duke of Douglas, was persuaded by his wife Margaret to declare as his heir Archibald Douglas, the surviving son of his late sister, Lady Jane Douglas, from whom the Duke had been estranged during the last years of her life. Until 1761 James George Hamilton, seventh Duke of Hamilton, had been the heir, and his guardians immediately took the cause to court. The Hamilton lawyers sought to show that Archibald Douglas was not the son of Lady Jane Douglas and her husband, Sir John Stewart of Grandtully, Bt. The Hamilton supporters presented a strong argument, for

Lady Jane was fifty years of age when she claimed to have given birth in 1748 to Archibald and his twin brother Sholto, who died in 1752, and the twins were born in Paris under unusual circumstances. Both the Douglas and Hamilton lawyers sent agents to France in 1762, the one to find witnesses to Lady Jane's accouchement, the other to find the real parents of the young pretender. At the trial in June and July of 1767 before the Court of Session in Edinburgh neither side produced witnesses from France with convincing testimony, although the weight of circumstantial evidence was on the Hamilton side, and the Court, with Robert Dundas, the Lord President, casting the deciding vote, adjudged on 14 July 1767 that Douglas was a supposititious child and thus not the rightful heir to the Douglas honors and estates. The decision was an extremely unpopular one, not only in Britain but on the Continent as well. After nearly two years the House of Lords in London heard the appeal of the Douglas lawyers, and in February 1769 they reversed the decision of the Court of Session; Archibald Douglas was declared the son of Lady Jane Douglas and the heir of entail and provision of the Duke of Douglas.

Although Boswell was not one of Douglas's legal counsel until after the victory in the House of Lords, he was fanatically devoted to the Douglas family, and, as Prof. Pottle suggests, may have identified his own unsatisfactory situation in his father's home with that of Archibald Douglas.<sup>14</sup> Boswell in 1767 published three highly partisan books on the Douglas Cause, *Dorando*, *The Essence of the Douglas Cause*, and *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas*, all propaganda pieces to influence the decision of the Court of Session. He also published numerous pro-Douglas articles in London and Edinburgh periodicals and a ballad, *The Douglas Cause*, that circulated as a broadside. One of these articles, that has so far eluded scholars, is a review in *The Caledonian Mercury* of Edinburgh for 22 April 1769 of Colvill's poem *The Fate of Julia, an Elegiac Poem, in Two Cantos, Sacred to the Memory of L--dy J--n D--g--s*, published in Edinburgh in 1769. Although this poem seems to be Colvill's only published contribution to the Douglas side in the controversy, evidence is considerable that he shared Boswell's devotion to the Douglas family and to other great Scottish families. Two other poems by Colvill on different topics also pay tribute to the Douglas line. *The Cyrnean Hero* previously discussed is dedicated to the Duke of Queensberry, a member of the Douglas family and a guardian of young Archibald Douglas. In his dedication Colvill asks: "And where shall the Cyrnean Hero seek Protection but beneath the Shield of DOUGLAS, and Sanctuary of the Brave." Colvill's *Caledonian Heroine, or, the Invasion and Fall of Sueno the Dane*, published in 1771, is dedicated to Archibald Douglas among others. In this poem describ-

ing the victory of the Scots over the Danes in medieval times Colvill cites Lord Douglas as "chief amid fam'd SCOTIA'S peers, / The flow'r and bulwark of the host." In both this poem and *The Crynean Hero* Colvill notes his own descent from Colvill of the Dale, squire of Lord Douglas, and in a footnote to *The Caledonian Heroine* he observes of the Colvills: "Their lands are now swallowed up into the vast estate of Douglas, but their loyalty has continued the same, never to be alienated. Their most steady and most singular attachment to the cause and fortunes of YOUNG DOUGLAS for these many years past, is sufficiently known to all the world."

Three of Colvill's relatives were directly involved in Lady Jane Douglas's affairs. Colvill's father, Walter Colvill, mentioned by name in Boswell's letter of 1767 previously cited, was a minor official in the Court of Session where Boswell practised law. Walter Colvill had been both a retainer and friend of Lady Jane's in Scotland before her flight to France in 1746, and he resumed his relationship with her and her family in 1749 when she returned to Britain after the birth of the twins. His name appears frequently in the legal documents presented by both sides. In his *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas* Boswell includes Walter Colvill's moving letter of 29 Nov. 1753 reporting Lady Jane's death to her husband, Sir John Stewart; Boswell describes Colvill as "a sensible worthy man, and much attached to Lady Jane Douglas."<sup>15</sup> Walter Colvill's brother was the Rev. William Colvill, rector of Corseley, Wiltshire, from 1738 until 1764, who baptized Sholto Douglas in 1749 at the Hampstead estate of the Countess of Wigton, another outspoken Douglas partisan.<sup>16</sup> Helen Hewit, a cousin of the Colvills, was the key witness in the cause. She had spent most of her long life in the Douglas household, first as companion to the Marchioness of Douglas, Lady Jane's mother, then as companion and confidante to Lady Jane herself. She was the only witness of the birth of the Douglas twins besides Lady Jane and her husband and the attending physician.<sup>17</sup> Two of Boswell's books on the Douglas Cause make much of her deathbed declaration in 1766 that she had been present at the birth of the Douglas twins in 1748.<sup>18</sup> In Boswell's third major piece on the Douglas Cause, *Dorando*, the allegorized narrative in which all the principals in the Cause are given Spanish names, Helen Hewit is Donna Justina.<sup>19</sup>

Copies of Colvill's elegy on Lady Jane Douglas, *The Fate of Julia*, are exceedingly rare. Although it is listed in Colvill's bibliography in NCBEL, there seems to be no copy in institutional libraries in the United States. The British Library has a copy, but, to take two Scots examples, the libraries at the University of Edinburgh and the University of Aberdeen do not list it in their published catalogues. The first canto of

Colvill's elegy consisting of thirty-eight quatrains pictures the speaker moralizing at the grave of Lady Jane Douglas, the Julia of the poem, in the Chapel Royal of Holyrood House, Edinburgh. The entire poem reflects the influence of Thomas Gray's *Elegy Written in a Country Church Yard* in its stanza, diction, and imagery, and at the beginning of the second Canto Colvill invokes Gray's aid:

THOU Muse high seated on the sacred hill!  
 With angel-tears augmenting pity's spring,  
 Steep my rude reed in sorrow's sacred well,  
 Your bitter grief into my numbers wring;

That I with meet response may rehearse  
 A song of death, and dolor, to the sound  
 Of sadly warbling lyres, and plain a verse  
 Which ruthless men may read relenting round.

Colvill footnotes the two quatrains: "Address to the ingenious Mr Gray, author of these most elegant compositions in lyric poetry, and now professor of modern history in the university of Oxford." Though seeking to honor Gray, Colvill had not taken the trouble to find out that Gray was at Cambridge rather than Oxford.

The second canto, from which Boswell in his review quotes some fifty-two lines and a long footnote, focuses on the last year of Lady Jane's life as she journeys to Scotland to seek reconciliation with the old Duke of Douglas, her beloved brother, and is turned away with her two small sons at the very gates of Douglas Castle by attendants acting under orders from the Duke. Among the lines selected by Boswell for quotation in his review are Lady Jane's words from her death-bed to the five-year-old Archibald Douglas, the subject of the Douglas Cause for many years to come. Boswell finds these lines, like the entire fifty-two lines that he quotes, "drawn in a masterly manner," and though the modern reader may find this judgment unduly generous, Lady Jane's death-bed speech is worth quoting for the "moral and pathetic" character that Boswell found to be a source of "much pleasure and satisfaction." They record the scene that Boswell used to advantage in two of his Douglas propaganda pieces, *Dorando* and *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas*. The lines represent an accurate transcription by Boswell of quatrains 27-31, although Boswell does not preserve the stanza form in his review and makes a few minor changes in capitalization and punctuation:

"Sweet PLEDGE! relinquish'd in this world of woe,  
I leave THEE safe on PROVIDENCE'S CARE:  
Nor wealth, nor grandeur, I on THEE bestow,  
Tho' born both wealth, and grandeur high, to share.

The FATHER of the FATHERLESS shall guide  
THY steps to VIRTUE, and THY COUNTRY'S LOVE;  
Humble the proud who may they WORTH deride,  
Fire THEE to DEEDS which envy shall approve.

Born to be great, aspire to raise thy name;  
The SWORD of DOUGLAS in the battle wield;  
Tread in each KINDRED HERO'S steps to FAME,  
The pride of peace, in war a nation's shield.

For this gay vice and empty pomp disdain,  
But deck thy mind with TRUTH and VIRTUE'S pride:  
Pow'r without worth, and high descent are vain  
And pageant coronets the great deride.

Woo virtue then, and gracious HEAV'N shall raise,  
Some NOBLE MIND to bear THINE HEAD on high:  
To right the ORPHAN, while THY PROSP'ROUS DAYS  
Shall shine with GLORY, and these shadows fly."

This twenty-line declamation by Colvill's Julia is spoken in a simpler and more effective form by Boswell's Lady Jane in two of his Douglas pieces. In *Dorando* Boswell has the dying Maria Dorando (Lady Jane) address her son Ferdinand (Archibald Douglas): "My son, said she, be not cast down. God bless you. God make you a good and an honest man; for riches I despise. Take a sword in your hand, and you may one day be as great a hero as some of your predecessors" (p. 15). In his *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas*, in which he has edited to Lady Jane's advantage the genuine letters, Boswell has Helen Hewit, Lady Jane's companion, report the same speech from Lady Jane in almost exactly the same words (p. 195). To be sure, the intention of the two writers was different since Boswell was trying to win readers, especially the Court of Session judges, to the Douglas side while Colvill was writing after the Douglas victory to eulogize a great lady and those who had been active in her vindication.

In the apotheosis of Lady Jane at the end of the elegy, the persona addresses Julia as "BLESS'D SAINT" looking down from heaven on the successful outcome of the Douglas Cause and the persons who brought it about:

See THESE whom every palm and wreath adorn,  
 The great RESTORERS of thy GODLIKE RACE,  
 Whose PRAISE shall reach to ages yet unborn,  
 Whose ACTS the annals of these times shall grace.

A long footnote to this stanza sings the praises of the Scots nobility, judges, lawyers, and others who contributed to the Douglas victory. Colvill also praises the "elegant and manly writers" who took the Douglas side. He mentions the anonymous authors of the thousands of pages of legal documents prepared for Douglas and Boswell's *Essence of the Douglas Cause* (p. 23). Colvill's poem is rich in footnotes like this one, and many are unnecessary and long-winded. Some of them have a sycophantic character that suggests Colvill was hoping to find a patron among the nobility taking the Douglas side; patronage seems to be a goal of most of Colvill's poems.

Boswell's review in the form of a letter to the publisher of the *Caledonian Mercury* is signed with his initials rather than with his full name, but it is clearly Boswell's. Boswell is also one of seventeen public figures, all leading Douglas partisans, to whom the poem is dedicated. The commentary section of Boswell's letter is short and deserves printing since it is unknown to scholars and a rare example of Boswell's literary criticism:

Having read the poem composed on that mournful subject, the misfortunes of LADY JANE DOUGLAS, and received much pleasure and satisfaction from the perusal, I have thought proper thro' the channel of your paper, to recommend the same to your readers; not doubting, but they will receive benefit by looking over this poetical composition. It abounds with many beautiful images and pictures from the poetical system, drawn in a masterly manner. The uncommon sufferings of this most excellent Lady are set forth in a series that is pathetic in a high degree. Many deep moral reflections are properly interspersed throughout the two cantos, and the whole is happily conducted through scenes of adversity, to lead the mind to noble sentiments, with regard to the conduct and designs of Providence....

There were enough readers who shared Boswell's appreciation of Colvill's elegy to warrant a second edition, which is announced on the same page of the *Caledonian Mercury* as Boswell's review, and G. Ross Roy, Colvill's bibliographer in NCBEL, lists a third edition published in London.

Links between Boswell and Colvill in later years are unknown. Colvill does not figure in the great collection of

Boswell journals, letters, and other manuscripts and printed materials at Yale University. Boswell's "Register of Letters" (Yale Boswell Collection, M 251-55), Boswell's record of letters sent and received, lists thirteen letters between Boswell and Colvill, but none is known to survive. Colvill's most popular poem among the several long poems of his maturity, *Savannah*, appeared first in 1780, and though it does not mention Boswell, it does revive the Cato figure that Colvill had used effectively years before in *The Cyrnean Hero* to honor Pasquale Paoli (Cato) and his historian, Boswell (Juba). In *Savannah* Colvill finds Colonel John Maitland, the gallant commander of Fraser's Highlanders in the battle against the American rebels and the French Bourbons, a Cato: "With Cato's spirit MAITLAND stood." There is no Juba, however, to sing of Maitland's exploits, except Colvill himself. Colvill was suspended from his church post at Dysart in 1784, "A libel having been raised against him whereof he confessed to certain points."<sup>20</sup> The case was not important enough to receive notice in the *Scots Magazine*, the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, or the *Edinburgh Advertiser* for 1784, or to reach the Court of Session in Edinburgh. Without his church stipend Colvill was soon in financial trouble, and Boswell's wife was asked in 1784 to contribute to a fund for "poor Mr. Colvill, who is truly starving and has not a house to cover his head."<sup>21</sup> At the time of his death in 1788, seven years before Boswell's death, Colvill was living "at Bristo Street, near Edinburgh."<sup>22</sup> The high lineage that Colvill claimed apparently served him to no end. In *The Cyrnean Hero* Colvill asserts in his dedication to the Duke of Queensberry that he is "the lineal Descendant and Representative of COLVILL of the DALE." Although this family was related to the noble family of Colvill of Culross,<sup>23</sup> there seems to be no evidence that Colvill had noble blood.

Either as cleric or as poet Robert Colvill has but the most modest claim to fame in his own right, but he does deserve a place in the biography of a major writer like James Boswell. He is also worthy of mention with Boswell in the response by Scots men of letters to two great public controversies in eighteenth-century Europe, the Corsican Cause and the Douglas Cause. Of far less talent than Boswell, Colvill reached only the foothills of literary achievement, but there were always sales for his poems, and one appreciative member of his audience, at least for his Douglas piece, was Boswell himself. Boswell won fame at an early age through his many writings on these two issues, though posterity finds these writings to have biographical and historical rather than literary significance. These early works for Boswell were only a prologue to the two masterpieces of his maturity, *The Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson* and *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, and the posthumous

triumph represented by the journals discovered in the twentieth century.

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NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ* (Edinburgh, 1915-28), V, 89-90.

<sup>2</sup> NCBEL (Cambridge, 1969-74), II, 2022; *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books* (London, 1959-66), XLII, 291-92; *National Union Catalog, Pre-1956 Imprints* (London, 1968-), CXVII, 96. Harvard University owns a poem attributed to Colvill which is not listed in NCBEL, *The feast of Holyrood; a pindaric poem in two cantos* (Edinburgh, 1768).

<sup>3</sup> Chauncey Brewster Tinker, ed., *Letters of James Boswell* (Oxford, 1924), I, 142-3.

<sup>4</sup> *List of Scholars Educated by the Late Mr. James Mundell* (Edinburgh, 1789), pp. 2, 6, 10.

<sup>5</sup> *James Boswell, The Earlier Years, 1740-1769* (New York, 1966), p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> *Fasti*, I, 7.

<sup>7</sup> *The Literary Career of James Boswell, Esq.* (Oxford, 1929, rpt. 1966), pp. 13-4.

<sup>8</sup> See Jack Werner, ed., *Boswell's Book of Bad Verse* (London, 1974).

<sup>9</sup> *James Boswell, The Earlier Years*, especially chs. xviii-xxii.

<sup>10</sup> Charles Rogers, *Boswelliana* (London, 1874), p. 328.

<sup>11</sup> *James Boswell, The Earlier Years*, pp. 364-5.

<sup>12</sup> *The Cyrnean Hero: A Poem. Most Humbly inscribed to His Grace Charles Duke of Queensberry, etc.* (Edinburgh, 1772), pp. 10-1.

<sup>13</sup> See summary, pp. 13-39, in A. Francis Steuart, *The Douglas Cause* (Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1909).

<sup>14</sup> James Boswell, *The Earlier Years*, p. 313.

<sup>15</sup> *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady Jane Douglas* (Dublin, 1768), p. 195.

<sup>16</sup> Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart., *The Modern History of South Wiltshire* (London, 1830), III, pt. ii, p. 96; *Proof, in the Conjoined Processes, GEORGE-JAMES Duke of Hamilton... against The person pretending to be ARCHIBALD STEWART, alias DOUGLAS* [Edinburgh, 1766], pp. 298-9.

<sup>17</sup> *Hamilton Proof*, pp. 250-9, 297.

<sup>18</sup> *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas*, pp. 198-200; *The Essence of the Douglas Cause* (London, 1767), p. 76.

<sup>19</sup> *Dorando, A Spanish Tale* (London, 1767), p. 7.

<sup>20</sup> *Fasti*, V, 89.

<sup>21</sup> *Boswelliana*, p. 320.

<sup>22</sup> Francis J. Grant, ed., *Commissariat Record of Edinburgh, Register of Testaments, 1701-1800* (Edinburgh, 1899), p. 56.

<sup>23</sup> Sir James Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage* (Edinburgh, 1904-14), II, 539.