

John Horsley and the *Britannia Romana* (1732): the road to publication*

The Tenth Horsley Memorial Lecture

Lawrence Keppie

SUMMARY

Previous Memorial Lectures have examined Horsley's life and career, and his accounts of Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall. This Lecture will consider his preoccupations and anxieties in the years leading up to the publication of the Britannia Romana in 1732. Extensive use is made here of hitherto unpublished or little known letters in his hand, addressed to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Midlothian, which, taken in conjunction with his better known correspondence with Robert Cay in Newcastle, William Stukeley in Lincolnshire and others, illustrate his concern always to ensure accuracy in the citation of the epigraphic texts, a possible move to a post at Edinburgh University, his rivalry with the antiquary Alexander Gordon, the impact of the mammoth task on his finances and his health, and his widow's efforts to tidy up his affairs after his sudden death.

INTRODUCTION

ON 12 JANUARY 1732 THE REVEREND JOHN HORSLEY, Nonconformist minister and schoolmaster at Morpeth, Northumberland, died suddenly of an 'apoplexy',¹ a term which has had a number of medical meanings; he had probably suffered either an acute cerebral haemorrhage or a massive stroke.² He was aged 46. At this time his great work, the *Britannia Romana* (fig. 1), was all printed, with the exception of the Preface and the Index.³

Born probably in 1685, Horsley received his schooling in Newcastle at the Royal Grammar School,⁴ and in 1698, at the age of 13 or 14, which was normal for the time, he enrolled as a student at Edinburgh University, to take the standard MA degree. This was a four-year course, but Horsley was excused the first year, a study of Latin, because of his existing proficiency in the language.⁵ The second year was devoted to Greek, the third given over to philosophy with an emphasis on the writings of Presbyterian scholars, and the fourth to natural philosophy, i.e. science.⁶ As will become clear, Horsley excelled in all these subjects. He graduated in April 1701, but spent another four years at Edinburgh, presumably in theological study (below).⁷ By 1709 Horsley was established at Morpeth.⁸ The location of his house there is unclear, but we have a description of it: 10 rooms with fireplaces, good cellars, a stable, a brewhouse and a garden.⁹ The brick-built chapel constructed in 1721 for his Nonconformist congregation survives in the town.¹⁰

This Society celebrates Horsley as an antiquary and historian, but during his lifetime he was distinguished as a theologian, a mathematician and a scientist; he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in May 1729 (see below).¹¹ Horsley was a frequent lecturer on 'statics, mechanics, hydrostatics and pneumatics', even publishing a handbook for participants in his

* A revised version of a lecture delivered in Newcastle on 28 November, 2012.

BRITANNIA ROMANA:
 OR THE
 Roman Antiquities
 OF
 BRITAIN:
 In THREE BOOKS.

THE

- I. Contains the HISTORY of all the ROMAN TRANSACTIONS in *Britain*, with an account of their legionary and auxiliary forces employed here, and a determination of the stations *per lineam valli*; also a large description of the *Roman walls*, with maps of the same laid down from a geometrical survey.
- II. Contains a complete COLLECTION of the ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS and SCULPTURES which have hitherto been discovered in *Britain*, with the letters engraved in their proper shape and proportionate size, and the reading placed under each; as also an historical account of them, with explanatory and critical observations.
- III. Contains the ROMAN GEOGRAPHY of BRITAIN, in which are given the originals of *Ptolemy*, *Antonini Itinerarium*, the *Notitia*, the anonymous *Ravennas*, and *Peutinger's table*, so far as they relate to this island, with particular essays on each of these ancient authors, and the several places in *Britain* mentioned by them.

To which are added,

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, and INDEXES to the INSCRIPTIONS and SCULPTURES after the manner of *Gruter* and *Reinesius*.

ALSO

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEXES both of the *Latin* and *English* names of the *Roman* places in *Britain*, and a GENERAL INDEX to the work.

The whole illustrated with above an hundred COPPER PLATES.

By JOHN HORSLEY M.A. and F.R.S.

LONDON:

Printed for JOHN OSBORN and THOMAS LONGMAN, at the *Ship*
 in *Paternoster Row*.

Fig. 1 Title page of John Horsley's *Britannia Romana* (1732).



Fig. 2 Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Bt. (oil on canvas by Sir John de Medina, c. 1700). Reproduced by permission of Sir Robert Clerk, Bt.

courses.¹² In an experiment conducted under the auspices of the Royal Society, he devoted time to recording rainfall at and near Morpeth.¹³ As a theologian he published several tracts and sermons.¹⁴ The school he established in the town must have consumed a large proportion of his time and surely provided the bulk of his annual income. We might wonder how he found time for any antiquarian activity!

HORSLEY'S CORRESPONDENTS

The Horsley Memorial Lectures began in 1932, marking the bicentenary of his death. Previous lectures have dealt with, among other topics, Horsley's life and career, and his accounts of the two Roman Walls.¹⁵ By contrast, my subjects are his preoccupations in the later 1720s, leading up to the publication of his *magnum opus* in 1732. Letters sent by Horsley to his correspondents are my primary source. Long published are those addressed to the antiquaries William

Stukeley in Lincolnshire and Roger Gale in Yorkshire, and many to his friend Robert Cay at Newcastle, which were preserved by the Cay family.¹⁶ More recently a paper by the late Professor Leslie Hepple in *Archaeologia Aeliana* drew attention to correspondence between Horsley and Dr James Jurin, the inoculation pioneer, in letters which are held at the Royal Society, London.¹⁷

Here I will bring into play letters sent by Horsley to Sir John Clerk, 2nd baronet, of Penicuik, Midlothian, in the years between 1729 and 1731, a few others sent to Clerk by Robert Cay and by Horsley's widow and daughter after his death in 1732, as well as letters to Clerk from the antiquary Alexander Gordon. Sir John Clerk (fig. 2) was an avid enthusiast of Roman antiquities, who accumulated at his house in Penicuik a collection of inscribed stones and artefacts, which joined souvenirs of a two-year Grand Tour to Italy.¹⁸ In the summer of 1723 Sir John had met the antiquary Alexander Gordon of Aberdeen, who was then setting about fieldwork for his *Itinerarium Septentrionale* ('Journey over Northern Parts') published in 1726, which included accounts of the two Walls based on personal observation (fig. 3).¹⁹ Gordon reserved for Clerk inscribed stones which he had seen on his travels along the Antonine Wall, Clerk quickly despatching a farmer with horse and cart to uplift them.²⁰ Alexander Gordon remained an assiduous correspondent of Clerk's thereafter, even after he moved to London. Gordon's rivalry with Horsley is a feature of the correspondence, a matter to which I shall return.

Sir John Clerk was himself a perceptive observer of archaeological field monuments. On a visit southwards from Penicuik to Newcastle in 1724, he noted the earthworks of a large Roman camp at Channelkirk, Berwickshire, a site whose discovery has been dated to 1755,²¹ and the upstanding ramparts of a nearby fortlet at Oxtou, Berwickshire, otherwise first sighted from the air in 1956.²² Though Clerk's party, which included one of his sons and Alexander Gordon, passed through Morpeth, overnighting at the posthouse 'where we had excellent entertainment', there is no indication in Clerk's surviving journal of the trip that they met or sought out Horsley.²³ Later they travelled westwards along Hadrian's Wall to Carlisle; Clerk was able to purchase inscribed and sculptured stones at Housesteads and Carvoran for his collection at Penicuik.²⁴

In a letter to Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford, in February 1731 about his forthcoming monograph, Horsley explained that 'The whole bears the title of *Britannia Romana*, and consists of three books. In the first is contain'd a compleat history of all the Roman transactions in Britain, with the chronology, and a large account of the Roman walls in England and Scotland . . . The second book contains a compleat collection of all the Roman inscriptions and sculptures in Britain cut on copper plates with the readings at large set under each inscription. I have discovered and inserted in this collection above a hundred originals which never have been publish'd before,²⁵ and by a careful examination clear'd such as have been made public already from an infinite number of errors. The third book is purely geographical, and contains the originals (as far as relates to Britain) of Ptolemy, Antonine's Itinerary, the Notitia, Ravennas etc, with essays on each of these authors, and maps proper for them.'²⁶

HORSLEY'S SCHEDULE AND TRAVELS

Though Horsley's interest in Roman Britain was of long-standing, he turned to its study in earnest in the mid 1720s.²⁷ From references in the *Britannia Romana* and from the location of stones drawn, we can begin to chart his fieldwork, which was undertaken on horseback.

Itinerarium Septentrionale :
 O R, A
 J O U R N E Y
 Thro' most of the COUNTIES of
 S C O T L A N D,
 And Those in the
 NORTH of E N G L A N D.

In Two P A R T S.

P A R T I. Containing an Account of all the MONUMENTS of ROMAN ANTIQUITY, found and collected in that Journey, and exhibited in order to illustrate the Roman History in those Parts of Britain, from the first Invasion by Julius Cæsar, till Julius Agricola's March into Caledonia, in the Reign of Vespasian. And thence more fully to their last abandoning the Island, in the Reign of Theodosius Junior. With a particular Description of the ROMAN WALLS in Cumberland, Northumberland, and Scotland; Their different Stations, Watch-Towers, Turrets, Exploratory Castles, Height, Breadth, and all their other Dimensions; taken by an actual Geometrical Survey from Sea to Sea: with all the Altars and Inscriptions found on them: As also a View of the several Places of Encampment, made by the Romans, their Castles, Military Ways, &c.

P A R T II. An Account of the DANISH INVASIONS on SCOTLAND, and of the Monuments erected there, on the different Defeats of that People. With other curious REMAINS of ANTIQUITY; Never before communicated to the Publick.

The Whole Illustrated with Sixty-six Copper Plates.

By ALEXANDER GORDON, A. M.

*Quanta Caledonios attollet Gloria Campos,
 Cum tibi longævus referet trucus Incola Terræ,
 Hic sœtus dare jura Parens, hoc Cespite Turmas
 Affari; nitidas Speculas, Castellaque longè
 Aspicias: Ille dedit, cinxitque hæc Mœnia Fossa.
 Belligeris hæc Dona Deis, hæc Tela dicavit.
 Cernis adhuc Titulos, hunc Ipse vacantibus Armis
 Induit, hunc Regi rapuit Thoraca Britanno.*

Statius ad Crispinum.

L O N D O N:

Printed for the AUTHOR;

And sold by G. STRAHAN, at the Golden-Ball, in Cornhill; J. WOODMAN, in Ruffel street, Covent Garden; W. and J. INNYS, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; and T. WOODWARD, at the Half-Moon, near Temple-Bar. M.DCC.XXVI.

Fig. 3 Title page of Alexander Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale* (1726).

Other information can be gleaned from his fragmentary *History of Northumberland*,²⁸ and a manuscript essay on 'Barrows and other Tumuli', now preserved at Edinburgh University,²⁹ as well as from his correspondence. His journeys to and from London enabled him to visit important Roman sites and to call on antiquarian friends such as Roger Gale at Scruton near Catterick, Sir Richard Ellys at Nocton near Lincoln, and William Stukeley at Grantham, their homes all conveniently situated on or near his route south.

In December 1725 and January 1726 Horsley was at the University in Glasgow, perhaps taking the opportunity then, or on a later visit, to discuss with the professors the Roman stones held in its library.³⁰ As Horsley wrote soon after to Dr James Jurin, his correspondent on rain measurement at the Royal Society in London, 'I often drank your Health lately with Mr. Robert Simpson [*sic*] Professor of mathematics at Glasgow who was often blaming himself for not having wrote to you.'³¹ The purpose of the visit to Glasgow was a proposed course of lectures on 'Experimental Philosophy.' Horsley was concerned that uptake was well short of his expectation, and asked Jurin to write direct to Simson, which he did the same day, to elicit his support.³²

An insight into Horsley's activities in Glasgow at this time comes from the journal of the Revd Robert Wodrow, formerly librarian at Glasgow University and subsequently Minister of the parish of Eastwood, south of the city. It becomes clear that Horsley was angling in late 1725 to have employment in Glasgow as a lecturer, using his own expensively assembled collection of scientific instruments, and perhaps even to 'settle' in the city.³³ His patron at Glasgow, the Revd William Wishart,³⁴ Minister of the Tron Church there, went with him to lobby the Lord Provost, and sought out subscribers for the course, which was to cost two guineas. However, the proposal was firmly and successfully opposed by the professors at Glasgow University, who saw Horsley as a rival.³⁵ He preached, in place of Wishart, at the Tron Church in the city: 'some had considerable expectations from his learning and freedom of thought, but they mistook the man, for he is a firm subscriber'.³⁶

Exactly when Horsley traversed Hadrian's Wall is not known. He may easily have made a number of visits, and we know he went to Carlisle, Netherby and Maryport.³⁷ Sometime between August 1726 and March 1728 Horsley travelled along the Antonine Wall.³⁸ In the summer of 1728 he was in the West of England and 'went into Wales',³⁹ visiting en route many major sites including Chester, Wroxeter, Caerleon and Caerwent, before reaching Bath, from which he travelled on to London.⁴⁰

In October 1728 Horsley was at Edinburgh, where the influential Professor of Divinity, William Hamilton (below),⁴¹ wrote for him a letter of introduction to Sir John Clerk, which Horsley carried with him to Penicuik. 'This comes by the Rev. Mr John Horsley of Morpeth to introduce him to your Lordship,⁴² and recommend him to your favourable reception. He has been long of my acquaintance. You will find him a person worthy of your esteem. He excels in polite learning, is a great master in natural philosophy and the Mathematics, and for some years has turned his thoughts much upon antiquities, especially the Roman that are to be found in Brittain.' Horsley had learned of Clerk's collection 'and is very desirous of the honour of being admitted to converse with you and to see your pieces of antiquity.'⁴³

The visit to Penicuik belongs in November 1728 (fig. 4). Horsley viewed the 'Curiosities' kept there, some in Clerk's study, others in his garden, including a supposed Roman *stylus* in its metal case.⁴⁴ This was to be their only meeting. By 30 December Matthew Crawford, Professor of Church History at Edinburgh, had received a letter from Horsley 'at present in London about it', asking him to contact Clerk concerning 'some of the Roman monuments



Fig. 4 Newbiggin House, Penicuik, the seat of Sir John Clerk (pen and wash drawing by John Clerk of Eldin, c. 1750). Reproduced by permission of Sir Robert Clerk, Bt.

your Lordship was pleased to show him; he wants a more particular information of them.⁴⁵ In his reply to Matthew Crawford, Clerk remarked that he believed Horsley 'to be a Man equal to the work he has undertaken & very learn'd in most sciences', and in a memorandum appended to his own copy of this letter, Clerk wrote that he had found Horsley 'a very great scholar both in Divinity & in the Languages, and may teach the Mathematics & Natural Philosophy in any university in Europe. The work he undertakes is rather for bread than on any other account, he being but soberly provided for in England.'⁴⁶ As Clerk recalled soon after (in similar phraseology) in a letter to the antiquary Roger Gale in Yorkshire, 'Mr Horsley has been in this country and did me the favour of a visit ... He affects now and then a singularity in his readings and opinions, but this I did not wonder at, for the poor man writes for bread and must have something to entertain his readers. He lived at Morpeth for many years and taught there in a private academy with the benefit of a meeting house for his support. This is all I know of him.'⁴⁷

THE ROAD TO PUBLICATION

In his Preface to *Britannia Romana*, written shortly before his death, Horsley observed that 'This collection [of antiquities] which at first I intended only for my own amusement and pleasure, now ventures to shew itself in public ... It is now above four years since I was first prevailed with to compleat this work, for which time I have pursued it with the greatest care and application.'⁴⁸ The letters to Robert Cay, William Stukeley, Roger Gale, and Sir John Clerk

help us to chart his progress on it. Some parts of the text were already complete by June 1728, when they were transmitted through the medium of Robert Cay in Newcastle to the publisher 'via the London carrier.'⁴⁹ On 30 July 1728 he could tell Cay that 'Two boxes have both come safe [to London], and are with Mr Orburne [*sic*], but not yet opened.'⁵⁰ In March 1729 'the work [was] going on as fast as it can'.⁵¹ Horsley was in London in March 1730, when he called on his publisher, John Osborn in Pater-Noster Row.⁵² On 23 April 1730 he was admitted as a Fellow of the Royal Society, to which he had been elected the previous year.⁵³ The text of the First and Second Parts of the book was in proof by December 1730,⁵⁴ in the same month Roger Gale observed to William Stukeley that he was 'very impatient to see Mr Horsley's performance which I hear is in good forwardnesse, above half the plates being engraved.'⁵⁵ The engraver was James Mynde, a well known London practitioner. The geographical treatise (Part Three) was an afterthought,⁵⁶ which delayed publication; however proofs of it were ready by the summer of 1731.⁵⁷ Written contributions promised by Professor John Ward of Gresham College, London (below), entailed further delay. Rather surprisingly, as it may seem to us, Horsley spent the winter of 1729–30 on his nascent *History of Northumberland* (below).⁵⁸

Writing to Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford, in February 1731, Horsley commented: 'The bookseller has told me that the book woud be publish'd some time the next month. But as I don't care to have my credit rest on such tottering props as the words of booksellers and printers, I dare not venture to assure your Lordship of it so soon'.⁵⁹ The proofs came to Newcastle shortly after, i.e. to Robert Cay, 'and I expect them here [at Morpeth] soon, in order to revise them carefully before the publication. As soon as that is done, and the indices are settled and printed, I don't yet see what should farther retard the publication, unless the engraver be behind with the maps for the third book.'⁶⁰ In fact, publication was at this point still more than a year away. In August 1731, Horsley could observe to Clerk that 'the engraver after a long delay now draws very near to a conclusion.'⁶¹ That the printing and engraving took so long was partly due to Horsley's many additions and updates after the text and the illustrations were in the printer's hands. The engraver himself managed to lose some of Horsley's drawings for the plates (below).⁶²

'A COMPLEAT COLLECTION OF ALL THE ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS AND SCULPTURE'

Whilst the First Part of the book, i.e. the historical account and his description of the two Walls, cost Horsley 'much labour and time in my study', the Second, i.e. the recording of inscribed stones, 'was the most expensive and tedious. Several thousand miles were covered on this account, to visit antient monuments and re-examine these where there was any doubt or difficulty . . . I omitted no care nor pains, that was necessary to copy them with the greatest exactness'. It is clear that he is referring to the province's corpus of inscribed stones, the publication of which is described as 'the principal design of the work'.⁶³

Horsley was commendably interested in 'when and where the inscribed stones were found and where they now are.'⁶⁴ The correspondence with Gale, Clerk and others illustrates his attempts to ensure accuracy in individual cases. It was his intention to 'submit to the labour and expence of having every plate and every individual inscription and sculpture compar'd again with the originals'.⁶⁵ A sequence of letters to and from Roger Gale illustrates a long-running debate on the correct readings on a dedication slab to Sol Invictus from High Rochester (fig. 5).⁶⁶ A milestone from Ingliston, Midlothian, then held in the library at

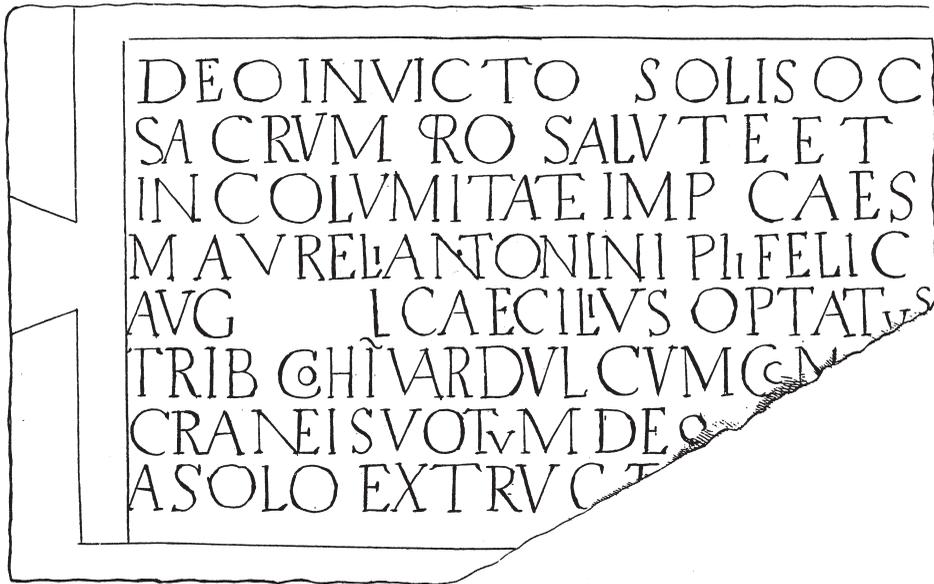


Fig. 5 Dedication slab to Sol Invictus from High Rochester, Northumberland (RIB 1272), as illustrated in Horsley's *Britannia Romana* (1732). Debate centred on the readings in lines 6–7 where the stone was broken away.



Fig. 6 Milestone from Ingliston, West Lothian (RIB 2313), as illustrated in Horsley's *Britannia Romana* (1732). Horsley established that the dedicators were the Cohors I Cugernorum.



Fig. 7 Altar to Tyrian Hercules from Corbridge, Northumberland (RIB 1129), as illustrated in Horsley's *Britannia Romana* (1732). It was dedicated by the high priestess, Diodora.

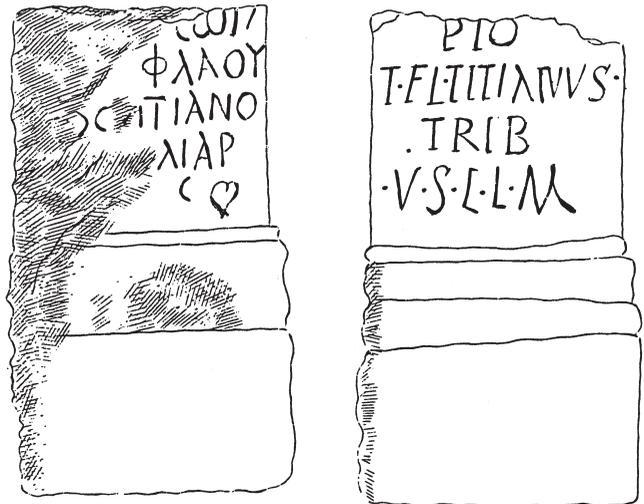


Fig. 8 Lower half of an altar to Aesculapius from Lanchester, County Durham (RIB 1072), with matching Greek and Latin inscriptions, as illustrated in Horsley's *Britannia Romana* (1732).

Edinburgh University, provides a further example of his method: Horsley's published reading resulted from 'a very close impartial, and repeated view of the letters in the originall' (fig. 6).⁶⁷ By letter he discussed with Sir John Clerk readings on stones preserved at Penicuik and elsewhere in Scotland, and sent him proofs of the plates for comment and correction.⁶⁸ In a letter to Roger Gale on a Greek inscription at Corbridge (fig. 7), Horsley noted that he had 'severall times seen and examined it myself with all the nicety and care I could'.⁶⁹ At times we can sense the thrill of discovery: when Horsley detached a small altar with a Greek inscription from the wall in which it was embedded at Lanchester, County Durham, he found to his surprise an equivalent Latin inscription on the back (fig. 8).⁷⁰

HELPERS AND COADJUTORS

Horsley travelled extensively to examine and draw inscriptions.⁷¹ He also had helpers. One such was George Mark, sometimes supposed to have been his assistant in the school at Morpeth.⁷² Mark was continually active, viewing and drawing inscribed stones.⁷³ Sometimes he travelled with Horsley, sometimes independently. On Horsley's instruction he visited Meifod (Powys); at Clyro (Powys) he discovered 'an encampment'.⁷⁴ Mark specialised in following roads and noting sites along them.⁷⁵ It was presumably Mark who surveyed and measured the routes of both Walls.⁷⁶

The *Britannia Romana* lacks a meaningful sequence of plans of major sites. Certainly there are rough sketches of forts along Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall which form part of the sectional maps of both frontiers, and a page of drawings of hinterland forts behind Hadrian's Wall.⁷⁷ The only individual plans are of two forts in Perthshire, those at Ardoch and Dalginross,⁷⁸ which can be ascribed to George Mark. That Horsley himself visited them is not obvious from his accompanying text. The plan of the camp at Dalginross shows semicircular features, both internally and externally, at the gates (fig. 9). This is the earliest recognisable, though incorrect, depiction of what we now term 'Stracathro-type' gates. The fort itself is shown intruding into the interior of the camp; Sir George Macdonald in his Horsley Memorial Lecture (1932) suggested that Horsley's engraver moved the fort closer to the camp in order to accommodate it within the confines of his copper plate;⁷⁹ but the original drawing by George Mark, on which the published plan was based, now in the possession of Dr Julian Bennett,⁸⁰ shows it similarly misplaced.⁸¹ I shall return to Dalginross later. We can follow Mark's career after Horsley's demise, as scientific lecturer, surveyor, mapmaker and school-master, first in Newcastle and later at Dunbar.⁸²

Horsley relied on his friend Robert Cay of Newcastle, a salt manufacturer and a chemist, to guide the book through to publication.⁸³ A scientist in his own right, Cay corresponded with like-minded scholars, including Dr James Jurin, Roger Gale and William Stukeley. He had assisted Alexander Gordon in his recent fieldwork,⁸⁴ and was recommended to William Stukeley at the time of the latter's visit to Hadrian's Wall in 1725.⁸⁵ At an ill-defined date he travelled with Horsley along Hadrian's Wall; later, Horsley asked him to revisit its line and check some details of its course.⁸⁶ Robert Cay was also intimately involved with the *History of Northumberland*, on which Horsley was working concurrently (below). From time to time they met up, as their respective schedules permitted.

Cay's considerable contribution to the monograph, which goes completely unacknowledged in its text, was greater than we might initially suppose. When Horsley was undecided whether the inscriptions (i.e. Part Two of *Britannia Romana*) should come first, followed by the

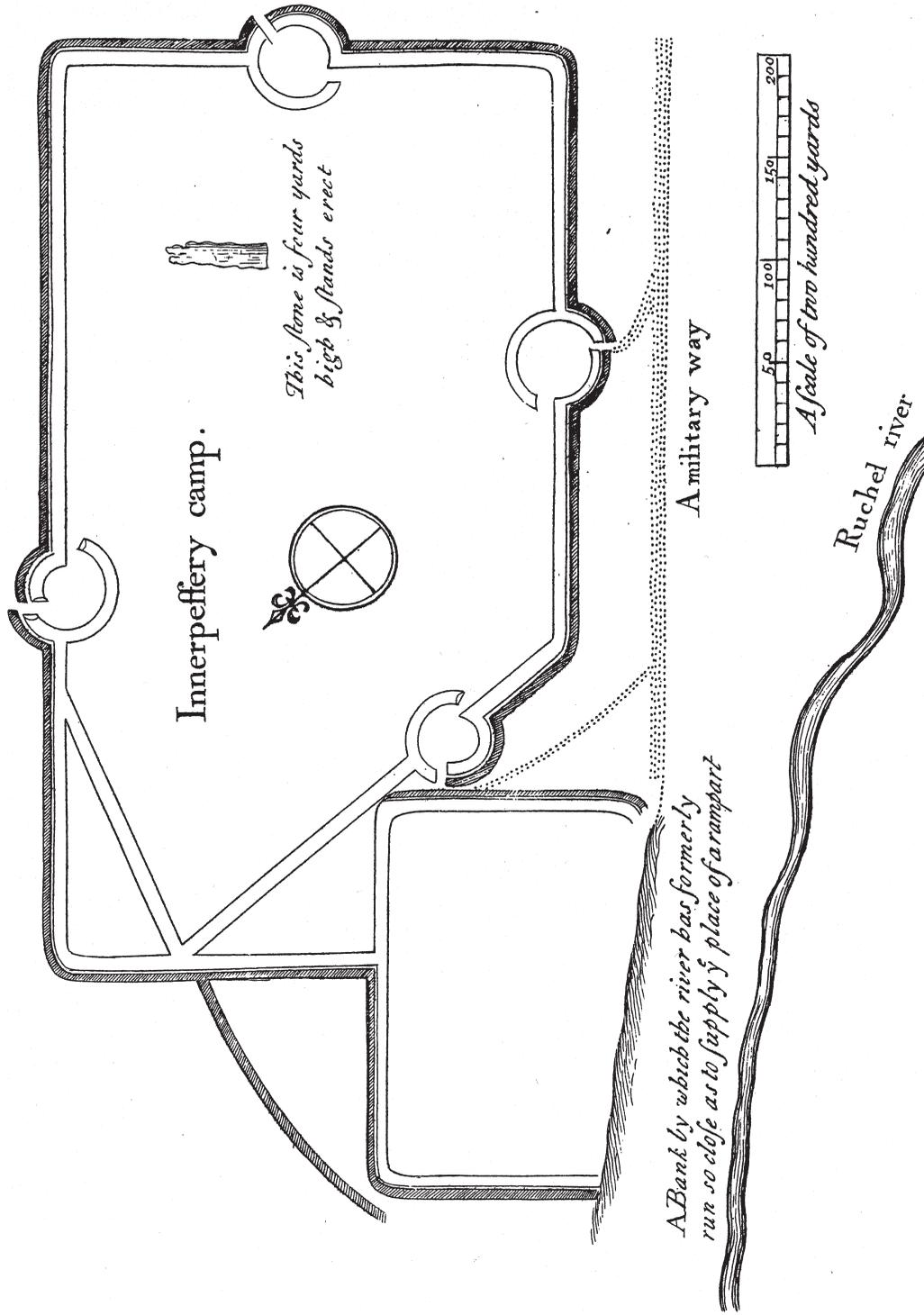


Fig. 9 Ground plan of the Roman fort and camp at Dalginross, Perthshire, as illustrated in Horsley's *Britannia Romana* (1732).

historical account (Part One), and whether the latter should itself precede or follow the account of the two Walls, he consulted Cay and accepted his advice.⁸⁷ With regard to one of the maps, Cay proposed a *modus operandi* with which Horsley was happy to agree.⁸⁸ In September 1729 he hoped, in a letter to Cay, 'that, if you fall fresh to the work, you will go far to complete it, upon the foundation I have laid; though in some places the foundation itself may need your helping hand a little.'⁸⁹

Surprisingly, Horsley seems not to have planned to include any maps of the Antonine Wall. In March 1730 we find him observing to Clerk that 'My friends at London (see below) seem to think an actual survey of your Wall in Scotland to be absolutely necessary. If they persist in the opinion, I shall be oblig'd to send one [map?] over immediately for that purpose, though I should have been better pleas'd if an agreement could have been made with Mr Gordon' (see below).⁹⁰ At an ill-defined date in 1731 he was intending, in a letter to Cay, to 'send you the Scotch maps by the next occasion if I have done with them. You may keep the profile of the walls.⁹¹ I wish you could find time to redraw the view of the walls etc, for I take it for granted Mr Mynde [the engraver] has lost what he had; and if you can redraw the sketch of the country near Widdrington,⁹² I beg you would . . . I would not miss sending these things away tomorrow, though they are not so perfect as wished by your humble servant John Horsley.'⁹³ A cross-section through the constituent elements of the Antonine Wall, which shows its rampart set on a five-course high stone base,⁹⁴ may be the work of Cay, since Horsley, who had viewed it in person,⁹⁵ would have known there was only one course. Cay was in my view also to blame for some errors on the maps, through a misunderstanding of Horsley's text, for example in the labelling of the site-plan of Dalginross as 'Innerpeffery,' the name by which the nearby fort at Strageath was then known (see fig. 9).⁹⁶ Further, the misplacing on two maps of the fort at Camelon behind rather than in front of the Antonine Wall could derive from Horsley's rather ambiguous text.⁹⁷ These errors were not subsequently corrected.

Robert Cay was asked several times to make visits, even to places at no great distance from Morpeth, to check readings of inscriptions recorded earlier by Horsley himself, and sometimes to make drawings or measure stones.⁹⁸ We find Horsley collating his own drawings with Cay's and others, including those of George Mark and Roger Gale, to ensure accuracy where the lettering was difficult to read. For example, knowing of an impending visit by Cay to Whitehaven, Cumbria, Horsley asked him to check the inscription on an altar at nearby Maryport,⁹⁹ observing that 'we differ in a letter or two from Mr Gordon, and I would be glad to be more fully ascertained which of us are in the right.'¹⁰⁰ An altar from Lanchester had been drawn by Horsley, by George Mark and by Robert Cay, with minor differences.¹⁰¹ Cay scrutinised the proofs of the book even before Horsley saw them, and was given considerable freedom to emend the text and to insert Horsley's addenda, as he saw fit.¹⁰² In an undated letter, Horsley asked Cay to send him over from Newcastle 'the Introduction to the Collection of Inscriptions . . . because I must send it up to London as soon as I can. If you can give it to Bates the Morpeth Carrier . . . and desire them to take a particular care of it, it will come very safe to me'.¹⁰³

Friends in London also looked over Horsley's manuscript text before printing; on one occasion they 'struck out the conjectures' on an inscription.¹⁰⁴ The moving force was John Ward, Professor of Rhetoric at Gresham College.¹⁰⁵ Ward sent Horsley numerous comments which were incorporated in the text, and endeavoured to check the wording of individual inscriptions.¹⁰⁶ Space was left in the page-numbering for Ward's 'letter to the author', which



Fig. 10 The Rudge Cup (RIB 2415.53), as illustrated in Horsley's *Britannia Romana* (1732).

detailed many of his revised readings,¹⁰⁷ however, as the space proved insufficient, some page-numbers had to be repeated.¹⁰⁸ Ward took a special interest in the geographical sources discussed in Part Three, contributing an essay on the medieval road-map known as the Peutinger Table, which was placed after the end of Horsley's text.¹⁰⁹ Another helper was Sir Richard Ellys of Nocton, Lincolnshire, to whom the volume was ultimately dedicated. Ellys was a book collector and biblical scholar, and a patron of Stukeley.¹¹⁰ Horsley, in the Preface, acknowledges Ellys' 'kind and early disposition to encourage this undertaking'.¹¹¹ He too was roped into the production process, being asked by Horsley to get a proof sheet back from the printer.¹¹²

Horsley did not himself view every stone: sometimes he relied on correspondents. Dr Christopher Hunter, the Durham antiquary, gave him details of an inscription on a small gold



Fig. 11 Distance slab from the Antonine Wall (RIB 2173), erected by the Twentieth Legion, Valeria Victrix, as illustrated in Horsley's *Britannia Romana* (1732).

plaque, which Horsley found, on examining it himself, 'to be very exact when I compared it with the original'.¹¹³ On a visit to London Horsley had called at Lord Hertford's house to inspect the newly found Rudge Cup, which named some of the forts on Hadrian's Wall in due sequence (fig. 10);¹¹⁴ Roger Gale subsequently supplied a drawing of it for use in the book.¹¹⁵ In December 1728 Horsley requested by post a drawing of the single stone at Aberdeen (fig. 11). As Professor Thomas Blackwell of Marischal College, Aberdeen, observed to Clerk in December 1728, 'He has sent to this College to have our Stone drawn anew with the Height, Breadth and Distance of every Letter etc'.¹¹⁶ But for this letter we should have supposed that Horsley or his legman George Mark had journeyed to Aberdeen, to examine and draw it personally, as Sir George Macdonald assumed.¹¹⁷ Even Sir John Clerk was pressed into service. In March 1730 Horsley asked him if he would check the readings on the milestone from Ingliston, West Lothian (see above), then in the library of Edinburgh University,¹¹⁸ and, separately, on a stone at Cramond west of Edinburgh, on the family estate of Clerk's wife.¹¹⁹

JOHN HORSLEY AND ALEXANDER GORDON

The hostile attitude of Alexander Gordon to his project forms a backdrop to Horsley's researches in these years. The Clerk letters add further details. Already by June 1727 Horsley was confiding to Robert Cay: 'I beg the favour of you not to take notice to any body and particularly not to Mr Gordon of my being busy about anything of this nature.'¹²⁰ As Professor Thomas Blackwell of Marischal College, Aberdeen, remarked about Gordon in his letter to Sir John Clerk dated 17 December 1728, 'There's still another mortification abiding him,¹²¹ viz. that some person, an Englishman I'm told, now at Ed[inburgh], is resolving to publish the brittish antiquities after a more accurate manner than hitherto has been done.'¹²²

Though the earliest direct contact between Horsley and Sir John Clerk belongs in November 1728 (above), they had been in correspondence some months earlier when Alexander Gordon, in London, received from Clerk a drawing sent to the latter by Horsley. It showed the fort and camp at Dalginross, Perthshire, already referred to. We can gauge the tone of Horsley's covering letter to Clerk from Gordon's explosive reaction to it. In modern parlance he went ballistic. 'As for Mr Horsley's design to correct my Errours, he's welcome when he can, but by the specimen of his draught and his discription thereof I find I've little to apprehend from such an adversarie; for in the design you sent me there is neither drawing, symetry or resemblance of a Roman camp and as like the thing itself as a Camp's like a Gown and Cassock; and as my word with the world will be as soon taken as Mr Horsley's, I conceive he'd better apply to the Antiquities of the Gosple than those among us in Scotland. In fine he gives me no ombrage or uneasiness being conscious of the pains I've taken ... By the by his triangular spaces are modern fold dykes within the Castrum for the convenience of their Cattle.¹²³ Nor could the sally he speaks of from the little Camp be on that side unless the Ennemie had attack'd them sweeming in the river.'¹²⁴

In another letter to Clerk, a few weeks later, Gordon resumed his tirade. 'As for Horsley I veryly believe the Poor Priest is crasey and I thank you for the answer you made his copie of things. I think without vanity your saying to him is just, which perhaps too late he'll find.' Clerk must therefore have copied to Gordon his reply to Horsley, or alluded to it. 'As for his obelisk of 4 yards high, I saw it and did not think it worthwhile to mention so shapeless a bare a Stone to the Publick,¹²⁵ we having hunders and thousands in Scotland more shapely and large than that and not deserving to trouble the world with them, which prove nothing, are of no use, as indeed many cairns have you near Pennecuik larger than his senseless tumulus.¹²⁶ You may be sure I look'd at them and despised them, as every body will his descriptions of such tryffles. For myself I have no scruple in my mind about the veracity of Everything I have asserted in my book and I laugh at his second Gleanings of the harvest I've reapt, and I remit all to time.'¹²⁷ Gordon was particularly incensed because he had included in the *Itinerarium Septentrionale* a plan of Dalginross after his own visit to it (fig. 12).¹²⁸ 'One thing I must observe that his saying [presumably in the covering letter to Clerk] that I took no notice and spent no time at Galgacan camp,¹²⁹ this I say is false and a bad way for him to set out in his new Project with so barefaced an untruth, for from 10 in the morning I was there till 5 at the afternoon. Indeed I was chased away by rain but my whole work was over as every body knows who saw me on the spot.' This passage offers an insight into Gordon's methods. 'In fine I take Mr Horsley's Antiquarien Affairs to be like the crackling of thorns under a Pot:¹³⁰ vox et praeterea nihil.¹³¹ You'll find it so in the End mind what I say. It was easey for other People to sail to America after Columbus found it out.'¹³²

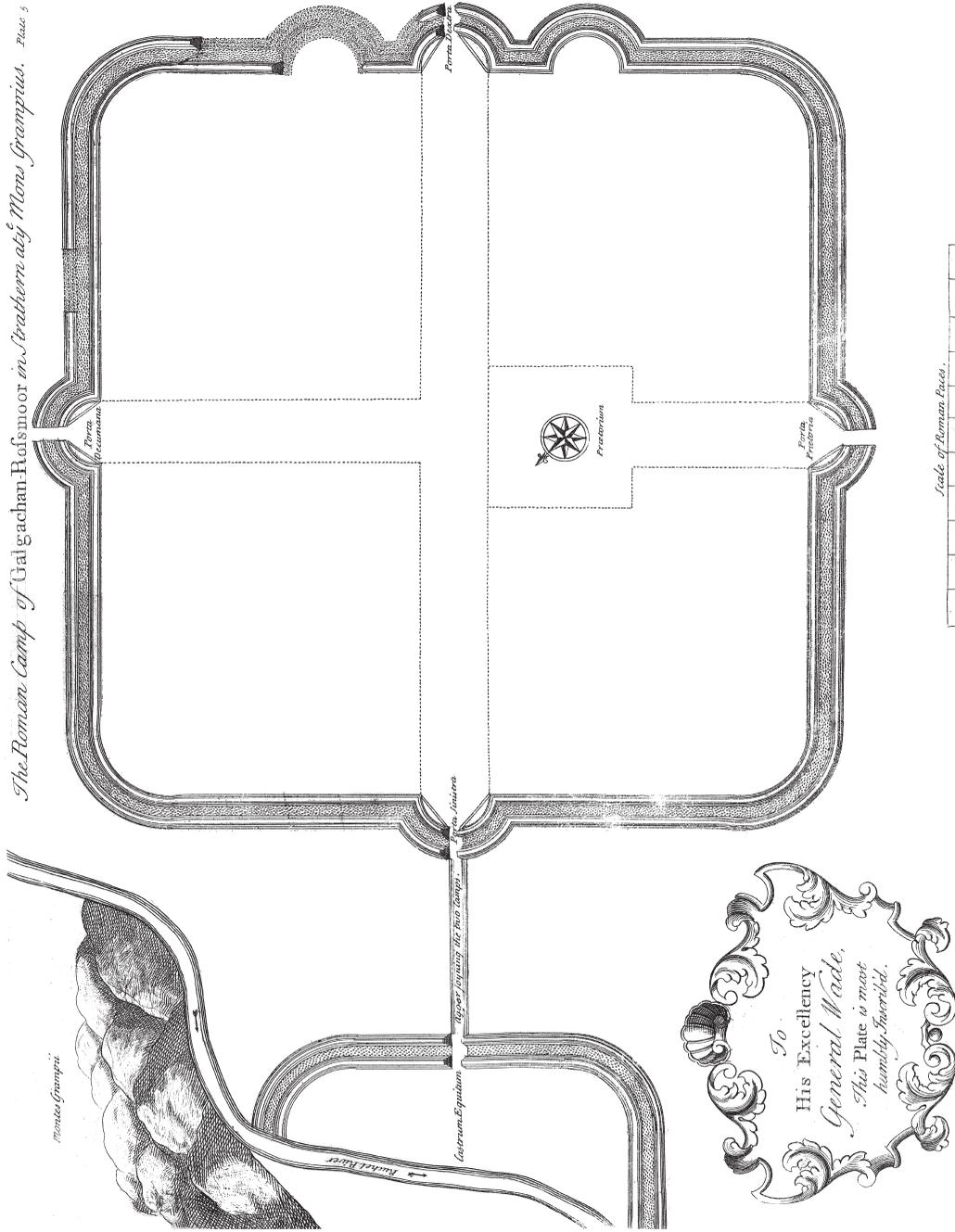


Fig. 12 Ground plan of the Roman fort and camp at Dalginross, Perthshire, as illustrated in Alexander Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale* (1726).

The subject of Alexander Gordon surely came up in the conversation Horsley had with Clerk at Penicuik in November 1728. Clerk may have suggested that they work together, to no avail, as we can see from a letter to him from Gordon sent a few weeks later on 11 February 1729. 'What regards Mr. Horsley I never have seen or heard from him and my plates I sold off to a bookseller who is translating my *Itinerarium* into French . . . for my share I can not for my life comprehend what Horsley can say more than I have said on our Antiquities, or differ from me in the reading them unless he differ from common sense. As for the pretending to correct my Mensurations or the like I still insist on it. My word will go as far for truth in the world as Mr. Horsley's. In fine I cannot enter into the notion of his Interprize, but shall defend my self as well as I can, for others inform me that he gives out that he differs from me very widely. Let us see what a production this parturient montes will give us.¹³³ For I'm sure 10 years travel will not be sufficient to describe the whole Antiquities of G[reat] Britain.'¹³⁴ Clearly news of Horsley's enterprise was circulating among Gordon's correspondents. As an edition of his *Itinerarium* in French is not otherwise heard of, I suppose here that Gordon was being deliberately obstructive, claiming to have sold the copper plates (from which illustrations in the book had been made), so that Horsley could not have the benefit of them.¹³⁵

Something of the conversation between Horsley and Clerk at Penicuik can also be reconstructed from the letter Clerk wrote to Professor Matthew Crawford at Edinburgh University on 6 January 1729, soon after Horsley's visit: 'All the favour I desire of him is to be discreet to poor Mr Gordon if he thinks he has mistaken any thing . . . This gentleman has done better than any body who went before him and indeed considering his education he has done much better than anyone cou'd expect. Mr Horsley will not I hope differ with him about trifles, tho' most of the disputes that happen between Criticks and Antiquaries are of this kind.'¹³⁶ The implication is that Horsley in conversation with Clerk had been severe on Gordon's deficiencies.

There was clearly a history of ill-feeling. In a letter of 15 March 1729 to Stukeley, Horsley affirmed that 'As for Gordon, and his friend Mr Goodman, I shall act a just and generous part to them; but I know them both too well to suffer myself to be insulted or bullied by either.'¹³⁷ This presupposes some contact, though there remains no absolute proof that Horsley and Gordon ever actually met. Richard Goodman, a Cumbrian landowner and Keeper of Carlisle Gaol, is described by Gordon in print as 'that very worthy and ingenious Gentleman . . . on whose Judgement I could rely, being both a skilful and indefatigable Antiquary.'¹³⁸ Goodman had met Stukeley and Gale on their tour of Hadrian's Wall in 1725.¹³⁹ Coins found by Goodman at Burnswark, in Dumfriesshire, which Gordon illustrated in his book, were exhibited on his behalf at the Society of Antiquaries in London.¹⁴⁰ In a letter to Roger Gale, Goodman wrote in January 1728 that 'one Mr Horsley' had asked for details about an inscription from Castlesteads on Hadrian's Wall; Goodman read its text differently.¹⁴¹ Gordon's anxieties bubbled away. 'As for Mr Horsley's Leviathen', he wrote in June 1731, 'it has not shoven its head as yet, but I am prepared to deffend my system of antiquity nor will I yield to any thing but truth'.¹⁴² Early in 1732 Gordon published a brief supplement to the *Itinerarium*, which appeared shortly before the *Britannia Romana*; no mention is made of Horsley in it.¹⁴³ In print, Horsley acknowledged information he took from Gordon, criticising the latter's many inaccuracies in the drawing of inscriptions and the interpretation of them (see below).¹⁴⁴ The accounts of the two Walls suggest that Horsley had a copy of the *Itinerarium* beside him as he wrote.¹⁴⁵

LAST-MINUTE DISCOVERIES

In an experience endured by the author of many an intended comprehensive coverage of material, Horsley kept learning of more inscribed stones as he attempted to finalise his text. Some were added at the end of each section; many others were included in his lengthy and detailed Preface as addenda. Some extra plates had to be engraved, and some existing ones altered.¹⁴⁶

In 1729–30 a number of altars were turned up at High Rochester, Northumberland (which Horsley calls Riechester), at a time when part of the fort-site was being turned into a garden. Horsley was able to remove the stones to his house at Morpeth (see below). In August 1731 Sir John Clerk himself discovered new inscriptions and sculptures at the fort of Birrens, Dumfriesshire, which he carried off forthwith to Penicuik.¹⁴⁷ In the summer of 1731 inscriptions and sculptures were recovered from an enigmatic stone structure set in the hollow of the Antonine Wall's broad ditch at Shirva, near Kirkintilloch, which has been interpreted, surely correctly, as a souterrain of immediately post-Roman date.¹⁴⁸ Horsley was kept informed by correspondents, but grew increasingly exasperated at his failure to obtain drawings for his book.¹⁴⁹ He was willing 'to be at any expence to procure a copy which may be relied on',¹⁵⁰ and even considered sending 'a messenger on purpose to Glasgow.'¹⁵¹

Horsley was able to acquire for himself inscribed stones from High Rochester and other sites, which he had delivered to his house at Morpeth for convenient inspection.¹⁵² One stone from Lanchester, County Durham, was in two pieces, which Horsley was thus able to compare at his leisure and establish the correct readings (fig. 13).¹⁵³ By the time that he wrote up



Fig. 13 Broken altar to Jupiter from Lanchester, County Durham (RIB 1076), erected by centurions of cohorts I Vardullorum, as illustrated in Horsley's *Britannia Romana* (1732). Horsley was able to examine the two parts together at his house in Morpeth.

his account of them in the book, the collection at Morpeth numbered about 20 stones, mostly from Northumberland.¹⁵⁴ He refers to the expense involved in securing them.¹⁵⁵ In a letter to Clerk in January 1731 he hoped 'in a little time to find an opportunity of making a present of them to your Lordship,'¹⁵⁶ recognising the importance of the latter's collection at Penicuik. But his death supervened.

PASTORAL DUTIES AND SCHOOLMASTERING

Horsley did not neglect his pastoral duties in and around Morpeth.¹⁵⁷ In February 1729 we find him preaching at Birdhope Craig near High Rochester.¹⁵⁸ In December 1729 he travelled to Alnwick to deliver a funeral sermon for Dr Jonathan Harle, his predecessor in the charge at Morpeth.¹⁵⁹ The subject of the sermon was human vanity, a topic which finds an echo in the Preface to the *Britannia Romana*.¹⁶⁰

Something of Horsley's life as a schoolmaster also emerges from his correspondence.¹⁶¹ In the summer of 1728 he was accompanied to southwest England and to London by a 'Master Hall,' hailing from a prominent Otterburn family and likely to have been a pupil.¹⁶² In October 1729 Horsley employed the same person, now a student at Edinburgh, as a courier to convey proofs of the Scottish plates of his book to Sir John Clerk at Penicuik.¹⁶³ In February 1731 we learn of a young man recommended by Sir John Clerk to Horsley, who was clearly a potential pupil for his school at Morpeth. 'He shall on your Lordship's recommendation be very welcome to the best entertainment we have and to all the assistance I can give him in any part of learning. The generality of people here speak the English tongue but very indifferently, but I shall be ready to do him what service I can in that matter, if it be thought proper to send him here'.¹⁶⁴

A PROFESSORSHIP AT EDINBURGH

One subject which looms large in the Clerk letters is the possibility that Horsley might leave Morpeth for Edinburgh to take up a professorship at its University. The first intimation comes in October 1729 when Sir John Clerk hinted at the prospect of a post there.¹⁶⁵ Though Horsley in his letters does not specify which professorship was being discussed, the chair of Divinity is much the most likely. This was a time when William Hamilton, the then Professor of Divinity (above), was shortly to become Principal and the future of the professorship itself was unclear. In fact Hamilton held both posts simultaneously until his death in 1732, thus increasing his annual income. Horsley confesses that a university professorship would have been 'a situation highly agreeable to me . . . There was once a scheme mentiond by one or two' for 'a sort of titular professorship . . . but that was dropped or neglected. . . . I must look upon myself as past my prime; so I have reconciled myself to this corner and to a state of obscurity . . . If I have anything that's valuable (either as to Religion or Learning), it is owing under God to the foundation that was laid when I was there' (i.e. at Edinburgh University).¹⁶⁶

In May 1731 the subject of an academic post recurred in the correspondence, after Horsley had learned, perhaps on a visit he had made recently to Edinburgh,¹⁶⁷ that the Professor of Hebrew had died.¹⁶⁸ He had 'heard of a design of annexing that professorship to Mr Hamilton. I would by no means consent that my friends should interfere with him, or scarce with any other person. It is a post that would be very agreeable, if it came easy; if not, I shall be easy without it'. He reminded Clerk that he had 'studied at that seat of learning for seven

years with great application. The little rust I have contracted, I could easily rub off in a month or two'.¹⁶⁹ To offset what he expected would be a drop in annual income if he took up such a post, he proposed to 'keep boarders who were students and to assist them privately in their several studies,' something which was quite normal for the times.¹⁷⁰ In another letter he pondered whether he could 'be useful to the university in other respects and to help out any defect in the salary by some other methods,' i.e. for money.¹⁷¹

The intrigues at Edinburgh University at this time are well documented. William Hamilton, who had already contrived to combine the Principalship with the chair of Divinity (see above), was hoping also to become Professor of Hebrew, i.e. to have the salaries of all three posts. At the same time Matthew Crawford, Professor of Church History since 1722, and a correspondent of Horsley (see above), was scheming to combine the chair of Hebrew with his own.¹⁷² Horsley was anxious not to become embroiled in this professorial politicking. Nevertheless, though he repeatedly stresses his inadequacies, he was evidently keen to accept such a post if offered and had discussed, with person or persons unknown at Edinburgh, the likely salary, which was £85, a sum which we can conclude was less than his annual income at Morpeth.¹⁷³ By August 1731 the possibility was growing 'more and more doubtful and obscure'.¹⁷⁴

LORD ILAY'S FAVOUR

From a letter of Sir John Clerk to Roger Gale in 1735, we have long known that Archibald Campbell, Lord Ilay, at this time Scotland's most influential politician and later the 3rd Duke of Argyll,¹⁷⁵ 'had a particular regard for Mr Horsley ... and was positively resolved to have done him service about the time when he died.'¹⁷⁶ Lord Ilay took a special interest in the teaching at the Scottish universities, and was active in promoting suitable candidates for professorships there.¹⁷⁷ The development of banking in Scotland was another preoccupation. In 1727 he became the first Governor of the newly established Royal Bank of Scotland; his portrait currently (2013) appears on its banknotes.

Lord Ilay's name first crops up in a letter of October 1729.¹⁷⁸ Sir John Clerk, a coeval and friend, seems to have advised Horsley obtaining his support, almost certainly in relation to the professorship at Edinburgh, since the latter topic, mooted by Clerk, begins to feature in the letters at much the same time. Lord Ilay passed through Morpeth on a regular basis; Horsley was lucky that the town lay on the main north-south route from Edinburgh to Newcastle and London.

The Clerk letters illustrate the extent of contacts between the two men. Horsley's first attempt at a meeting ended in failure: in October 1729 Lord Ilay 'baited'¹⁷⁹ at the Queen's Head (the posthouse) in Morpeth, 'and so went on to Newcastle after dinner'; Horsley had presented his compliments, together with a letter from Clerk, but to no avail. 'I went the moment the prayer came, but the coach was just gone.' Horsley was concerned that he might have missed his chance to make a good impression, or even inadvertently offended the great man.¹⁸⁰ In March 1730 he was again unsuccessful in making contact. Mrs Smith, the post-mistress, counselled Horsley to wait upon him, presumably from conversation with Lord Ilay at the posthouse where his carriage had stopped and he would have eaten.¹⁸¹ The next month we find Clerk urging Horsley to get 'introduced to him'.¹⁸²

In August 1731 Horsley at last succeeded in having an hour's conversation with Lord Ilay, presumably again during a stopover in Morpeth. In true gentlemanly fashion neither

mentioned the possible job at Edinburgh.¹⁸³ However, friendly association was now established.¹⁸⁴ By October 1731, though the prospect of a professorship had receded (above), Horsley could observe to Clerk that 'My Lord Ila [*sic*] may perhaps find an opportunity of doing me a service one way or other. However I am much obliged to him for his friendly disposition, and to your Lordship for your hearty recommendation of me to him.'¹⁸⁵

HORSLEY'S FINANCES

It has been customary to regard Horsley as relatively well-off financially.¹⁸⁶ Certainly he did not seek out subscribers for the book, which he seems to have published at his own expense.¹⁸⁷ However we need to separate his annual income from any heritable wealth. The former derived principally from his school and from scientific lecturing; the post as minister yielded, we are told by one source, 'but thirty pound or therby.'¹⁸⁸ It was customary in those times for a Nonconformist minister to have a secondary occupation: Horsley's predecessor at Morpeth had practised as a doctor.¹⁸⁹

Horsley is said by a later commentator to have 'died possessed of a good fortune'.¹⁹⁰ However, the Clerk letters indicate that he was far from financially comfortable, or if he once had been, by the late 1720s the expenses involved in fieldwork and the preparation of the book had drained him of money. We have already seen that he was concerned that a move to Edinburgh University could entail a drop in annual income, surprisingly as we might think nowadays.

Horsley writes in his Preface that 'the expences of the bookseller, and my own time and labour, are fully triple our first computation.'¹⁹¹ Clerk, the comfortably-off landowner, had observed condescendingly that the 'poor man writes for bread' (above). Perhaps also linked to his precarious financial position was an extensive series of lectures on scientific subjects which he had given at Morpeth in May 1731 and was to give again at Morpeth and in Newcastle in December 1731 and January 1732.¹⁹² Horsley refers in his correspondence and in the Preface of the book to his work as both 'tedious' and 'expensive'.¹⁹³ By September 1729 he was 'quite wearied out'.¹⁹⁴ In May 1731 he thanked Clerk for 'your tenderness and concern for me.'¹⁹⁵ Perhaps it was the state of his health which led him to delegate the task increasingly to Robert Cay and others. He laboured assiduously to complete the book, writing confidently to Clerk in August 1731 that the 'whole affair will now in a little time be brought to a conclusion',¹⁹⁶ and in December that 'we are pushing all forward with what expedition we can'.¹⁹⁷

DEATH AND AFTER

Horsley, as we have seen, died suddenly on 12 January 1732.¹⁹⁸ As a later commentator put it, he fell 'a victim to his labours in the cause of science'.¹⁹⁹ The book appeared at the end of March 1732, the price set at 40 shillings or two guineas.²⁰⁰ It was advertised in the press and sold by John Osborn and Thomas Longman at the sign of 'The Ship' in Pater-Noster Row, London.²⁰¹ Horsley had earlier expressed the opinion that 'those who buy first will be cheapest.' Some copies on 'superfine paper' would cost more. Horsley had hoped to have 'a small number of copies to dispose of among my friends in the north as some satisfaction of my labour and part of my expences.'²⁰² Quite clearly these were not to be distributed 'gratis' but would have to be paid for.

The volume was warmly received in all quarters, except one. Roger Gale, in a letter to Clerk sent on 15 April, reported to him that 'Mr Horsley's book is now publisht, and meets with a very good reception, except from Mr Gordon, who has no patience with it. He came two nights ago to me [in London], to have a view of it. We turned it over onely among the plates, with which he found fault in every page, tho' much better done than his own; some were exactly like his and therefore stolen from his designs, others were not true drawn to the rules of art; and in some the letters were wrong, either too big or too little; in short nothing as it should be, and he did not doubt but he should discover as many faults in the book itself. I did what I could too make him easy. I told him that if they had taken the draughts truly, their copys must of necessity be exactly alike.²⁰³ Gordon believed that some of the drawings had been 'stolen' from his *Additions and Corrections to the Itinerarium Septentrionale*, published early in 1732; but Gale 'convinced him of its impossibility, poor Mr Horsley having been dead some weeks before his Supplement came into the world'. Gale impressed on Gordon that 'wherever Mr Horsley dissented from him . . . it was with all the good manners and civility imaginable, and therefore advised him by no means to raise up a controversy, as you have most justly called it, de lanâ caprinâ.²⁰⁴ I think he hardly parted friends with me.' The drawings in question were of recent finds made at Birrens, Dumfriesshire (above), copies of which Clerk had sent to *both* Gordon and Horsley.²⁰⁵

Subsequent letters to Clerk illustrate the winding up of Horsley's affairs, and the continuing role of Robert Cay in Newcastle. On 28 March 1732, his eldest daughter Mary Horsley contacted Sir John Clerk at Penicuik regarding the book, which 'will be publish'd this Week'.²⁰⁶ In which format would he like a copy? Horsley's collection of scientific apparatus and his books were quickly sold off.²⁰⁷ In the following year his house was advertised for renting.²⁰⁸

Horsley had at least eight children, of whom two died before him.²⁰⁹ The size of his family was a factor in his hopes of a 'return' from the *Britannia Romana*, and doubtless when pondering whether to apply for a professorship at Edinburgh. According to Professor John Ward, his death was 'a deplorable calamity to his numerous family.'²¹⁰ Robert Cay in Newcastle sought to sell copies of the book to benefit them.²¹¹

Another matter which required attention was Horsley's earlier proposal that he present the numerous inscribed stones assembled at his house in Morpeth to Sir John Clerk for his collection at Penicuik, something which must have been known to his family. Mary Horsley, his widow, wished to proceed with the arrangement, but clearly some payment was now being sought, reflecting the family's financial plight. As Robert Cay wrote to Clerk on 22 August 1732, 'I understand The Widow is very willing to refer herself to you, for what you may think fit to give her for the Stones'. There were also the costs of shipping them northwards to Leith, the port of Edinburgh.²¹² We next find the stones in the Cathedral Library at Durham, so that it can easily be supposed they that went there through the intervention of local antiquary Dr Christopher Hunter (above).²¹³ Sir John Clerk sent a letter of condolence to the widow.²¹⁴ Sir Richard Ellys, to whom the volume had been dedicated, made her a 'present' of 30 guineas.²¹⁵

Lord Ilay's favour (already referred to) had another strand, which perhaps arose from his meeting with Horsley at Morpeth. On 23 September 1732 Horsley's widow wrote to Clerk regarding 'a promise that was last year made by Lord Islay [*sic*] to my Son, of settling somewhat upon him as a support to the Family till he was of Age to take the Charge of a Post, he being then under Fifteen.' The question was how to get the promise fulfilled. 'The numerous

family I have now to provide for made me the more readily consent' to approaching Lord Ilay, as her friends had suggested.²¹⁶ Whether Lord Ilay did fulfil his promise is unknown — perhaps not, since Horsley's sole surviving son, George Horsley, born in 1717, was apprenticed later in the year to his brother-in-law, Samuel Hallowell, a barber-surgeon in Newcastle.²¹⁷

We tend to suppose that Horsley was in the later 1720s totally preoccupied with completing the *Britannia Romana*. But in fact he was at the same time working on his *History of Northumberland*, on which Robert Cay and George Mark were also engaged; the two projects are sometimes mentioned, at times a little confusingly for us, in the same letters. Extensive travelling lay behind its compilation. Edited for publication by John Hodgson Hinde, the incomplete text contains much of interest, including on Roman sites in the county, and drew on Horsley's manuscript essay on 'Barrows and other Tumuli' (above).²¹⁸ The associated map achieved publication in 1753, when it was issued by Robert Cay in tandem with a comprehensive listing of the place-names on it, with the intention of benefitting Horsley's family.²¹⁹ The gathering of information about Roman Britain and debate about the meaning of epigraphic texts were not brought to a halt by Horsley's death. We find his correspondents continuing to discuss readings on known stones, even disagreeing with Horsley, and sharing information on new discoveries.²²⁰

In December 1763 Horsley's son-in-law, a Mr Randall,²²¹ wrote to the Society of Antiquaries of London regarding the copper plates from the *Britannia Romana*. Could the Society 'assist in disposing of them', in aid of Horsley's family who 'never received any benefit from the great and expensive work, and have been under the necessity of supporting themselves by their own Industry.' The Society declined to become involved, arguing that there was no prospect of a 'new impression' of it.²²² At one time they were offered to Dr Andrew Gifford, numismatist and under-librarian at the British Museum; in 1784 they were melted down.²²³

CONCLUSION

Horsley's correspondence charts the slow progress towards publication, as well as his determination to ensure accurate readings of very worn inscriptions. Neither Hadrian's Wall nor the Antonine Wall feature in the letters of 1729–31 to Sir John Clerk; Horsley had long since finished his fieldwork along them. Nowadays we look at the *Britannia Romana* for its accounts of the two Walls. However, it is clear that Horsley saw the assemblage of the province's corpus of inscriptions as its chief merit and accomplishment. We can also observe the extensive research which lay behind the detailed maps of Roman Britain, and the extent to which Horsley delegated arrangements to Robert Cay and John Ward. The mammoth task manifestly took its toll on Horsley, both physically and financially. There is more evidence too of the fractious relationship between him and Alexander Gordon, who felt the ground being cut from under him. Gordon's apprehension that his *Itinerarium Septentrionale* would soon be overshadowed was certainly justified. Horsley's monograph has stood the test of time and been consistently applauded for its scholarship.²²⁴

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NOTES

¹ Letter from Professor John Ward to Bishop Mordecai Cary, 24 April 1732 (*Notes & Queries*, 9, no. 220 (1854), 28; cited by Hodgson 1918, 67).

² Information from Dr John H. Reid, Borders General Hospital, Galashiels.

³ Lukis 1885, 407. The Preface cites the *Daily Courant* of 23 November 1731. The book's dedication to Sir Richard Ellys is dated 2 January 1732.

⁴ On his life and career, see especially, Hodgson 1831; Hodgson 1832; 443; Hodgson Hinde 1865; Tate 1865; Hodgson 1918; Macdonald 1933; Bosanquet 1933; Birley 1958; Birley 1974; Levine 1991, 389; Haycock 2004.

⁵ He was among those *Supervenientes Anno 2do* ('coming up in the second year') in 1698 (Edinburgh University Library, Centre for Research Collections, EUA.IN1/ADS/STA/2/1, p. 159).

⁶ Dalzel 1862, 306; Grant 1884, 263; Anderson, Lynch and Phillipson 2003, 22, 60.

⁷ NRS GD18/5038/10.

⁸ Calamy 1829, 148; Hodgson 1918, 62; Macdonald 1933, 11. He was successor in the charge to his friend and relation Dr Jonathan Harle who had transferred to Alnwick. Many of Horsley's friends and associates in the preparation of the book were likewise Nonconformists.

⁹ Hodgson Hinde 1865, 179. The house was rented. In February 1725 a study was built on by his landlord, at Horsley's request (Royal Society, *Early Letters* H.3.106; see Hepple 2003, 163).

¹⁰ Macdonald 1933, 15; Hepple 2006.

¹¹ His proposers were Dr James Jurin, Roger Gale, William Rutty and John Eames (Royal Society Records). But for his early death, Horsley would doubtless have also become a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

¹² Horsley 1720; 1743.

¹³ Horsley 1723; Hepple 2003.

¹⁴ Horsley 1708; 1710; 1729; 1730. See also Macdonald 1933, 14.

¹⁵ Macdonald 1933; Collingwood 1938; Stevens 1948; Birley 1958; Steer 1964; Gillam 1974; Dobson 1986; Baatz 1997.

¹⁶ These letters are now held at Northumberland County Archives, Woodhorn.

¹⁷ Rusnock 1996, 522; Hepple 2003. The correspondence dealt with meteorological, medical and scientific matters.

¹⁸ Brown 1977; Brown 1980; Mitchison 2004.

¹⁹ Gordon 1726. Brown 2004; Brown 2011.

²⁰ NRS GD18/5024/1, 5024/3. Keppie 2012, 72; Keppie 2014.

²¹ Macdonald 1917, 178; Jones 2011, 171.

²² St Joseph 1958, 88.

²³ NRS GD18/2106; cf. Clerk 1892, 117; Birley 1962.

²⁴ The stones were presented to the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh, by Sir George Clerk, 6th baronet, in 1857 (Clerk 1860).

²⁵ For the total, see also NRS GD18/5038/9; Horsley 1732, 177.

²⁶ Bosanquet 1933, 74 published the text of this letter. The phraseology used matches the title page of Horsley's book.

²⁷ NRS GD18/5034; Horsley 1732, i, 211.

²⁸ Horsley 1869.

²⁹ EUL MS La.II.49; Piggott and Robertson 1977, no. 29.

³⁰ Horsley 1732, 197.

³¹ Royal Society, *Early Letters* H.3.109; Hepple 2003, 163. Robert Simson was embarrassed because he had failed in a promise to provide Jurin with rain measurements taken at Glasgow.

³² Wellcome MS 6146; Rusnock 1996, 323 no. 174; Hepple 2003, 163.

³³ Wodrow 1843, vol. III, 255. Wodrow was at this time under the impression that Horsley taught at a school near Penrith; but later he correctly located him in Northumberland.

³⁴ Stewart 2004. Wishart was the son of the Principal of Edinburgh University, and himself Principal from 1737.

³⁵ UGAS, The University of Glasgow Archive, GUA 26634, p. 162; see also Coutts 1909, 196. The University established a chair of Natural Philosophy soon after.

³⁶ Wodrow 1843, vol. III, 256. Wodrow means a 'subscriber' to the Westminster Confession of Faith (1646), on which see Ferguson 1993.

³⁷ For Horsley's account of Hadrian's Wall see now Hingley 2012, 108.

³⁸ Horsley 1732, 198; Keppie 1998, 15.

³⁹ Lukis 1885, 94. *cf.* Horsley 1869, 13.

⁴⁰ Hodgson 1831, 119, no. 9.

⁴¹ Whitley 2004. Horsley's other correspondents at Edinburgh included Robert Stewart, Professor of Natural Philosophy (physics), and Colin Maclaurin, Professor of Mathematics. For his 'friends' at Edinburgh see below.

⁴² Clerk was a Baron of the Exchequer in Scotland.

⁴³ NRS GD18/5034. Hamilton would, he wrote, have accompanied Horsley to Penicuik, but couldn't leave town.

⁴⁴ GD 18/5038/1; Clerk 1710; 1731; Gordon 1726, 117, pl. 50.14–15; see also Brown 2012, 521. The *stylus* is now interpreted as a surgical instrument. In February 1731 Clerk sent Horsley a copy of his newly published monograph on *styli* (Clerk 1731); see NRS GD18/5038/8.

⁴⁵ NRS GD18/5035.

⁴⁶ NRS GD18/5033.

⁴⁷ Lukis 1885, 390. For the 'meeting house', see above.

⁴⁸ Horsley 1732, i.

⁴⁹ Hodgson 1831, 118, no. 8.

⁵⁰ Hodgson 1831, 122, no. 10. The bookseller John Osborn was Horsley's publisher in London.

⁵¹ Nichols 1817, 803; Birley 1958, 45.

⁵² NRS GD18/5038/5.

⁵³ Royal Society Records.

⁵⁴ NRS GD18/5038/1, 5038/6, 5038/8, 5038/11.

⁵⁵ Lukis 1885, 256; *cf.* Lukis 1883, 137.

⁵⁶ Horsley 1732, i, vi.

⁵⁷ NRS GD18/5038/13.

⁵⁸ Hodgson 1831, 124 no. 11.

⁵⁹ Bosanquet 1933, 74.

⁶⁰ NRS GD18/5038/8.

⁶¹ NRS GD18/5038/12.

⁶² Hodgson 1831, 29.

⁶³ Horsley 1732, i.

⁶⁴ NRS GD18/5038/1.

⁶⁵ NRS GD18/5038/1.

- ⁶⁶ *RIB* 1272 with the editors' commentary ad loc. See also NRS GD18/5038/6, 5038/7, 5038/8; Horsley 1732, 241–2, pl. (*Northumberland*) xciv, δ. In the end he accepted Gale's readings and interpretation.
- ⁶⁷ Lukis 1885, 99; Horsley 1732, xii fn, 203, pl. (*Scotland*) xxv (*RIB* 2313).
- ⁶⁸ NRS GD18/5038/4, 5038/5; Lukis 1885, 397.
- ⁶⁹ *RIB* 1129. See Lukis 1885, 96.
- ⁷⁰ *RIB* 1072. See NRS GD18/5038/5; Horsley 1732, xi, 293, pl. (*Durham*) xxv.
- ⁷¹ Horsley 1732, i.
- ⁷² Hodgson 1918, 77; hence Collingwood 1938, 3.
- ⁷³ Hodgson 1831, 41.
- ⁷⁴ Hodgson 1831, 119, no. 9. For the Roman site at Clyro, otherwise not reported till the nineteenth century, see Burnham and Davies 2010, 238.
- ⁷⁵ Hodgson 1831, 118 no. 8, 119 no. 9.
- ⁷⁶ Horsley 1732, 121, 160; see also Roy 1793, 155. The impecunious Alexander Gordon did his own drawings of stones and the surveying of sites.
- ⁷⁷ Horsley 1732, at p. 113.
- ⁷⁸ Horsley 1732, at p. 44. For plans of these two sites see Woolliscroft and Hoffmann 2006, 51, fig. 16; 97, fig. 38, and for the latter see also Jones 2011, 179.
- ⁷⁹ Macdonald 1933, 21.
- ⁸⁰ Department of Archaeology, Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey.
- ⁸¹ The plan is dated 1727. Mark's name is on the back of the drawing, but it has been scored through, presumably to make it harder for Gordon to identify the draughtsman. Dr Bennett hopes to publish the drawing in due course; it is mentioned here with his permission.
- ⁸² For the syllabus offered at his school in Newcastle; see Hodgson 1918, 78; Robinson 1970.
- ⁸³ On Cay's family background see Horsley 1869, 36; Bosanquet 1933, 67.
- ⁸⁴ Hodgson 1831, 16.
- ⁸⁵ Macdonald 1933, 17.
- ⁸⁶ Hodgson 1831, 115, no. 6. See Birley 1958, 10.
- ⁸⁷ Hodgson 1831, 113, no. 5.
- ⁸⁸ Hodgson 1831, 97, no. 1.
- ⁸⁹ Hodgson 1831, 124, no. 11.
- ⁹⁰ NRS GD18/5038/5. I suppose here that Horsley means 'a survey' undertaken by George Mark, which initially, for whatever reason, he had not planned to include.
- ⁹¹ Horsley 1732, 158, map no. 11.
- ⁹² Intended for the map accompanying his *History of Northumberland* (below).
- ⁹³ Hodgson 1831, 29 fn.
- ⁹⁴ Horsley 1732, 176, map no. 1.
- ⁹⁵ Horsley 1732, 163, 167.
- ⁹⁶ Horsley 1732, 44. Macdonald (1933, 21) suggested the engraver was at fault.
- ⁹⁷ Horsley 1732, 172. Steer (1964, 5, fn 14) blamed Mark for the error.
- ⁹⁸ Hodgson 1831, 99, no. 2, 122, no. 10; Birley 1958, 8.
- ⁹⁹ *RIB* 841.
- ¹⁰⁰ Hodgson 1831, 122, no. 10.
- ¹⁰¹ Hodgson 1831, 117, no. 7 (*RIB* 1072). In response to a request for comments, Clerk had sent Horsley his own opinion, which was in the end accepted (Horsley 1732, 294; Lukis 1880, 231).
- ¹⁰² Hodgson 1831, 101, no. 3. See Birley 1958, 19.
- ¹⁰³ EUL MS La.II.587/11 = Piggott and Robertson 1977, no. 28. Birley 1958, 44 published its text.
- ¹⁰⁴ NRS GD/18/5038/9 (*RIB* 2132; *RIB I Addenda*, p. 796). John Cay, Robert's brother, a lawyer based in London (Goodwin 2004), sometimes acted as intermediary (Hodgson 1831, 34, 117, no. 7).
- ¹⁰⁵ McConnell 2004.
- ¹⁰⁶ As the bibliographer John Nichols observed (1812, 521), Ward 'revised that elaborate work of Mr Horsley in manuscript and communicated to him many important remarks for its improvement'.
- ¹⁰⁷ NRS GD18/5038/11; Lukis 1885, 116.
- ¹⁰⁸ Horsley 1732, 343–55.
- ¹⁰⁹ Horsley 1732, 505–20.

¹¹⁰ Bosanquet 1933, 76; Honeybone and Lewis 2004. Ellys is presumably the ‘Richard Ellis, Esq.’ listed among Gordon’s subscribers to the *Itinerarium Septentrionale*.

¹¹¹ Horsley 1732, Dedication.

¹¹² Hodgson 1831, 34.

¹¹³ Horsley 1732, 291, pl. (*Durham*) xvi, a (*RIB* 1077).

¹¹⁴ Horsley 1732, 329; Lukis 1885, 257, 259, 261.

¹¹⁵ *RIB* 2415.53. Horsley’s account of the Cup was the initial publication of it (1732, 329, pl. (*Wiltshire*) 1). There was much debate among his correspondents about the function of the Cup and the information to be gleaned from it. For modern discussions, see Cowen and Richmond 1935; Breeze and Dobson 2000, 292; Allason-Jones 2012.

¹¹⁶ NRS GD18/5036/4 (*RIB* 2173 = Keppie 1998, 72, no. 1). The drawing itself is very good, superior to Horsley’s own draughtsmanship (Horsley 1732, 204, pl. (*Scotland*) no. xxvi).

¹¹⁷ Macdonald 1933, 23.

¹¹⁸ NRS GD18/5038/5 (*RIB* 2213).

¹¹⁹ NRS GD18/5038/1; Horsley 1732, 205 (*RIB* 2135).

¹²⁰ Birley 1958, 9.

¹²¹ A baby daughter had recently died.

¹²² NRS GD18/5036.

¹²³ NRS GD18/5023/3/40, quoted by Brown 2012, 518. Gordon here means the triangular compartments shown inside the camp at its north end on Horsley’s published plan (fig. 9). The phraseology used by Gordon in this letter matches that on the drawing held by Dr Julian Bennett (above), thus confirming it as the one Clerk had sent him.

¹²⁴ The fort backed on to the Water of Ruchill, a tributary of the River Earn.

¹²⁵ The truncated ‘obelisk’ still stands, inside the camp, along with two other standing stones, close to the south gate (see Coles 1911, 59).

¹²⁶ The ‘tumulus’, which later antiquaries also featured, was one of a group of cairns lying c. 700 m southwest of the fort.

¹²⁷ NRS GD18/5023/3/41, quoted by Brown 2012, 519.

¹²⁸ Gordon 1726, 40, pl. 5.

¹²⁹ This was Gordon’s name for the site at Dalginross, which he linked to Galgacus (Calgacus), war-leader of the Caledonians at the battle of Mons Graupius in AD 83.

¹³⁰ Old Testament, *Ecclesiastes* 7.6.

¹³¹ This is the Latin translation of a phrase in the Greek author Plutarch, *Laconic Apophthegms* (*Sayings of Spartans*), *Moralia*, vol 3 (Loeb Classical Library), p. 399 no. 15, concerning a man who plucked a nightingale, leaving a ‘squawking voice and nothing more’. The Latin phrase was popular in the eighteenth century.

¹³² NRS GD18/5023/3/41. Horsley’s covering letter to Clerk does not survive in the latter’s archives, presumably because he had sent it on to Gordon, together with the site-plan.

¹³³ Horace, *Ars Poetica* 139: *parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus* (‘Mountains will go into labour, a laughable little mouse will be born’).

¹³⁴ NRS GD18/5023/3/45.

¹³⁵ This must mean that Horsley had thoughts of using Gordon’s rather poor map of the northern Britain published in the *Itinerarium Septentrionale*; but he may also have had in mind the large-scale maps of the two Walls, which Gordon had advertised in 1726 as in preparation but which in the end remained unpublished (Gordon 1726, 188; Nichols 1822, 497).

¹³⁶ NRS GD18/5033, quoted by Brown 2011, 72; 2012, 519.

¹³⁷ Nichols 1817, 803.

¹³⁸ Gordon 1726, 82.

¹³⁹ Stukeley 1776, 54.

¹⁴⁰ Society of Antiquaries of London, Transcribed Minute Book 1 (1717–32), 216. See Gordon 1726, 184; Keppie 2009, 246.

¹⁴¹ Lukis 1883, 66 (*RIB* 1988).

¹⁴² NRS GD18/5023/3/53.

¹⁴³ Gordon 1732; see Brown 2012, 518.

¹⁴⁴ See Birley 1958, 11.

¹⁴⁵ Steer drew attention to similarities between Gordon's and Horsley's plan of the fort at Rough Castle on the Antonine Wall, as well as decorative details on some of the inscribed and sculptured stones found along it (Steer 1964, 6). For Horsley's account of the Antonine Wall, see now Keppie 2012, 79.

¹⁴⁶ Horsley 1732, 193.

¹⁴⁷ NRS GD18/5038/14, 5038/15, 5038/16, 5038/17; Horsley 1732, 341, pl. (*Scotland*) xxxiv–vi; Clerk 1750; Prevost 1960.

¹⁴⁸ Richmond and Steer 1957, 5; Welfare 1984, 308; Keppie 1998, 15 with fig. 8.

¹⁴⁹ Keppie 1998, 18 has the details.

¹⁵⁰ NRS GD18/5038/14.

¹⁵¹ NRS GD18/5038/18.

¹⁵² NRS GD18/5038/2, 5038/5, 5038/6, 5038/7; Lukis 1883, 134; 1885, 116.

¹⁵³ See Horsley 1732, 294, pl. (*Durham*) xxvi (*RIB* 1076).

¹⁵⁴ Horsley 1732, 181.

¹⁵⁵ NRS GD18/5038/3; Lukis 1883, 134.

¹⁵⁶ NRS GD18/5038/7.

¹⁵⁷ Hodgson 1831, 118, no. 8.

¹⁵⁸ Hodgson 1918, 63. There was a Presbyterian congregation there, worshipping at the 'Scotch Church.'

¹⁵⁹ Horsley 1730.

¹⁶⁰ Horsley 1732, iv. In his treatise, *Vows in Trouble* (1729), Horsley alludes to the Roman custom of erecting inscribed altars to elicit the favour of their gods (1729, 36).

¹⁶¹ On the likely fees at his school see Bosanquet 1933, 68. One could suspect that Horsley's pupils lodged at his house.

¹⁶² Hodgson 1831, 122 no. 10. On the Halls of Otterburn, see Horsley 1869, 36; Macdonald 1933, 16; Bosanquet 1933, 65. Robert Cay married a daughter of this family.

¹⁶³ NRS GD18/5038/3, 5038/4. During the winters of 1728 and 1729 Master Hall lodged with Professor William Hamilton (above) at Edinburgh University (NRS GD18/5038/3). As no student with that surname graduated at Edinburgh during the period 1727–1732, according to available records (Anon. 1858), he was perhaps receiving private tuition.

¹⁶⁴ NRS GD18/5038/8.

¹⁶⁵ NRS GD18/5038/3.

¹⁶⁶ NRS GD18/5038/3.

¹⁶⁷ NRS GD18/5038/8, 5038/9, 5038/10; Hodgson 1918, 65.

¹⁶⁸ James Crawford, 'a man of piety, of excellent solid sense, but a recluse, modest man' (Wodrow 1843, vol. IV, 212), who died in February 1731. On 26 July 1732 William Dawson was appointed to the chair of Hebrew.

¹⁶⁹ It was more than 20 years since Horsley had studied Hebrew at Edinburgh.

¹⁷⁰ NRS GD18/5038/10.

¹⁷¹ NRS GD18/5038/12.

¹⁷² Emerson 2008, 240, 243.

¹⁷³ Of this, £55 came from the Edinburgh town council and £30 from the government (NRS GD18/5038/12). As Hebrew was not a formal part of the degree course, its professor did not have a guaranteed additional income from student fees. I searched without success for reference to Horsley at this time in records of Edinburgh University, some of which are held at Edinburgh City Archives and others in the Centre for Research Collections at Edinburgh University Library.

¹⁷⁴ NRS GD18/5038/12.

¹⁷⁵ For his pervasive influence, see Shaw 1983, *passim*; Murdoch 2004. In August 1728 Alexander Gordon had hoped that Lord Ilay might get him a position in government service in Scotland (NRS GD18/5023/3/40, 5023/3/41).

¹⁷⁶ Lukis 1885, 105; see Macdonald 1933, 27.

¹⁷⁷ Emerson 1995, 29; Anderson, Lynch and Phillipson 2003, 63; Emerson 2008, *passim*. For his diverse scholarly interests, see Emerson 2000; 2002.

¹⁷⁸ NRS GD 18/5038/2.

- ¹⁷⁹ 'Halted for refreshment or rest while on a journey'. I have to thank Elizabeth Bell for elucidating the meaning of this word.
- ¹⁸⁰ NRS GD18/5038/2.
- ¹⁸¹ NRS GD18/5038/5. Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford, when passing through Morpeth in 1725, 'put up at the posthouse, the "Queen's Head", kept by Smith, a widow woman' (Historical Manuscripts Commission 1901, 107).
- ¹⁸² NRS GD18/5033.
- ¹⁸³ NRS GD18/5038/13.
- ¹⁸⁴ In October 1731 Lord Ilay again passed through Morpeth, without Horsley having any opportunity of meeting him (NRS GD18/5038/16); on another occasion Ilay's coach made no stop in the town (NRS GD18/5038/18). Clerk's offer of support is given added resonance by a charming letter to him from Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, acting on Ilay's behalf, which has been dated to 1731, advising him of their intended visit to Penicuik the following day (NRS GD18/5385/1).
- ¹⁸⁵ NRS GD18/5038/16.
- ¹⁸⁶ Hodgson Hinde 1865, 179; Macdonald 1932, 161; 1933, 16.
- ¹⁸⁷ NRS GD18/5038/6; see Bosanquet 1933, 74.
- ¹⁸⁸ Wodrow 1843, vol. III, 255. For Sir John Clerk's description of Horsley as primarily a schoolmaster, see above.
- ¹⁸⁹ Hodgson 1831, 17. However, he always refused to accept any fees from patients.
- ¹⁹⁰ Hodgson Hinde 1865, 177. Hence Haycock 2004, 197.
- ¹⁹¹ Horsley 1732, i; see also NRS GD18/5038/6.
- ¹⁹² Hodgson 1831, 29; Hodgson Hinde 1865, 177; Hodgson 1918, 66; Hepple 2003, 154. The fee for the course was 1½ guineas. Horsley did not have the field to himself: other lecturers on science were active locally at this time (Robinson 1970; 1972).
- ¹⁹³ NRS GD18/5038/6, 5038/18; Horsley 1732, i.
- ¹⁹⁴ Hodgson 1831, 124 no. 11.
- ¹⁹⁵ NRS GD18/5038/10; cf. 5038/9, 5038/15.
- ¹⁹⁶ NRS GD18/5038/13.
- ¹⁹⁷ NRS GD18/5038/17.
- ¹⁹⁸ For a death notice published on 15 January in the *Newcastle Courant*, see Hodgson Hinde 1865, 178. Roger Gale was quick to inform Professor John Ward in London, since Ward's reply to him is dated 18 January (Lukis 1885, 407).
- ¹⁹⁹ Hodgson Hinde 1865, 179.
- ²⁰⁰ Hodgson Hinde 1865, 179. A footnote in Horsley's Preface (1732, xii) mentions Alexander Gordon's *Additions and Corrections* (Gordon 1732), which we otherwise know had been published by early March (see Lukis 1880, 263); the footnote was perhaps added by John Ward after Horsley's death.
- ²⁰¹ Bosanquet 1933, 78. Thomas Longman, apprenticed to Osborn in 1716, married his daughter in 1724, becoming a partner in the firm, which continues to this day.
- ²⁰² NRS GD18/5038/6.
- ²⁰³ NRS GD18/5030/25.
- ²⁰⁴ 'About goat's wool', i.e. something of little value, a phrase taken from the Roman poet Horace, *Epistles* i.18.5.
- ²⁰⁵ Gordon 1732, pl. lxxviii; Horsley 1732, pl. (*Scotland*) xxxiv–xxxvi.
- ²⁰⁶ NRS GD18/5043/1.
- ²⁰⁷ Hodgson Hinde 1865, 179; Hepple 2003, 154. In 1725 his collection of scientific instruments was said to be worth 'towards three or four hundred pounds sterling' (Wodrow 1843, vol. III, 255).
- ²⁰⁸ He was succeeded as Nonconformist Minister at Morpeth by William Richardson who was in post in 1733 (Hodgson 1832, 448).
- ²⁰⁹ Hodgson 1918, 68.
- ²¹⁰ Lukis 1885, 407.
- ²¹¹ Hodgson 1831, 35; Hodgson Hinde 1867, 179. He raised £16-16, which equates to eight copies.
- ²¹² NRS GD18/5043/2.
- ²¹³ Clerk's library included a volume on Durham Cathedral (Hunter 1733), inscribed to him with these words: 'This grateful Acknowledgement is offered in Return for many singular Favours by

his obedit Servt Chris. Hunter, Durham, Aug. 6, 1733' (Clerk 1892, 118 fn. 1). According to R. P. Wright (1982, 93), 13 stones went to Durham from Horsley's house at Morpeth.

²¹⁴ See NRS GD18/5043/3.

²¹⁵ Hodgson 1831, 35.

²¹⁶ NRS GD18/5043/3.

²¹⁷ Hodgson 1918, 68.

²¹⁸ Horsley 1869.

²¹⁹ Cay 1753a; 1753b. See Gough 1780, 68.

²²⁰ John Ward's annotated copy of the *Britannia Romana* survives in the British Library, London. Some of his notes and marginalia were copied out in 1764 by Richard Gough, the editor of William Camden's *Britannia*, into his own copy of Horsley's book, now at the Bodleian Library, Oxford; Emil Hübner made use of Gough's copy in the preparation of *CIL VII* (Hübner 1873, 8)

²²¹ Tate 1865, 8; Hodgson Hinde 1865, 177.

²²² Society of Antiquaries of London, transcribed Minute Book 1763, p. 198.

²²³ Hodgson 1831, 37. Gifford was a Nonconformist, a pupil of Professor John Ward and chaplain to Sir Richard Ellys (Cannan 2004). His copy of the *Britannia Romana* subsequently passed into the hands of Richard Gough.

²²⁴ Among recent assessments of his achievement see Sweet 2004, 167; Hingley 2012, 108.

²²⁵ For the likely date of publication, see *Durham Philobiblon*, 2, 1969, 72–3.

ABBREVIATIONS

CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NRS	National Records of Scotland
UGAS	University of Glasgow Archive Services

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Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 8QQ.

lawrence.keppie@glasgow.ac.uk