



THE JOURNAL OF
ROBERT HERON

1789–1798



Edited by

Edward J Cowan

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THE EUROPEAN
ETHNOLOGICAL
RESEARCH CENTRE

Sources in Local History

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Preface

Originally published in the *Review of Scottish Culture* 27 (2015), Edward J Cowan's edition of the journal of Robert Heron is reproduced in electronic form here as part of the *Sources in Local History* series, with an expanded introduction, additional endnotes, a new set of images and a further reading section. A number of corrections have also been made to the original transcription and endnotes. The front cover illustration shows the High Street of Edinburgh in the 1790s, as drawn by David Allan (reproduced courtesy of the National Galleries of Scotland, D4374).

The EERC is grateful to Lizanne Henderson, editor of the *Review of Scottish Culture*, for her permission to reproduce a revised version of Professor Cowan's article.

Kenneth Veitch
European Ethnological Research Centre

Introduction

I have previously argued that a re-assessment of Robert Heron (1764-1807) is long overdue. It is no longer acceptable to dismiss him as a mere hack writer. He was one of a kind but he was very much a man of the age of Enlightenment, seeking to overcome his own failings as he sought his place within an exciting new world of ambition and discovery.¹ His Journal, or what survives of it, provides much information about his reading habits, work, social circle, faith and daily concerns, but it also preserves valuable insights into his inner life and mental attitudes. He was a man of extremes who craved some recognition of his undoubted abilities and who aimed to make a name for himself, but who was also given to agonies of doubt and fears about his future. He often existed just on the breadline but when he acquired any money he squandered it on frivolous luxuries, such that twice he was confined to debtors' prison, once in Edinburgh and later in London; he died a pauper.

His Journal was an intermittent undertaking. Despite his resolve to review his conduct 'with a stricter eye and keep this Journal' he runs out of steam in precisely two weeks, having wrongly dated the first two entries August, instead of September, 1789. He resumes on 29 January 1790 until 8 February, part of which entry has been torn out. He starts again on 9 July, managing entries until 30 August. There is a single short entry for a Saturday in January 1791, followed by another very brief note on 24 July 1792. Five successive entries are achieved in November when once again he crashes until 14 June 1793, collapsing again at that month's end. After a huge gap of five years, the final entries are dated



July, October and December 1798 as he prepares to depart for London. As a proper journal it can be dismissed as somewhat disappointing to say the least, but it actually reveals a great deal about its author.

There is much reference to reading in the Journal, presenting as it does, however imperfectly, the habits and proclivities of an Enlightenment figure from a humble background in rural Galloway, a deeply learned, potential, local hero who engineers his own tragedy, but whose achievements merit serious re-evaluation. Though frequently dismissed as a hack his publishing output was prodigious, covering a wide range of subjects and interests. The *Oxford Dictionary* has seven different definitions for the word 'hack', which originates as a short form of Hackney Cab. By extension, hack also refers to a horse for hire or the driver of a cab, which by association translates as a common drudge, a literary drudge, a poor writer or a scribbler. As I have previously suggested, the word should not be used in an all-encompassing dismissive sense where Heron is concerned. He was a talented writer who seldom had to correct a manuscript after he had written it. He had a remarkably wide range of interests and knew several languages well enough to translate from them. Most people who earn a living by the pen are reduced to hacks at various points in their career, either to become well known to publishers or simply because they have to eat. Heron was much more than a simple, occasional hack, but he was also quite eccentric.

His father was a weaver with a hunger for knowledge, a bailie of New Galloway, the smallest burgh in Scotland. Jane Clemie, Robert's mother, taught him at home until the age of nine after which he attended school for two years, becoming a pupil-teacher in his own right. In five years he saved enough money to attend Edinburgh University. One of his pupils when he taught at Borgue was the mother of John Mactaggart, author of the *Gallovidian Encyclopaedia*. She reported that 'he lashed his scholars sometimes dreadfully for his temper was easily ruffled'. He always had a book in his hand, which was used to give the boys a skelp on the side of the head, whether they had earned it or not.



As many of us can attest, such were the methods of Scottish pedagogy within living memory. Several teachers are mentioned as acquaintances in the Journal.

The amount of talent in a tiny place the size of New Galloway at this time was truly remarkable. Heron's mother was related to Alexander Murray, who was to become known as the great linguist and Orientalist born at Dunkitterick in the hill country, midway between New Galloway and Minnigaff. Murray lodged briefly with the Herons though by that time Robert had left for Edinburgh. Heron senior gave Alexander a Hebrew dictionary which had once belonged to Robert,² just the sort of item that might have been expected in a weaver's cottage in the 1780s! Alexander briefly attended New Galloway school taught by William Gordon. There he met several Latin scholars as well as boys destined for the Kirk or overseas missions. Education was a passport to the world.

The first entry of Heron's Journal sets a pattern of a kind. On awakening he reads from the New Testament followed, 'not with much sincerity', by prayer. After breakfast he reflects 'with undutiful and selfish resentment' on his meeting with family and friends on a recent visit to his native New Galloway. He studies numerous books, extracts material for entries in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and frets because his barber has not made an appearance. He has broken a promise to visit his friend Dr Blacklock that morning. Macfarquhar of *Britannica* demands copy which is not yet ready; Heron promises it in the certain knowledge that it will not be delivered on time. There is an identical situation concerning Mr Willison, a colleague of Macfarquhar's. The barber shows up to be told by Heron, the master procrastinator, that he must be more punctilious. At five in the afternoon he dresses and goes out, returning books to Sibbald's Library in Parliament Square, borrowing another, and one from Charles Elliot the bookseller, who questions him about his translation of Fourcroy's work on chemistry. 'Told him lies . . . Returned home, drank my tea. Read another Chapter of Matthew'.



Heron had a well-known reputation for splashing money when he had it, as in the familiar anecdote that he hired a carriage and a liveried footman to project an image of prosperity, but to judge from his *Journal* he lived rather modestly. His diet was not enviable: an egg, a bowl of broth, cold Sunday dinner (hot was not permitted to avoid transgressing the day of rest), tarts, boiled turnips, potatoes (sometimes unaccompanied), peas, bread and cheese. Drinks included wine, water, buttermilk, porter (stout), rum and toddy. Lobster, fish and roast lamb were special treats. Mostly the story is about Heron.

After discontinuing my *Journal* for a considerable time, from finding my circumstances unpromising from indolence, and from unwillingness to review and amend my conduct, I will now resume it and endeavour to render it useful. Merciful God! forsake me not! My prospects are now good. I am well employed and not illiberally paid; but I am indolent, passionate, foolish, vain, and regardless of truth. Let me overcome these habits . . . Was peevish and indiscreet to my brother at breakfast. After that, beat him very inhumanly for almost no fault. [29 January 1790]

His alleged undue savagery in the administration of corporal punishment was possibly a facet of his own obvious obsession with verbal self-flagellation. He is self-confessedly neglectful of his studies and of failure to earn a livelihood; he also admits that he is guilty of lateness, awkwardness, swearing indecently, failure to improve, 'in virtue or knowledge', and of having incurred contempt. 'O God, have mercy on me!' He is guilty of impious, undutiful and foolish conduct: 'levity of conversation, disregard of truth and honesty, ingratitude to my parents, and all the basest vices that can disgrace humanity are still the strongest features of my character' (18 July 1790).

A sermon on the omnipresence of the deity fails to rid him of foolish or evil thoughts. A gap of a week in the *Journal* coincides with



eight days of neglected studies and the admission that he has repeatedly lied and indulged in ‘several acts of unchastity’. He is haunted by his negligence, inhumanity and imprudence towards his late brother. ‘My moral conduct has been very irregular’. By January 1791 he is close to despair:

I have told many lies, uttered many oaths and obscene expressions, and committed various acts of unchastity since discontinuing my journal. My levity and folly have also risen to a greater pitch than before. I am approaching nearer to death, and becoming less prepared to meet it.

All of this indulgent wallowing in self-disgust is typical of the ‘man of feeling’ confessional literature that was common to Samuel Pepys, Robert Burns, and above all, James Boswell. Heron was a pale shadow of these three, who were much more graphic than him in describing their sexual adventures, but he does share with Boswell a profound Calvinist horror of the hereafter and an inability to resist internalised temptations, which both men feared would end in damnation. It should be noted that during the years when he was writing, or ignoring, his *Journal*, Heron was meant to be studying for the ministry. His desire to abandon that goal in favour of literature was the probable cause of his alienation from his father and the rest of the family.³

Thomas Murray seems to have had access to Heron letters which have since disappeared, though it is to be hoped that they still might come to light. In those which Murray quotes, Heron was trying to mend bridges with his family. He hoped to reconcile affections all round by living more piously and by managing his income more efficiently. But he may have ruined his good intentions by promising to live with them at home for ‘at least the third part of the year ... to give you more comfort than I have yet done’! Or again, ‘O forget and forgive my follies; look on me as a son who will anxiously strive to comfort and please you, and, after all your misfortunes, to render the evening of your days as happy as possible’.⁴ We have to wonder if their response might have been, ‘Gie’s peace!’.

As his diary indicates, he knew he was a poor and unconfident



preacher always seeking some kind of reassurance that his performance in the pulpit was not a complete disaster. A minister debating with Heron at the General Assembly told him that his speech reminded him of ‘a heron swallowing an eel’. He pronounced words ending in the letter ‘S’ with a hissing sound.⁵ His eyesight was poor, possibly from trying to read in poorly illuminated surroundings. He wore a green mesh veil over his face when working.

It is almost painful to rehearse the disaster that was his play, *St Kilda in Edinburgh, or News from Camperdown*, which was performed once and never again. Bitterly disappointed he took to his bed for a number of days. He then decided to publish the piece, earning further scorn. He hopelessly overestimated his own abilities as shown by the preface which he attached to the text. He wrote that he agreed with the credo that a man should never commend himself but he considered his own achievement exceptional. He quoted Jonathan Swift: ‘When a *true genius* appears in the world you may know him by this sign – that the dunces are all in confederacy against him’.⁶ On this occasion common sense deserted him as he puffed himself up to a great height inviting the fall that he unwittingly deserved.

He was jailed on Saturday 16 June 1793 ‘for a debt which I owe Mr Cririe of Leith’, but released the following Tuesday. He then sought refuge in the sanctuary of the abbey of Holyrood where he spent a year writing the first book of his six volume (published in five) *History of Scotland*. His creditors agreed to accept fifteen shillings in the pound against the royalties earned from the *History*. In the preface to the last volume he bemoaned that he was the last survivor in a family of nine. His mother also passed, worn out with work and life. His brother John, who was probably studying for the Kirk, had already died of consumption, as noted in the journal. As he was completing the *History* his sister Mary also breathed her last. His sense of loss was acute and apparently genuine:

To whosoever had seen her before her last illness, she must have seemed destined to be long the pride and ornament of her friends



and of society. Yet this woman was to die ere she had completed the nineteenth year of her age. She died and left me friendless; hopeless of ever tasting again the sweets of the dear domestic hour such as I knew when she was the companion of my studies, or when in my earlier years, returning from school, I used to spend the evening getting my lesson beside my mother, who would sing some plaintive Scottish air, that melted my heart and made me sad, I knew not why. It was while watching by the sick bed of this dear dying sister; it was when my heart was overwhelmed with unutterable sorrow for her loss, that I wrote the greater part of the last two volumes of this work.⁷

Heron's career in England has yet to be researched and it is to be hoped that as more people become interested in him new information about his life and writings will emerge. For example, we know that he published extensively while he was in London where his duties included editing a French Royalist publication in French for distribution in France. He told his father that he was earning £300 a year after he moved south, a tidy income by any standards, but he did not abandon his spendthrift habits. Nor were all of his contributions admirable. His *Letter to Mr Wilberforce on the Justice and Expediency of the Slave Trade* was dismissed by one critic, with good reason, as 'a ferocious personal attack on Mr Wilberforce, the most absurd sophistical, and contemptuously malignant, that has, perhaps at any time, abused the liberty of the press'.⁸

In conclusion, it seems appropriate to quote Heron's last known letter, which has been used by almost everyone who has been interested in his biography. Addressed to the Literary Fund, it is a sad, and in the best sense of the word, pathetic, specimen, reviewing a life lived but not honoured.

Ever since I was eleven years of age I have mingled with my studies the labour of teaching or writing to support and educate myself. During about twenty years, while I was in constant and occasional



attendance at the University of Edinburgh, I taught and assisted young persons at all periods in the course of education, from the alphabet to the highest branches of science and literature. I read lectures on the law of nature, the law of nations, the Jewish, the Grecian, the Roman, and the canon law, and then on feudal law, and on the several forms of municipal jurisprudence established in modern Europe. I printed a syllabus of these lectures, which was approved; they were as introductory to the professional study of law, and to assist gentlemen who did not study it professionally in the understanding of history.

I translated *Fourcroy's Chemistry* twice, *Savary's Travels in Greece*, *Demourier's Letters*, *Gesner's Idyls* in part, an abstract of *Zimmerman on Solitude*, and a great diversity of smaller pieces. I wrote *A Journey through the Western Parts of Scotland*, which has passed through two editions; a *History of Scotland* in six volumes 8vo; *A Topographical Account of Scotland*, which has been several times reprinted; a number of communications in the *Edinburgh Magazine*; many prefaces and critiques. *A Memoir of the Life of Burns*, which suggested and promoted the subscription for his family, has been reprinted, and formed the basis of Dr Currie's life of him, as I learned by a letter from the doctor to one of his friends; a variety of *jeux d'esprit*, in verse and prose, and many abridgments of large works. In the beginning of 1799 I was encouraged to come to London. Here I have written a great multiplicity of articles in almost every branch of literature, my education in Edinburgh having comprehended them all. The *London Review*, the *Agricultural Magazine*, the *Universal Magazine*, the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, the *Public Characters*, the *Annual Necrology*, with several other periodical works, contain many of my communications. In such of these publications as have been reviewed, I can show that my anonymous pieces have been distinguished with very high praise.

I have written also a short system of *Chemistry*, and I published



a few weeks since a small work called the *Comforts of Life*, of which the first edition was sold in one week, and the second edition is now in rapid sale. In the newspapers – the *Oracle*, the *Porcupine*, when it existed, the *General Evening Post*, the *Morning Post*, the *British Press*, the *Courier*, &c – I have published my reports of the debates in parliament, and I believe a greater number of fugitive pieces than I know to have written by any one person. I have written also a great variety of compositions in Latin and French, in favour of which I have been honoured with the testimonials of liberal approbation.

I have invariably written to serve the cause of religion and morality, pious Christian education, and good order in the most direct manner. I have considered what I have written as mere trifles, and I have incessantly studied to qualify myself for something better. I can prove that I have for many years read and written one day with another from twelve to sixteen hours a day. As a human being I have not been free from follies and errors; but the tenor of my life has been temperate, laborious, humble, quiet, and to the utmost of my power, beneficent. I can prove the general tenor of my writings to be candid, and ever adapted to exhibit the most favourable views of the abilities, dispositions, and exertions of others. For the last ten months I have been brought to the very extremity of bodily and pecuniary distress.

I shudder at the thoughts of perishing in a jail.

92 Chancery Lane, February 2nd, 1807
(In confinement)^[9]

Just two months later, having suffered an attack of fever, he was removed from Newgate to the hospital of St Pancras where he died on 13 April.



Notes and references

- ¹ Cowan, E J. Robert Heron of New Galloway (1764-1807): enlightened ethnologist, *Review of Scottish Culture*, 26 (2014), 25-41. See Henderson, T F, rev. Matthew, H C G. 'Heron, Robert (1764-1807)'. In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, Oxford, 2004; on-line edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13090> (accessed April 2017).
- ² Muir Watt, J. *Dumfries and Galloway: A Literary Guide*, Dumfries, 2000, 296.
- ³ 'John Heron was in the constant habit of practicing family worship, even twice a-day, though he had a shop full of young men and apprentices. He was long an elder in Kells. Even at the close of a laborious day, he would throw his plaid about him, and walk for four or five miles to the dwelling of any poor man, laid upon the bed of sickness or of death. He would converse with him on "the world unseen" and drop upon his knees by the sick-bed side, and offer a prayer to the common Parent of humanity' (Murray, T. *The Literary History of Galloway*, 2nd edn, Edinburgh, 1832, 219).
- ⁴ Quoted in Murray, 1832, 222-23.
- ⁵ Trotter, A. *East Galloway Sketches: or, Biographical, Historical, and Descriptive Notices of Kirkcudbrightshire chiefly in the nineteenth century*, Castle Douglas, 1901, 272.
- ⁶ Quoted in Chambers, R. *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, 4 vols, Glasgow, 1855, III, 46-47.
- ⁷ Trotter, 1901, 273.
- ⁸ Anon. Review of 'A Letter to William Wilberforce, Esq. M.P. on the Justice and Expediency of Slavery, and the Slave Trade, on the best means to improve the manners and condition of the Negroes in the West Indies', *The Eclectic Review*, 2.2 (1806), art. XII, 653.
- ⁹ Chambers, 1855, II, 260.





Fig. 1 West Port, New Galloway, Robert Heron's home town. (Copyright padeapix)



Fig. 2 High Street, New Galloway. (Copyright padeapix)



Fig. 3 High Street, New Galloway. (Copyright padeapix)



Fig. 4 The Heron family tombstone, Kells church. The inscription commemorates John Heron and Jane Clemie, Robert Heron's parents. Robert is the first of their children mentioned. He outlived all of his siblings. John's death in Edinburgh is mentioned in the Journal, as is the death of Mary. (Copyright padeapix)

Editing

The original spelling has been retained. *Sic* has been used sparingly, mainly to indicate misspellings in the text that might otherwise be mistaken for an error in the transcription. Other editorial comments have been inserted in []. In most cases, abbreviations and contractions have been silently expanded. Expansion involving some degree of conjecture is indicated by square brackets []. Punctuation and capitalisation have been amended where necessary for purposes of clarity.



Acknowledgments

The manuscript *Journal* is held by the Centre for Research Collections, University of Edinburgh, to which I am sincerely grateful for permission to publish. The transcription was undertaken by Jon Nimmo of New Galloway whose care and industry are acknowledged with many thanks. Philip Dodds made several useful suggestions for which I am very grateful. The editor alone is responsible for the final text. Any further comments on the text or further information about Robert Heron will be welcome.





Fig. 5 A detail from Thomas Brown and James Watson's *Plan of Edinburgh* (1793). Crichton Street, where Robert Heron lived, has been circled. (Reproduced courtesy of the National Library of Scotland. <http://maps.nls.uk>)



THE JOURNAL OF
ROBERT HERON



Journal of my conduct, begun August 14, 1789

Each page to contain a day –

or at least each leaf

1789



Monday, August 14

Awoke about seven. Read a chapter or two in the gospel of Matthew till between eight and nine. Got up. Prayed, not with much sincerity. Breakfasted. At breakfast reflected, with undutiful and selfish resentment, on the reception I met with from my father and my other relations and friends in my late visit to Galloway. Applied myself to study during the forenoon; was employed in translating and compiling extracts from Houel's *Travels* for the *E.B.*^[1] Fretful, because my hair-dresser^[2] did not keep his hour. Broke my promise to call on Dr Blacklock^[3] this forenoon. Mr Macfarquhar^[4] sent for papers which should have been ready long before, not yet ready. Promised to wait on him, violated this promise also. Mr Willison^[5] sent for copy: delivered to his servant a very small quantity; and promised him, by twelve to-morrow, more than, in all probability, I shall be able to prepare. My hairdresser came at length. Blamed him, and required greater punctuality of attendance in future – happily, without passion. Resolved, from a consciousness of the wickedness and folly of my life, to review my conduct with a stricter eye, and keep this Journal. At three, dined. After dinner continued to write. At about five in the evening, dressed and went out to deliver a message. Did not find the family at home. To deliver it to-morrow. Went to the Par[liamen]t Square, returned to Sibbald's Library^[6] two books. Borrowed one; another from Mr E.^[7] Told him lies about Fourcroy^[8] and copy; promised a letter concerning [*word illegible*]^[9] to-morrow. Returned home, drank my tea. Read another Chapter of Matthew.



Tuesday, August 15

Awoke about six. Lay in bed reading the fourth volume of *Sir Charles Grandison*^[10] till after nine. Got up. Breakfasted, and read about the time of breakfast a chapter of Matthew, some pages of *Les Moeurs*^[11] descriptive of that worship of the head which men owe to the Deity, and may pay even when they cannot accompany it with external acts of devotion, and had taken up Heyne's *Virgil* with Dryden's Translation^[12] when my hairdresser called. While under his hands, read and compared the original with the translation of that passage in the First Georgic, in which the supreme being is beautifully represented to have placed men in circumstances of physical evil in this life, in order to rouse them to that active exertion, which, when not beyond their powers, constitutes their truest happiness.^[13] After my hair was dressed, sat down to translate from Fourcroy's *Chemistry*; but got up from my desk, dressed for the day, and went to call on Dr Blacklock; found the good man in, and had some agreeable conversation with him. Called again at Mr Home's to deliver my message; knocked at the door in vain.^[14] Returned the book I had borrowed from E's^[15] shop last night. Saw Mr Macfarquhar, who blamed me for having dealt unfairly with regard to the manuscripts for which he has paid me. Answered him with a few lies. Promised him papers this evening, and others to-morrow evening. Came home, and after translating some more, took my dinner. Read, at dinner, another Chapter of Matthew. Finished after dinner another volume of *Sir Charles Grandison*. Translated a little more. Went out to drink tea with a family I had been asked to see at tea time. Drank tea and chatted with them pretty much to my satisfaction, without telling lies or making much pretence. Returned the fifth and borrowed the sixth volume of *Sir Charles Grandison*. Mr Willison was not supplied to-day with the copy I yesterday promised. I received my new watch and promised to pay my watchmaker account in a month. Mr Macfarquhar got the papers promised him this evening.



Wednesday, September 16^[16]

Awoke about my usual hour; but lay in bed till between eight and nine, reading Johnson's Debates in Parliament in the year 1740.^[17] At breakfast – and I had not forgotten my prayers – read a Chapter of Matthew. Read, about the same time, a part of Holdsworth's remarks on Virgil;^[18] *Mutate fidere*,^[19] I hope, may signify next year. Translated, during the forenoon, from Fourcroy's *Chemistry*. Made my call on Dr Blacklock, as usual. He had slept well on the preceding night. Mentioned to him, as my opinion, that Virgil in his [*interlined*: first] Georgic speaks of the rotation of crops which is observed by some of our most skilful Scotch farmers. Walked round half the meadows,^[20] before returning home. Met a Mr Ochiltree, with whom I conversed in kindness, I think, and without vanity or petulance. Returned home. Received from Mr Elliot not so harsh a letter as I deserved concerning Fourcroy's *Chemistry*. At three, dined and read a chapter of Matthew. After dinner, read on *Sir Charles Grandison* [*interlined*: I think] for some time. Then set to translate for the *E.B.* the table at the end of Fourcroy's *Chemistry*, exhibiting a comparative view of the new Nomenclature proposed by M. Lavoisier, etc., with the old with which chemists and apothecaries have till now been contented. Received, while engaged in that business, a letter from my brother with some things I had left in the country. Laid aside my table and wrote him a long and merry answer. At tea, read another chapter of Matthew. At supper, another. I had promised to finish the table to-night. That promise I did not perform. Went to bed about ten, I think, after reading another Chapter at Supper and saying my prayers. In bed, glanced over the two last volumes of *Sir Charles Grandison*, before putting out my candle.



Thursday, September 17

Got up about eight. Prayed and sat down to finish a letter I had formerly begun to my mother. Finished it about breakfast time, and enclosed it with that which I last night wrote to my brother in a packet to be sent by the Galloway post.^[21] Sent also to Mr Elliot's for the books I engaged to send to Mr Gordon.^[22] At breakfast, read my Chapter as usual. Read a proof sheet of Fourcroy, nearly in the time I was under my hairdresser's hands. Finished a sheet of the translation. Waited on Dr Blacklock. Found Mrs Blacklock [*interlined*: engaged] on a very melancholy novel, *The Young Widow*,^[23] which I promised to read. Accompanied the Dr in his walk around the meadow. Returned home and continued to translate till dinner. At dinner read my Chapter. Mr Willison had sent for copy, without getting it; and Mr Elliot now sent to know why? I waited on Mr Willison with what copy I had ready, and promised to supply him better in future. Mr Macfarquhar had sent to let me know that the apartment at the Printing House was ready for me. I called to see it. It will do. I returned to my translation. After writing for some time, took up Gibbon's history of reading concerning Jovian and Valentinian.^[24] Wrote some more, then drank my tea, and read, but not with sufficient attention, another Chapter. After tea, went to Sibbald's Library. Sibbald praised an imprudent and wantonly bitter critical letter I had given him for his *Magazine*.^[25] I was too much pleased with his praises. Some very improper sentiments arose upon them, in my heart. Returned the 7 and 8 volumes of *Sir Charles Grandison*. Borrowed the 4th volume of Colman's plays.^[26] After coming home, drank two glasses of wine, the first with an infusion of Cort. Peruv.^[27] Translated some more Fourcroy. Read one of Colman's plays. Wrote this account of the day. I have not finished the Table for Mr Macfarquhar, which should have been finished last night – a liar! and a sluggard!



Thursday, Sept: 17. Got up about eight. Prayed and sat down to finish a letter I had formerly begun to my mother. Finished it about breakfast time, and enclosed it with that which I last night wrote to my brother in a packet to be sent by the Galloway post. Sent also to Mr Elliot for the books I engaged to send Mr Gordon. At breakfast read my Chap. as usual. Read a proof sheet of Fourcroy, nearly in the time I was under my hairdresser's hands. ... Finished a sheet of the translation. Waited on Dr Blacklock. Found Mrs Blacklock ^{engaged} and a very melancholy novel, The young Widow, which I promised to read. Accompanied the Dr in his walk round the meadow. Retired home & continued to translate till dinner. At dinner read my Chap. - Mr Marrison had sent for copy, without getting it; & Mr Elliot now sent to know why? I waited on Mr M with what copy I had ready, & promised to supply him better in future. Mr Mack

Fig. 6 A page from Heron's journal, showing part of the entry for 17 September 1789. (Reproduced courtesy of the Centre for Research Collections, University of Edinburgh, EUL La.iii.272)



Friday, September 18

Awoke, I suppose, about my usual time. Read in bed some farces of Colman's. Got up about nine. Prayed and at breakfast read my Chapter. Translated from Fourcroy till my hairdresser called. Under his hands, read on Gibbon. Translated some Fourcroy. Then repaired to the printing house, not so early as I ought. Delivered my manuscript to Mr Willison. Spent the day till four in the Afternoon at the printing house, carrying on the translation of Fourcroy's Table, and reading Miln's *Lectures*.^[28] Returned home with the two first volumes of the *Connoisseur*,^[29] which I borrowed at Sibbald's, after returning the book I borrowed last night. Dined, reading my Chapter as usual. Translated more from Fourcroy. Mr Willison's boy called. The copy which I had promised not ready. Went to see Dr B. He slept well last night. Mr Miller, another amiable blind man, called while I was with the Dr. His conversation was very agreeable, though on a subject of which I am totally ignorant. Left the Dr between 8 and 9. Walked a little way with Mr Miller. Returned home. Translated from Fourcroy. Supped, and read my chapter. I don't understand the new Testament. Invited myself to tea at Dr B's to-morrow night; and I cannot go – I neglect my studies, and neglect earning a livelihood.



Saturday, September 19

Awoke between 6 and 7. Lay in bed, reading papers of the *Connoisseur* till about 9. Got up. Prayed – carelessly and hastily. At breakfast, read my chapter – carelessly, too, although it related the trial and last sufferings of my Saviour. Translated very eagerly from Fourcroy after breakfast, a task in which I should have been engaged in the morning. My hairdresser did not call till eleven. Under his hands, I revised and corrected nearly the whole of a proof sheet; the rest of it, after he set me at liberty. Wrote some more from Fourcroy. Mr C. Elliot called to scold. I have used Mr Elliot very ill. Carried to Mr Willison what I had ready, with the proof sheet. Promised three sheets on Monday. Was at Mr Macfarquhar’s printing house by twelve – an hour too late. Translated from Fourcroy’s table till after three. Read till [*interlined: four*] a Lecture by a Mr Miln – a part of it, illustrating the scripture account of the first [*interlined: five*] days of the Creation. Returned home. At dinner, read the last chapter of Matthew. After dinner, on the *Connoisseur*. Mr Spence and Mr Lindoe drank tea with me, by appointment. Received them, and conversed with them kindly, I flatter myself, and without ostentation. Went out with them, to see Dr B. The Dr’s family had, for some time, waited tea on me. Staid with the Dr till after eight. Returned home. Sat down to my Journal, and read another Chapter.



Sunday, September 20

Had determined, last night, to get up early; but, notwithstanding my resolution, slept till between six and seven, and continued in bed, reading the *Connoisseur*, till between 8 and 9. Was then called up by my hairdresser. Breakfasted. I had not forgot to pray. At breakfast, read my chapter. Soon after finishing my chapter, set out for Corstorphine, where I had engaged to preach.^[30] Reached the manse between eleven and twelve. Went, soon after, into church. Lectured and preached indifferently, or even worse than indifferently. Prayed and read the Psalms tolerably well. Dined in the manse, was kindly used, and behaved – almost modestly enough. Arrived at Dr Blacklock’s before six. Drank tea, and chatted, with the Dr and his family nearly till eight. Then returned home, after seeing an old lady who was with them to her lodgings. Supped; said prayers; read a chapter; and went to bed. A short day this!



Monday, September 21

Got up about seven. Prayed. Sat down to write. Translated from Fourcroy till nine. At breakfast, read my Chapter, and papers in the *Connoisseur*. After breakfast, Fourcroy again. Under my hairdresser's [*interlined*: hands], the *Connoisseur*. Not at the printing house till twelve: an hour too late. Gave Mr Willison not three sheets, as I had promised, but only one. Finished the table from Fourcroy. Began to write on the word Creation.^[31] Read more. Brought from Sibbald's Circulating Library several books to be consulted in writing that and some other articles. Returned home at four. Dined, with my chapter. Mr Tattersall called. I went to drink tea with him. Was very happy with him. Received in a present from him two pieces of jasper, with one piece of asbestos. Borrowed from him a book entitled *Advice to the Clergy*.^[32] Called at Mr Fraser's. Nobody at home. At Dr Blacklock's, read to the family on Mrs Piozzi's anecdotes of Dr Johnson,^[33] till between eight and nine. Returned home. Wrote a part of my journal. Supped. Read my Chapter, prayed, and went to bed. So slips life away unimproved!



Tuesday, September 22

Arose between six and seven. Translated from Fourcroy till nine. Breakfasted. My chapter, as usual. After breakfast continued to translate till my hairdresser appeared. Under his hands, the *Advice to the Clergy*, of which I already had read a considerable part last night and this morning together, entertained me. Carried Mr Willison another sheet. Arrived at the printing house about twelve. Still an hour too late. Proceeded slowly with the article, Creation, and read on Miln's *Lectures* and Goldsmith's *Natural History*^[34] till four. The man from whom I had my mare to the country asked twelve shillings of the hire which still remain unpaid. Mr Macfarquhar's conduct I am so foolish as not to like. Dined and read my chapter. Concluded the *Advice to the Clergy*. There is some wit in it. My taylor, whom I had sent for, called. Ordered a nightgown. Read on the *Connoisseur* till six; at that hour went to call on Mr Christison.^[35] Not finding him at home, drank tea with Mr Fraser and his daughters. They, colder than I expected. Endeavoured to be entertaining; and perhaps was so. Returned home between eight and nine; the *Connoisseur*. This Journal. Supper comes next.



Tuesday, Sept: 22. Arose between six and seven. Trans-
lated from Fourcroy till nine. Breakfasted. My
Chapter, as usual. After breakfast continued to trans-
late till my handker appeared. Under his hands,
the Advice to the Clergy, of ^{which} I already had read a cons-
iderable part, last night and this morning togeth-
er. entertained me. — Carved Mr Millison another
er sheet. Arrived at the printing house abo-
ut twelve. Still an hour too late. Proceeded
slowly with the article, Creation, and read
on Mili's Lectures, and Goldsmith's Nat. Hist.
till four... The man from whom I had my
mare to the country, asked twelve shillings
of the fare which still remain unpaid.
Mr Macfarquhar's conduct I am so foolish
as not to like. Dined & read my Chapter.
Concluded the Advice to the Clergy. There
is

Fig. 7 A page from Heron's journal, showing part of the entry for 22 September 1789. (Reproduced courtesy of the Centre for Research Collections, University of Edinburgh, EUL La.iii.272)



Wednesday, September 23

Arose soon after six. Prayed. Translated diligently from Fourcroy till nine. Mr Haining called, by appointment, to breakfast. Entertained him at breakfast, and chatted in as obliging a manner as I could. He told me of a boy who has done very ill. Oh! how ill have I done! Finished a sheet from Fourcroy for Mr Willison. My hairdresser. Delivered Mr Willison his sheets. Appeared in the printing house only at twelve. Wrote slowly on Creation. Read none. At four, returned home. Dined, with my chapter. After dinner, walked in the meadow. Drunk tea with Mr Buchanaan [sic]. He talked too much, I too dogmatically; I felt myself too much disposed to imitate him. Called at Dr Blacklock's. Sat with the Doctor about an hour. I suspect I should not visit the Doctor so often, were not Miss S.^[36] to be seen there. Returned home between eight and nine. Read my chapter, a few lines in the beginning of Mickle's [sic] *Lusiad*.^[37] Said prayers, and went to bed.



Thursday, September 24

Arose between seven and eight. Sat down to translate, and translated industriously till after nine. Breakfasted. The *Lusiad* at breakfast. The same under my hairdresser's hands. Finished my sheet of Fourcroy, and gave it into Willison's hand; but did not reach the printing house till after twelve. Creation still; my progress in it but slow. Read the Preface to the *Universal History*,^[38] and a small part of its account of the opinions of the Ancients concerning the Origin of the world. Read, also, Goldsmith's account of Burnet's,^[39] Woodward's,^[40] Whiston's^[41] and Buffon's^[42] theories of the Earth. Returned home about five o'clock. Dined. Called on Mr Christison, in consequence of his having [word missing: ?been] at my lodgings in the forenoon. Returned home to receive Mr Tattersall, who came to drink tea with me. Went to see Dr B. He was not in but came in soon, and was in good spirits. Read before he came in the best part of a paper in the *Spectator*,^[43] on Witchcraft. Returned home. Read some part of the *Lusiad*, finished yesterday's Journal, said prayers, and went to bed. I must not forget that, before going to bed, I transcribed a letter to the Editor of the *Monthly Review*,^[44] a scroll of which I had written last night. I wrote one sentence of a paper for Sibbald's *Magazine*.



Friday, September 25

Arose between seven and eight. Sat down to translate. At nine breakfasted; my chapter as usual. Continued to translate till my hairdresser arrived. Under his hands, read, I believe, the *Lusiad*. Finished my translation. Gave it to Mr Willison and appeared in the printing house by twelve. Creation still: Cosmogony in the *Universal History*,^[45] Goldsmith's *Natural History*, *English Review*^[46] for August. Returned home at five. Dined; my chapter, Peter Pindar's *Bozzy and Piozzi*.^[47] Drank tea with Mr Haining. Returned home. Read *Boz. and Pioz.* again, I believe; the *Lusiad* too. Supped on an egg. Said Prayers. Went to bed.



Saturday, September 26

Arose between seven and eight. Prayed. Sat down to translate, with *Bozzy and Piozzi* before me. Translated till nine; reading, at intervals, the merry performance which stood open before me. Breakfasted. Finished and delivered my sheet of translation. I don't recollect what I read while under my hairdresser's hands. Goldsmith's *Natural History* at the Printing House. Still I am too late in making my appearance there. Creation went slowly on. Quoted in it Brydone's *Tour*, from the *Annual Register* 1775.^[48] At five, at home again. Dined; but no chapter. A. Spence called; and I could not presume to read on the Bible in his presence. Made him drink some wine with me. Accompanied [him] to a Mr Lindoe's room; from which we went, all three, to drink [*interlined*: tea] at Mr Spence's. Found myself happy in the company of these young men, and another whom they introduced to me. Behaved rather foolishly. Talked impertinently about my adventures with Nicol.^[49] Called on Dr B. Found him tolerably well. Miss S. begins to have power over me. Came home. *Monthly Review* and *European Magazine*. Finished my yesterday's journal, and began my account of to-day. Went to bed. My prayers too carelessly said.



Sunday, September 27

Had been disturbed with noise at the door during the night, and therefore did not get up till nine. Did not pray. Under my hairdresser's hands, finished the second volume of the *Connoisseur*. Trifled away the forenoon, with Piozzi's *Anecdotes of Dr Johnson*, the *European Magazine* and the *Monthly Review*, both for last month, and Pinkerton's *Vita Sanctorum Scotiae*.^[50] At breakfast, however, I read a chapter, and over a bowl of broth, at two o'clock, another. Preached in the afternoon, in a very indifferent manner, in the College Church. After Sermon, rode out to Mr Butterworth's.^[51] Eat a cold dinner, chatted with him and his family and two friends; and after tea, returned to town, with his son behind me. The hostler asked money of me. Mr McKean still unpaid. Borrowed from Miss Irvin, for the roll and church. Wrote a little of a paper, concerning the *Vitae Sano*,^[52] for Sibbald. After that, this Journal.



Monday, September 28

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Tuesday, September 29

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Wednesday, September 30

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1790



Friday, January 29

After discontinuing my Journal for a considerable time, from finding my circumstances [*interlined*: unpromising], from indolence, and from unwillingness to review and amend my conduct, I will now resume it and endeavour to render it useful. Merciful God! forsake me not! My prospects are now good. I am well employed and not illiberally paid; but I am indolent, passionate, foolish, vain, and regardless of truth. Let me overcome these habits. I got up this morning, only at nine o'clock. To-morrow, let eight be my hour. Was peevish and indiscreet to my brother at breakfast.^[53] After that, beat him very inhumanly for almost no fault. Was late in appearing in Dr Black's Class-room. He was giving a detail of the experiments by which he discovered magnesia to be a peculiar earth, and to be capable of existing in two different states.^[54] I did not listen with proper attention, and have not profited much by hearing him. Returned home. Finished a part of a page of the Natural History of the Zebra.^[55] Wrote the preceding part of my Journal for this day. Returned to my writing. Finished the natural history of the zebra, and of the quagga. Read the chapters upon Instinct and upon the Senses in Smellie's *Philosophy of Natural History*.^[56] Read the chapter upon the Formation of Strata, in Buffon's *Natural History*. Dined between three and four as usual. Taught my brother to explain a chapter in Tacitus. Used him kindly. He was modest and diligent. After finishing, and attending Mr Scott for English at the usual hour, he wrote out in a fair hand the English for the Latin Version, which he is to give next in to Dr Hill.^[57] Drank tea between six and seven. Read Buffon's History of the Ox. Began the history of that animal.





Fig. 8 John Kay, *Dr Joseph Black, Lecturing*. Black was a celebrated lecturer and his classes at the University of Edinburgh regularly attracted large crowds. Heron was among them on the 29 January and 8 February 1790. (Reproduced courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG D18644)



Saturday, January 30

Got up a little before nine. Breakfasted. Walked out to Blackford Hill, with the 21st volume of Rousseau's *Works* in my pocket. Read the conclusion of one of his Reveries – On Truth. Read on the hill a part of the following reverie, in which he relates, in beautiful, sentimental language, the manner in which he spent two months in the Isle de Pierre, in Switzerland. Enjoyed two happy hours in my walk. Returned home. Met with a Mr Kay who led me to think of calling on Mr Nicol. Spent most of the forenoon, in a lounging way, with him and the young men in his house. Dined with him. Stayed tea. Walked out foolishly to call on several people whom I had no occasion to wait upon, with a Mr Crichton. Brought him to sup with me. Entertained him, and Mr Smith and Mr Hope,^[58] in a moderate way. Said prayers, listened to a chapter of the bible which my brother read, and went to bed. An ill spent day!



Sunday, January 31

Arose about nine, or rather later. Mr Hope at breakfast. Chatted idly with Mr Smith for a considerable part of the forenoon. Read and corrected two half sheet proofs of my Natural History. Turned up several quotations in Aristotle and Pliny, and one in Chardin's *Travels*.^[59] Explained to my brother two sentences in Tacitus. Dined. Read in Pennant's *History of Quadrupeds*, and in his *British Zoology*,^[60] the natural history of the Bull species. Walked out with my brother. Called on Dr Blacklock. Chatted in as lively and as modest a manner as possible. Did not pay sufficient attention to the Doctor. I see Mrs Blacklock is not quite well pleased with me. Yet, I am not to blame. Made my entrance and my exit, both, in a very awkward manner. Returned home.



Wednesday [no date given]

I have now spent two days and an half in a trifling, idle manner. I have made little progress in my Work, scarce any in my studies, and none in the reformation of my heart and conduct. One half of this day still remains. Wrote a part of the natural history of the bull. Read a part of the debates on a bill for inducing sailors to enter the royal navy – in Johnson. Settled my Accounts with my landlady; but without paying her off. Chatted with my brother, my cousin, and James Murray from New Galloway.^[61] Retire to my bed-room.



Thursday [no date given]

Trifled away the forenoon in my bookseller's shop, waiting for money, and at length came away without receiving it. Took a quotation from Caesar^[62] in the shop. Dined. Wrote a very few pages. Returned for my money. Got a smaller part with difficulty. To get the rest on Saturday. Appeared in the Natural History Society at the proper hour. Assisted very feebly and awkwardly in the debate on a Paper on Aqueous Meteors. Listened carelessly to another, on the Natural History of man, which was read. Joined with warmth, and almost unnecessarily, in a dispute which arose. Swore indecently. Returned home. Supped. Read part of a new number of the *Annual Review*.^[63] I don't find that I have learned any thing from it. Said prayers, listened to a chapter read by brother, and went to bed.



Friday, February 4

Arose between eight and nine. Read on the *Annual Review*, without receiving improvement, at breakfast and while under my barber's hands. Did not attend Dr Black's lecture.



Sunday Even, February 6

Three other days have passed without improvement in either virtue or knowledge. I have been foolish and vicious, and have, deservedly, incurred contempt. O God, have mercy on me!



Monday, February 7

Lost.



Tuesday, February 8

Got up between eight and nine. Scarce prayed. Read, under my hairdresser's hands, on Forster's *Observations in a Voyage round the World*.^[64] Read, at breakfast, on the same book. Luminous appearances of the Ocean – Electric – Producing by living animals – Giving to phosphoric matter. At Dr Black's class between ten and eleven – Observed gypseous stones: Fluorspar. Heard Dr Shinler read a tolerable lecture on the character and offices of angels, between eleven and twelve. Returned home. Read and corrected a proof of a part of the Natural history of the ox. Read Buffon's and Pennant's history of the buffalo.

[*the following page has been cut out*]^[65]





Fig. 9 A sketch of St Bernard's Well by Alexander Nasmyth. Heron visited the well on 9 and 10 July 1790. (Reproduced courtesy of the National Galleries of Scotland, NGS D3727.11)



Friday, July 9

After losing my brother by a consumption, which, I fear, my imprudence contributed to throw him into, at New Galloway on the 16th of last month, and committing many a foolish and many a base action, I wish again to renew my Journal, and mend my life. Did not get up to-day till between nine and ten. Wrote two paragraphs of a letter to my father. Read a very small part of Lesseps' Journey from Kamtschatka to France.^[66] Entertained at dinner Mr Bruce and Mr Millar. Wrote nearly eighteen pages of a translation from the French. Read a few pages of Smith on the Formation of Language.^[67] Glanced over the Newspaper. Reflect on my impious, undutiful, and foolish conduct. Sent two half volumes of the *Encyclopaedia* to Mr Guthrie.^[68] Dressed at about eight o'clock. Walked to St Bernard's Well,^[69] and drank two glasses of water. Returned home. Entertained Mr A. Macartney at supper. Chatted idly with him. Said prayers. Went to bed.



Saturday, July 10

Awoke before six, I think. Lay loitering in bed, half asleep, half awake, till it was nearly ten. Got up. Wrote out my Journal for last night. Ordered breakfast. Translated from Anquetil^[70] half a sheet. Dined with J. Grierson. Drank tea with Mr Christison. Went into town, and walked to St Bernard's Well, on the north side. Returned home. A Mr Fairbairn to sup with me. Tarts and eggs. Detained him till between one and two. Prayed. Went to bed.



Sunday, July 11

Mr Mitchel^[71] awaked me at eight. Read under his hand a Sermon of Jortin's.^[72] Dressed. Did not breakfast, but drank some butter-milk. On a hired horse, rode out to Ratho, to preach. Mr Robertson's family better.^[73] Lectured in the forenoon on a part of a chapter in the Acts, not very indifferently. Preached, in the afternoon, on the Evidences of Christianity, very ill. Dined in company with Mr Robertson, Mr Waugh and two other gentlemen in Mr R's house. Behaved neither very improperly, nor with superior propriety. Rode home in the evening. Rode a few miles in the way towards Queensferry. An agreeable road – hills – quarries – corn – fields – houses – plantations – the river. Returned home. Paid eighteen pence, and still owe sixpence of my horse hire. Read upon Riesbeck's *Travels*.^[74] Supped. Went to bed.



Monday, July 12

Loitered in bed till after nine. Said prayers. Wrote out my Journal for yesterday. Breakfasted. Translated, in the course of the forenoon, half a sheet of the third volume of Anquetil. I had resolved to translate a whole sheet, or a sheet and an half. Read, at intervals, a part of Smith's Treatise on the Formation of Language, and a part of Riesbeck's account of the Circle of Swabia. Wrote a [*interlined: few*] words of a Letter to my father, the finishing of which I have too long delayed. Went to dine, by invitation, with Mr Kay. Did not go willingly, and did not behave ill while with him. Drank tea in Mr Frazer's, where I chatted and behaved foolishly. Returned home. Trifled at my window. Mr Christison called. Walked out with him. Talked of Gilbert Stewart,^[75] Dr Johnson, Pope's *Imitations of Horace*^[76] – Mathematics, with what ease or difficulty eminence in that Science is attainable. Concerning History, I read some of my paragraphs. Mr C's brother, George, poorly. No supper – so say prayers, go to bed, and get up by seven nearly, to-morrow.





Fig. 10 Old Parliament Square, Edinburgh, where Sibbald's library, Elliot's bookshop and a number of other stationers and booksellers were based. A painting by Henry Gibson Duguid. (Reproduced courtesy of the National Galleries of Scotland, NGS D2646)



Tuesday, July 13

Got up about half after seven. Prayed. Read over a proof sheet. Wrote a short note to Mr James Neill.^[77] Wrote another paragraph of my letter to my father. Concluded that part of Smith's Treatise on the Formation of Language which explains the simplification of Declensions and Conjugations, by the help of Prepositions. Proceeded to translate. Read, under my hairdresser's hands, a part of Lesseps' *Journey*. Went to town to talk again with Mr Bell about a translation of it, and to buy quills. Mr Bell promises to propose it to J. Murray,^[78] I suppose. Called on Mr Hill for quills.^[79] Talked improperly with him about Lesseps. Returned home, and sat down to write. At twenty minutes after three, I have translated only ten pages. Dined. Continued to translate till eight o'clock, and translated in all eighteen pages. Read two of Hume's Essay[s],^[80] on Parties in General, and whether monarchy or Republicanism be predominant in the British Government. Read also the beginning of Lucian's account of Alexander, the impostor.^[81] In the evening, walked out – met with Mr Hawkins, who returned and supped with me. Talked idly with him. Prayed. Went to bed.



Wednesday, July 14

Loitered in bed, indulging foolish thoughts till half after nine. Arose. Prayed. Finished my yesterday's journal. Breakfasted. Translated of Anquetil eleven pages before dinner. Read an Essay of Hume's on the Parties of Great Britain, and Lucian's *Dialogue of Toxaris*. Dined between three and four. Continued to translate till the evening. Translated in the whole course of the day twenty pages. Read a part of Riesbeck's *Travels* – his voyage down the Danube to Vienna, and a part of his account of that city. A Mr Campbell, an Irishman, called to sup with me; from him I received some useful information concerning the Foundling Hospital of Dublin, the University of Dublin, the style in which Irishmen of large fortunes live, the hospitality of the inhabitants of Cork, and the late Provost Andrews of Dublin University. Prayed and went to bed about twelve.



Thursday, July 15

In bed till between nine and ten. Prayed. Wrote out my Journal for yesterday. Breakfasted. Finished the first, and read a considerable part of the second, volume of Riesbeck's *Travels*. Vienna and Austria in general, Hungary, Carinthia. Dined at my usual hour. Translated in the course of the whole day only thirteen pages. Read various anecdotes in Anquetil concerning the calamities which befell Lewis XIV in the latter part of his reign, and the intrigues then carried on at his Court. Finished my letter to my father, and put it, in the evening, into the post-office. Met Mr Nairne, and brought him to sup with me. Valued myself, with a degree of childish vanity, on lending my umbrella to a lady, and exposing myself to rain. Mr Nairne, a very agreeable and intelligent companion. He left me between eleven and twelve. I then Prayed and went to bed.



University of Dublin, the style in which Irish
men of large fortunes live, the hospitality
of the inhabitants of Cork, and the late Pro-
vost Andrews of Dublin University. Prayed &
went to bed about twelve. —

Thursday, July 15.

In bed till between nine and ten. — Prayed —
Wrote out my Journal for yesterday. — Breakfasted —
Finished the first, and read a considerable part of
the second volume of Riesbeck's Travels in Vienna &
Austria in General, Hungary, Constantinople & Sicily at
my usual hour. — Translated in the course of the
whole day only thirteen pages. — Read various anec-
dotes in Anquetil, concerning the calamities which
befell Lewis XIV. in the latter part of his reign, and
the intrigues then carried on at his Court. — Fin-
ished my letter to my father, and put it, in
the evening, into the post-office. Met Mr
Nairne, and brought him to sup with me.
Valued myself, with a degree of indelicacy,

Fig. 11 A page from Heron's journal, showing part of the entries for 14 July and 15 July 1790.
(Reproduced courtesy of the Centre for Research Collections, University of Edinburgh, EUL
La.iii.272)



Friday, July 16

Lay till my usual late hour in the morning. Got up, at length. Breakfasted. Wrote out my yesterday's Journal. Read the second volume of Riesbeck to an end in Bohemia, Saxony, Saxon literature, the Reformation, John Huss, Luther, Wieland, Goethe, etc. Went into town in the forenoon. Returned [to] Mr Bradfute^[82] the first volume of Jortin; borrowed of him *Zeluco*.^[83] Looked at a collection of Soame Jenyn's Works,^[84] and at Pulteney's *Biograph. Mem. of Botany*.^[85] Saw a book of Poems, with a well written dedication to H. Dundas.^[86] Dined, at my usual hour, on raw vegetables. Read carefully, at dinner, the last number of the *English Review*. Continued to write and read alternately through the afternoon. Translated only twelve pages in the whole course of the day. Went out in the evening. Walked through the town, and returned by Laurieston. Met with Mr Grierson, on my return, and with him walked some time longer. Supped with him. Behaved sillily, and talked foolishly. Came home, and went to bed between eleven and twelve. Read foolishly on *Zeluco*, in bed. Did not forget my prayers.



Saturday, July 17

Lay in bed almost till ten. Prayed. Wrote out my yesterday's Journal. Breakfasted. Translated a note belonging to the first volume of Anquetil, of which a part had been before neglected. Read upon the first volume of *Zeluco* by Dr Moore. Translated not quite six pages. Read a proof sheet. Dined and spent the afternoon with Mr Buchanan. Did not behave well. In a passion with my landlady before I went out. Returned in the evening only to read *Zeluco*, and sup on strawberries. Mr Christison called, and we talked on beaten topics. Prayed. Read in bed.



Sunday, July 18

Arose about seven. Translated from Anquetil, and read *Zeluco* till after nine. Breakfasted with Mr Christison. Walked with him, upon Arthur Seat. Returned home between twelve and one. Was angry to find myself shut out. Met Messrs Waugh and Smith whom I brought in with me, and entertained with a bottle of porter. Wrote some more pages of my translation. Have translated only six pages today. Went to dine, at Leith. Spent the afternoon and evening there and on my way home. Levity of conversation, disregard of truth and honesty, ingratitude to my parents, and all the basest vices that can disgrace humanity are still the strongest features of my character. Prayed. Went to bed. Read *Zeluco* in bed.





Fig. 12 Alexander Nasmyth, *A View of Edinburgh taken from near St Anthony's Chapel, 1789*. Arthur's Seat and its vicinity was a popular resort for walkers. Heron records going there on 18 July 1790. (Reproduced courtesy of the British Museum, BM D50231.31)



Monday, July 19

Lay in bed till ten, reading *Zeluco*, which I finished. Prayed. Wrote out my Journal for yesterday. Breakfasted. Corrected a proof half sheet of my Natural History.¹⁸⁷¹ Mr McCartney called and insulted by an account of the ignominy with which I am branded for my dishonest conduct in respect to the natural history. I acknowledged it not undeserved. Waited on Mr Bell and Mr Neill. Mr Bell wishes to see Anquetil finished. Mr Neill very obliging – to have the half of Kamtschatka. Came home to dinner. Translated only twelve pages to-day. Supped alone, and went to bed at an early hour, but read Dr Moore in bed.



Tuesday, July 20

Paid what remained due of chaise-hire for my mother and my deceased brother today. Translated half a sheet.



Wednesday, July 21

In bed nearly till ten. Prayed. Wrote out my Journal for Monday and yesterday. Read to the end of the third volume of Riesbeck's *Travels*, and of the first volume of Moore's *Italy*.^[88] Mr Neill called and conversed some time with me. Spent the whole day at home. Mr Ranken dined with me. Revised, in the forenoon, two proofs. Mr Hope drank tea with me. Translated in the whole course of the day twenty four pages of Anquetil. Drank a tumbler of rum and water, prayed, and went to bed, between eleven and twelve. Read, in bed, several papers of the *Adventurer* by Johnson, with J's Preface to the *Harleian Miscellany*.^[89]



Thursday, July 22

Read Moore's *Italy* in bed. Arose between nine and ten. Prayed. Wrote out my Journal for yesterday. Breakfasted. Finished the history of the tapiir.^[90] Went to town for paper. Brought with me Scott's *Critical Essays*; not much in them. A good observation on local descriptive poetry in Hoole's life of Mr Scott.^[91] Translated from Anquetil through the rest of the day, and made out twenty-four pages. Got a new pair of breeches from my taylor, with which I was much pleased. Put them on, and walked out. Supped on turnips, and a tumbler of rum and water. Prayed. Went to bed. Read Moore's *Italy* in bed.



Friday, July 23

Lay in bed till near ten. Read on the second volume of Moore's *Italy*. Got up. Prayed. Wrote out my yesterday's Journal. Breakfasted. Read Hume's Essay on Eloquence. Read the natural history of the elephant in Linnaeus, Buffon, Pennant, and Sparrmann.^[92] Wrote a sheet for my Compilation. Revised a proof sheet. Translated twelve pages of Anquetil. Dined on tart, and a large glass of rum and water. Read the Newspaper – the Philanthropic Society, an excellent institution.^[93] Read a part of Rousseau's letter to M. De Beaumont, in defence of the principles advanced in his *Treatise on Education*.^[94] Supped on bread and cheese and a bottle of porter. Thought of my deceased brother, of my inattention and inhumanity to him in the beginning of his illness, of my barbarous negligence of my parents and sisters. Prayed. Went to bed. Read, in bed, *Cicero's Letters*.



Saturday, July 24

Lay in bed till late in the morning. Read on the 2nd volume of Moore's *Italy*. Prayed. Finished my yesterday's Journal. Wrote another sheet of the natural history of the Elephant. Dined on boiled turnips, bread and cheese, and porter. Translated four and twenty pages of Anquetil. Thought often on my wicked conduct to my late brother, my parents and sisters. Received, in the Evening, a letter from my father, which gave me pleasure and raised my spirits. Dressed and went out to call on Mr James Hope, who brought my letter, in order to deliver him an answer which I had written. Did not find him. Returned home. Supped on roasted lamb and porter. Read Moore's *Italy*. Prayed. Went to bed. Even in bed, read Moore.



Sunday, July 25

Arose about nine. Thinking of my relations. Prayed. Took Dr Blair's *Sermons*.^[95] Read under my hairdresser's hands and afterwards that part of his sermon on the Government of the heart which relates to the regulation of the thoughts. Read also the life of Addison by Dr Johnson.^[96] Wrote out my yesterday's Journal – and thus far of today. Wrote four pages of translation from Anquetil. Mr James Hope called on me. Walked with him to his inn. Went to church. Heard Mr Greenfield^[97] preach on the omnipresence of the Deity – we should think of it when tempted to evil – when languishing in duty – when sinking under affliction. Returned home. Walked a short way with some ladies. Pleased, though I ought not to be so, to see that one was piqued at me. Mr Cririe^[98] and Mr Smith dined with me. Our conversation not quite what I could wish. Mr Cririe and I called on Dr Blacklock. Walked around the Meadow, upper part, with the Doctor. Entertained him, or endeavoured to do so. Called with Mr Cririe on Mr Buchanan. Accompanied Mr Cririe on his way to Leith. Met with two gentlemen whom I did not like, and talked, I fear, foolishly and indiscreetly. Returned home. Prayed and went to bed.



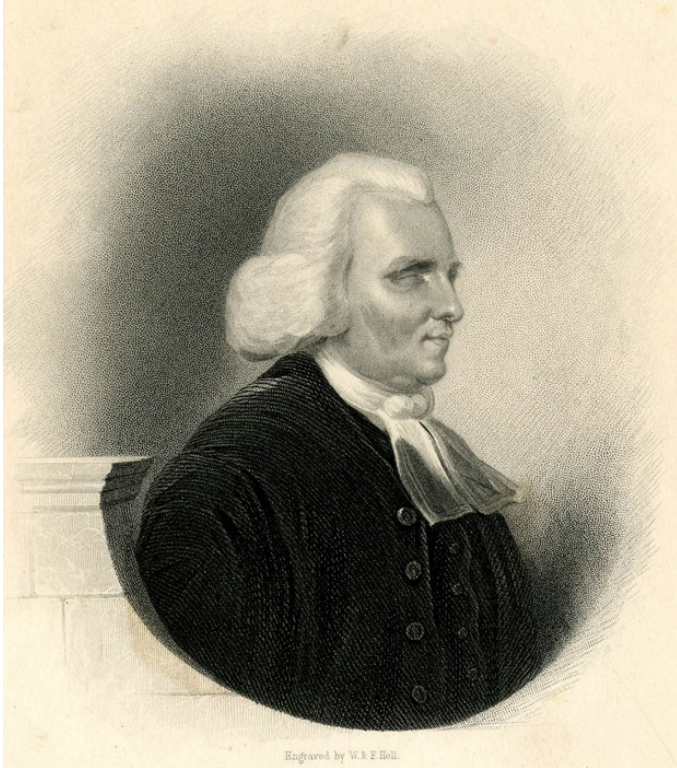


Fig. 13 A portrait of Heron's friend, the Reverend Dr Thomas Blacklock, by Francis Holl. (Reproduced courtesy of the British Museum, BM 1920,1211.241)



Monday, July 26

Four and twenty sheets translated. No Natural history.



Tuesday, July 27

The same.



Wednesday, July 28

Half a sheet of Natural History.



Thursday, July 29

In bed till late in the morning. Wrote only an half sheet of my Natural History – and eighteen pages of my translation. Entertained Mr Hope at supper in a Tavern. Returned home. Prayed. Went to bed.



Friday, July 30

Arose between five and six. Rode out by Leith and along the shore towards Musselburgh. Returned by the Musselburgh road to Edinburgh. Breakfasted with Mr Grierson. Returned home. Wrote out my Journal for yesterday. Translated, before dinner, twelve pages from Anquetil. Dined. Continued to translate. Mr Grierson interrupted me by calling to tea. Renewed my translation till after eight – I had translated twenty four pages. Read to-day only a little on Rousseau's letter to M. de Beaumont, and Johnson's life of Pope.^[99] Walked out in the evening. Mr Grierson supped with me and went about twelve.



Saturday, July 31

Two and twenty pages.



Sunday, August 1

Heard Mr Finlayson.^[100] Dined with Mr Cririe.



Monday, August 2

Lay in bed till after nine. Got up. Prayed. Breakfasted on bread and milk. Read upon Hume's Essays intituled *The Sceptic*, and Chastellux's *Travels*.^[101] Translated in the course of the whole day twenty three pages. Entertained Mr Hope and Mr Ranken at dinner, a Mr Johnstone at supper. I began to forget my parents, my sisters, and the loss of my brother. My mind is for ever engaged upon foolish or evil thoughts. Prayed. Went to bed, about twelve, I believe.



Tuesday, August 3

Arose about five o'clock. Rode to Musselburgh through a delightful tract of country. Returned by nine. Breakfasted with Mr Hope, who showed me his Collection of fossils. Returned home. Wrote a sheet of Natural History. Dined on potatoes. Finished the second volume of Chastellux. Translated twelve pages. Think of the folly and wickedness of my conduct. Bought a saddle and bridle. Finished the Sceptic in Hume. Read his Essay on Polygamy and Divorce, a part of his Essay on Simplicity and Refinement in writing. Corrected a proof sheet. Supped on bread and cheese and porter. Prayed, and went to bed about ten.





Fig. 14 Henry Gibson Duguid, *William Smellie's Printing Office, Anchor Close*. (Reproduced courtesy of the Scottish National Galleries, SNG D2573)



Wednesday, August 4

In bed nearly till ten. Pray. Breakfast. Read Hume's of National Characters. Translated twelve pages from Anquetil. Read several of Cicero's Letters [and] a Play of Lillo's^[102] – an indifferent one. Dined with Mr Bradfute. Borrowed a volume of Pliny's *Letters* by Melmoth.^[103] Bought Lillo. Came home sober enough. Read the Newspaper. Mr Christison called. Entertained Mr Hope and Mr Kay at Summer. Prayed. Went to bed between eleven and twelve. Read George Barnwell.^[104]



Thursday, August 5

Arose between five and six. Prayed. Rode by Leith's sands, nearly to Musselburgh, and returned through the country by a different road. Breakfasted with Mr Christison. Called on Mr Grierson. Returned home about eleven. Sat down to translate. Wrote two and twenty pages. Finished the third volume of Melmoth's Cicero's *Letters*.^[105] Dined at home. Did not write with sufficient perseverance. Mr Macfarquhar called about the articles for the *Encyclopaedia* for which I have been paid, but have not finished them. I have behaved infamously. I am to repay the Money. Mr Leyden^[106] with me at Supper. Our conversation foolish. Prayed. Went to bed.



Friday, August 6

In bed till late in the morning. Prayed. Breakfasted. Read the remaining of Hume on Tragedy. Translated twelve pages. Called on Mr Hill to propose a translation. Promised to send him my Author. Spent some time with Mr Neill. Mr Grierson dined with me, and drank tea. He, Mr Bradfute and Mr Burns^[107] supped. Left me at eleven o'clock. Prayed, and went to bed.



Saturday, August 7

Arose between five and six. Rode to Dalkeith. At home between eight and nine. Translated twelve pages. Read on Hume, Smith, and Melmoth's *Pliny* with great attention to style and matter. Mr Ed. Ratcliffe dined with me. Mr Neill brought me money, and we examined a proof. Translated twelve pages. Read Johnson's two first papers of the *Rambler*.^[108] Supped on berries with which Miss Irvine presented me. Prayed. Went to bed.



Sunday, August 8

Arose about 6. Rode out with Mr Hope about nine. Breakfasted. Read a sermon of Dr Blair on the Government of the passions and the temper. Finished Hume's Essay on the standard of taste. Mr Neill called, and we read over together one of his proof sheets. Read several of Pliny's letters translated by Melmoth. Mr Cririe and Mr Smith called. Promised Mr Smith money on Monday which I will not be able to pay him. Mr Cririe and I walked out. Met with Mr Nicol and another gentleman with whom we walked for some time but the conversation was uninteresting and unimproving. Returned home to dinner. Found Mr Harkness waiting for us. Conversation after dinner innocent and instructive on Mr Cririe's part. After tea I accompanied Mr Cririe so far on his way home. Met with Mr Nicol, as I returned. Spent some little time in his company, idly, but not otherwise improperly. Returned home. Read Hume's Essay on Commerce, its influence on national strength or weakness. Read also the first book of Arthur,^[109] — the imagery noble, the language happy. Two papers in the *Rambler*. Prayed and went to bed at ten o'clock.



Monday, August 10^[110]

Arose between seven and eight. Prayed. Read Hume's Essay on refinement in the arts, a paper in the *Rambler*, on the return of Spring, and part of the second book of Arthur. Wrote my Journal for yesterday. Translated half a dozen pages of Anquetil. Transcribed a few lines of my plan of an intended work. As my barber did not come, I, without fretting or blustering, dressed in the best way I could, and went out to keep my appointment with Mr Macfarquhar. He used me very kindly and accepted my bill at six months for the money advanced me. Called on Mr Neill, with whom I spent some time. Returned home to dinner. Translated twelve pages. Mr Smith drank tea with me. Paid him two guineas. Read some letters and several papers in the *Rambler*. Noted my criticisms on the latter. Wrote a part of my Journal. Supped. Prayed. Went to bed.



Tuesday, August 11

Arose about eight. Prayed. Read several of Pliny's *Letters*, a book of Arthur, and Hume's *Essay on Money*. Translated half a dozen pages. Wrote two sentences of my plan of my new work. Read some papers in the *Rambler*. Dined. Drank, after dinner, a tumbler of toddy. Read another book of Arthur, two Chapters of Smith's *Sympathy*, and a few paragraphs of Rousseau's letter to D'Alembert on the moral effects of theatrical representations.^[111] Mr Neill called in the forenoon, and we read a little piece of his. I sent to know when Mr Grierson goes for Galloway, that I may write to my father and mother by him.^[112] Made out twelve pages of translation. Read again in Rousseau. Read also two other Chapters of Smith. Supped on bread and cheese and porter. Prayed. Went to bed.



Wednesday, August 12

Arose by six. Prayed. Rode out by Musselburgh, and Returned by Craigmillar. Did not enjoy my ride as well as I might because one of my pony's shoes was loose. Returned home by nine. Breakfasted with Mr Harkness. Translated, in the forenoon, ten pages. Read the fourth book of Arthur. Dined with Mr Harkness. Sat with him till between five and six. Called to drink tea with Dr B's family. Walked round a part of the meadow with the Doctor. Was dull and awkward. Returned home about eight (I had said I would return by six). Read a few letters of Pliny's. Made out thirteen pages of translation. Read some papers of the *Rambler*, and a paragraph or two in Rousseau. Prayed. I had supped on potatoes and a glass of toddy. Went to bed.





Fig. 15 The Meadows was a public park near to Heron's lodgings in Crichton Street. He records walking there on a number of occasions. The painting is by Alexander Nasmyth. (Reproduced courtesy of the National Galleries of Scotland, NGS D3727.54)



Thursday, August 13

Lay in bed nearly till nine. Recollected the events of my life. My conduct has been, in general, very wicked, and very foolish. Prayed. Finished my yesterday's journal. Translated eight pages in the forenoon. Read several letters of *Junius*^[113] and two or three Chapters in *Livy*. Revised a proof sheet sent me by Mr Neill. Dined on peas, some porter, and a tumbler of toddy. Read a few more paragraphs in Rousseau. Made out twelve pages of translation for this day. Composed another sentence of the plan of my Traveller.^[114] Read Hume's essays on Interest, the Balance of Trade, and Jealousy of Trade. Read the fifth chapter of the first section of Smith's *Theory*.^[115] Finished a page of a letter to my father, to be sent by Mr Grierson. Supped on potatoes and butter-milk. Prayed. Went to bed.



Friday, August 13

Arose between eight and nine. Prayed. Breakfasted. Read the two last books of Arthur, with the preface. Trifled away some time over the almanac, which I had taken up, to look out the day of the month. Mr Downie^[116] my shoemaker called, and I promised to pay at least one half of his account to-morrow evening, or on Monday. Wrote only twelve pages of translation.



Saturday, August 14

Only two or three pages.



Sunday, August 15

None.



Monday, August 16

Arose by nine. Prayed. Breakfasted. Wrote a sheet of my Natural History. Read several letters in Knox's Collection.^[117] Read in Pennant, Linnaeus, and Buffon, and D'Obsonville,^[118] the natural history of the Orang-Outang. Read also Smellie on the difficulty of assigning certain and distinct characteristics of animals and vegetables. Dined on cold lamb, cabbage and peas with a tumbler of toddy. Translated a dozen pages after dinner. I had read in the forenoon Hume's Essay on Public Credit. Read in the evening some papers in the *Rambler* and a few more letters. Supped on potatoes and butter milk. Prayed. Went to bed.





Fig. 16 A portrait of William Smellie, editor of the first *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. (Reproduced courtesy of the National Galleries of Scotland, NGS PG3588)

Tuesday, August 17

Arose by six. Rode out by Leith, Musselburgh and Duddingston. Returned home between nine and ten. Wrote out my Journal for yesterday. Translated twelve pages. Read Junius' Letter to the King.^[119] Visited my little poney several times.^[120] Mr Cririe dined with me, and I spent the afternoon mostly in idle conversation with him. Accompanied him so far, on his way home. Asked a Mr Duncan, whom I have repeatedly visited, to sup with me to-morrow night. Returned home. Read Hume's Essay on some remarkable customs. Supped on potatoes and buttermilk. Read an allegory in the *Rambler* in which Wit and Learning are compared. Prayed. Went to bed.



Wednesday, August 18

Arose at nine. Prayed. Wrote out my journal for yesterday.



Wednesday, August 25

My journal has now been discontinued for eight days, during which I have not been assiduous in my studies, have told a number of lies, and have been guilty of several acts of unchastity.



Thursday, August 26

Arose between six and seven. Rode out. Breakfasted with Mr Harkness. Translated twelve pages of Anquetil. Thought on my deceased brother – my inhumanity, negligence, and imprudence towards him. Went to bed between seven and twelve.



Monday, August 30

I have translated little since Thursday; I have also made some progress in the revisal of an abridgement of Bruce's Travels.^[121] But what I have done is a mere trifle. My moral conduct has been very irregular.



1791



Saturday, January 1791

My Journal has again been long interrupted. I have visited New Galloway,^[122] and spent a short time with my father, mother and sisters. Returned to town in the end of October, and spent my time in teaching, writing, prosecuting my studies, and improving the arrangements of my little affairs. I have told many lies, uttered many oaths and obscene expressions, and committed various acts of unchastity since discontinuing my journal. My levity and folly have also arisen to a greater pitch than before. I am approaching nearer to death, and becoming less prepared to meet it.



1792



Wednesday, July 24

My Journal has now been long interrupted. I resolve to renew it.



Edinburgh, Wednesday, November 21

I am just Returned to Edinburgh after an extension of three months into the country. I am engaged in political writing, and in extending the observations which I made on my journey.^[123] It is evening. I breakfasted today with H. Mackenzie.^[124] I went to hear the debates of the Commission of the General Assembly on the Augmentation of the Stipends of the Clergy.^[125] I have since dined, read some part of Hildrop's apology for the family of the Wrong-heads,^[126] wrote a Preface to the 1st volume of the Hist. Regr.^[127] and repeated Collin's *Ode to Pity*, with part of that to Fear.^[128] Drank tea. Wrote some pages of the introductory part of my Journey.^[129] Supped, and read an hundred pages of Knox's *Tour through the Highlands in 1786*.^[130] Said prayers. Went to bed. Thoughts of M-g-t.



Thursday, November 22

Arose between seven and eight o'clock in the morning. Said prayers. Wrote out some remaining part of my last night's Journal. Breakfasted. Proceeded with my Tour. Dressed. Read the Newspapers in the Exchange Coffee-house.^[131] Returned to dinner by four in the Afternoon. Finished the introductory part of my Travels. Left it with Mr Kirkwood. Drank tea with Mrs Blacklock. Returned home. Wrote a scroll of the Dedication of Thomson's *Seasons* to Dr Blair.^[132] Supped. Prayed. Went to bed.



Friday, November 23

Arose about eight. Prayed, without kneeling. Wrote, before breakfast, and after it, till one o'clock, the Dedication to Dr Blair. Went out to receive and pay away a small sum of money. Returned home to dinner. After dinner, wrote out some part of my Journey. Drank tea with Nicol of the High School, who is at present gouty. Sought out in the circulating library a volume of Percy's *Ballads*, which contains a song to be quoted in my Journey.^[133] Returned home. Supped. Read on De Lolme^[134] two chapters concerning the progress of the English Constitution and the Legislative power in it. Prayed. Went to bed. Ah!



Saturday, November 24

Arose about eight. Wrote out my Journal for yesterday. A letter to my father and mother. Breakfasted. Boswell's *Tour*.^[135] Wrote on my own. Went out between one and two. Advertisement to Gonsalvo.^[136] Received money from Mr Kd.^[137] Read the Newspapers in the Exchange Coffeehouse. Returned home to dinner. Subscribed to Mudie's Literary Lounge.^[138] Read some Reviews and other papers. Beaumont's *Travels*^[139] to be read. Read in the morning the literary history in the *New Annual Register* for 1790.^[140] Went to bed.



Sunday, November 25

Arose between eight and nine. Wrote out last night's Journal.



Monday, December 3

My Journal has for eight days been interrupted merely by my indolence – I renew it.



Tuesday, December 4

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1793



Sunday, April 1

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Wednesday, June 13

Let me again try to continue my Journal. My life is wicked. My circumstances are uncomfortable. I have done nothing this morning but read in Rousseau's *Confessions*. Dined. Wrote out two folio pages of an Essay on Thomson's *Seasons*.^[141]Went to receive some money. Returned early in the evening. Read again on Rousseau, and after supping, went to bed.



Thursday, June 14

Loitered in bed, till after nine o'clock. Arose. Finished my perusal of Gillies's *View of the Life and Reign of the King of Prussia*.^[142] Wrote some part of my Essay on Thomson's *Seasons*. Corrected a proof-sheet of my *Tour*.^[143] Read some part of Hayley's *Essay on Painting*,^[144] and of Brown on Poetry and Music.^[145] Dined at four o'clock. Walked in the evening; and in the course of my walk read on Berkley's *Minute Philosopher*.^[146] Read at Supper *Village Politics*^[147] [and] Somerville's *Observations* etc.,^[148] and in bed Pollnitz's *Memoirs*.^[149] Did not pray.



Friday, June 15

Loitered in bed till ten o'clock. Did not pray. Read Hume's Epicurean, and some part of Hayley's *Essay on History*.^[150] Wrote some part of my *Essay on the Seasons*. Corrected a proof-sheet of my *Tour*. Went to receive some money. Bought some fish at the market. Returned some books to the Circulating Library. Borrowed Rousseau's *Letter to D'Alembert* etc. Visited Dr Blair with the Dedication to the *Seasons*. Came home. Dined. Read Rousseau. Drank tea. Walked out, and continued to read Rousseau. A delightful walk! Prayed, as I returned home. Read at home Playfair's *Letter to the People of England*.^[151] Supped on lobster. Went to bed. Read Rousseau in bed. O Rus, quango te aspiciam!^[152]



Saturday, June 16

In bed till near ten. No prayer. This day I spent as usual. In the evening I was carried to jail for a debt which I owe Mr Cririe of Leith. I was left there till Tuesday night, and then released.



Wednesday, June 20

Arose sorrowful. Prayed. Breakfasted. Read some part of Catullus.^[153] Wrote three sheets of my Essay on Thomson. Read two or three of Hume's *Essays*. Walked out in the evening with Hole's *Arthur* in my hands; and read of it one book. Prayed. Returned home. Went to bed sorrowful and read on Warburton's *Divine Legation*.^[154]



Thursday, June 21

Read in bed the latter part of Warburton's Address to the Freethinkers, in the beginning of *The Divine Legation*. Arose between nine and ten. Prayed. Wrote three sheets of my Essay on the *Seasons*, and nearly a page of my 3rd Letter to the Constitutional Associations.^[155] Read Hume's Sceptic. Finished the Phormio of Terence.^[156] Read some part of Hayley's *Essay on History* and some part of a voyage to Manila.^[157] Returned some books to the circulating library. Received half a crown from Mr Kirkwood. Prayed in the fields. Went to bed about eleven.



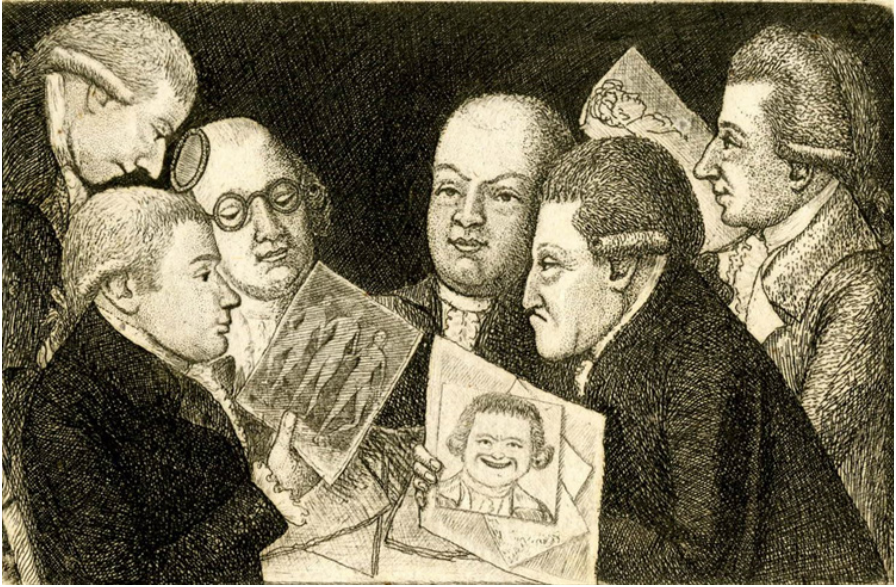


Fig. 17 John Kay, *The Connoisseurs*, 1785. James Sibbald, whose circulating library Heron mentions on a number of occasions, is sitting, first left. The others are, from left to right: William Scott, a plumber; two invented figures; George Fairholme of Greenhill, a banker; and James Kerr of Blackshiels, another banker. All four men were known for their interest in fine art. (Reproduced courtesy of the British Museum, BM 1937,1108.17)



Friday, June 22

Arose at ten. Read a book of Hole's *Arthur*. Read some few of the small poems of Catullus. Two or three also of the poems of W. Dunbar.^[158] I had prayed. Corrected a proof-sheet of my Tour. Wrote a page of my 3rd Letter to the Constitutional Associations. Prayed before going to bed. In bed, read some part of a priest's voyage to Manila in Churchill.^[159]



Saturday, June 23

Arose at ten. Prayed. Wrote sheets of my Essay, with some part of the Letter.
Read on various books. Within all day. Prayed and went to bed at ten.



Sunday, June 24

Arose between nine and ten. Prayed. Read the first book of Warburton's *Divine Legation*. Wrote two sheets of my Essay, and a few sentences of my Letter to the Constitutional Associations. Read Rousseau's *Self Admirer*.^[160] Read some part of Navarette's Travels.^[161] Prayed, and went to bed at eleven. Having read also some letters of Junius.



Monday and Tuesday, June 25, 26

Continued my usual labours without going out, and without being more wicked or more expensive.



Wednesday, June 27

Arose at nine. Breakfasted. Read a part of the first Canto of the *Botanic Garden*.^[162] Read, with admiration, some chapters of Isaiah. Continued my studies through the day, as usual. Prayed in the Evening, and went to bed at my ordinary time.



Thursday, Friday June 28, 29

Studios as usual. Walked out on Friday even. Again immoral and impious.



Tuesday, July 10

I have continued my studies. Have been lascivious. Have written less. Have lived soberly and frugally. Have been more negligent of religion. Have received a kind letter from my father. Spent a day in visiting the minister of Ratho.



1798



October 1798, Edinburgh

A number of years have elapsed without my regular continuation of my journal. I have lost my mother and all my surviving sisters. I have brought my History of Scotland nearly to a close; have discharged my debts; and am about to repair to London with prospects of great literary success. My moral habits are somewhat improved, and my passions somewhat calmed. I have suffered much. The death of my youngest [sister] Mary has been more severe than any former blow I have felt.



Wednesday, October 16^[163]

Arose a little before ten in the morning, wrote five or six pages of the Abridgement of La Peyrouse.^[164] Mused on success in London, and on the uses to be made of whatever shall be the fruits of my success. Thought with sorrow, with remorse, and yet not without some share of conscient satisfaction, of my poor deceased Mary. Read some part of the novel of *Herman of Unna*.^[165] Went out to a bookseller's. Borrowed the *Letters of Lady Rachael Russel*. Returned to dinner. Conversed, in the afternoon, with Mr Carson. Read a number of Lady Russel's *Letters*,^[166] with less approbation than I had expected. Wrote another four pages of the Abridgement.^[167] Read some few pages more of *Herman of Unna*. Got by heart the 1st and 2nd chapters of the *Manual of Epictetus*.^[168]



Thursday, October 16

Arose between the hours of nine and ten in the morning. Prayed hastily. Wrote, in the morning, some pages of the History of Scotland, and a page of La Peyrouse. Went out. Returned some borrowed books, and borrowed others. Dined at the Shakespeare Coffeehouse.¹⁶⁹¹ Trifled away money in the purchase of fruit. Returned Home to tea. Read a novel, in part. Wrote five pages of La Peyrouse. Supped with Mr Carson. Go to bed between ten and eleven o'clock. God be with me. A languid, idle day.



Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, 23 October

During these days, I have slowly continued some literary tasks which inconveniently detain me in Edinburgh; have made no real improvement in literature, morals, or fortune; have run, on Friday, into dissipated excess; have, on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, studied with somewhat of renovated ardour; have not cherished that religious pensiveness which the remembrance of the loss of my sister ought to maintain. I have now hopes to be in a very few days ready to depart for London. O God! assist, restrain, direct me!



Saturday, December 21

My stay has been prolonged. I finished a small abridgement of the *Voyages of Peyrouse and Vancouver*,^[170] with tolerable neatness and accuracy. I have nearly brought my *History of Scotland* to a close. I have studied with diligence. I have endeavoured, not with full success, to correct my habits of sloth, sensuality, foolish passionateness, vainglorious boasting, and breach of promises. I still cherish the resemblance of my dear, dear sister. I have not written to my father. I have read nothing, but for amusement or immediate composition – nothing for extension of knowledge or enlargement of mind. I hope now to go to London in eight days. I must read religious books, be frequent in prayer, studied [*i.e.* study] harder and with nobler aims, take better care of my money, fix myself in habits of certain steadiness and frugality, I must write to my father, I must prepare to be useful to my nephew and niece, I must take care to keep free from debt, I must be just, that I may afterwards be benevolent.

God pity and help me!



Appendix

The following was appended to the journal at a later date, perhaps by the antiquarian David Laing, who obtained Heron's journal in 1828.

Copy of a letter from Robert Heron to Robin [*i.e.* Colin] McFarquhar Esqr, *Encyclopaedia*, Crichton Street, February 15th 1791

Although I know, Sir! that you regard me as a wretch who has villainously imposed upon you, and to whom you have shewen almost blameable lenity, which it would be folly to extend any farther; yet my extreme distress impels me to address you once more. I assure you Sir! before God, that all that has been unworthy and unjust, in my conduct towards you, has arisen from indolence, from thoughtless folly, from the desire of becoming better qualified to accomplish the literary tasks which I undertook, and, I must add, from a criminal blindness to the guilt and infamy of slight violations of faith, not from determined villainy. It has already had the most unhappy consequences upon my character and situation. Those Booksellers with whom I am at present connected are no strangers to it; and therefore will not assist me with a shilling, before it be due in the terms of our bargain. Some advantageous offers which were made me in the end of the year, were broken off, when the persons who made them came to understand how I had acted toward you.

It is Sir! rather confusion and fear and ignorance what to do, or where to betake myself, than hope to prevail with you, to forgive me, or interfere in my behalf, that prompt me to this application. Your influence might perhaps prevail, with the Gentlemen to whom my bill now



belongs, by your indorsation, to have pais [*i.e.* peace] till I can receive money to pay them. Oh have pity on a poor wretch, who between shame and anxiety, and remorse, feels himself in a most miserable situation. Have pity on my poor parents, to whom, however improper my conduct to others, I have always endeavoured to behave with filial tenderness; and to whom my imprisonment and infamy would be the worst stroke they could possibly receive. To your heart, my ruin for life can surely afford no enjoyment. I am now, sir, if I deceive not myself, much better qualified than I was to execute the articles concerning which I have deceived you. The coins and medals of both ancient and modern times, their origin, the purposes for which they were employed, the metals of which they were made, the forms in which they were cast.^[171] The devices impressed upon them, their connection with government and manners, their utility as historical monuments, and the means by which genuine are to be distinguished from counterfeit medals, and their value to be established [*interlined*: estimated] – of all these points, I have used the greatest pains to make myself master. In Theology I have studied the doctrines, the duties and the evidence of Natural and Revealed religion, with the utmost pains. To the Socinian controversy,^[172] which has late become so important, I have been led by various considerations to pay particular attention to concerning the active powers of the lower animals, those of the human mind, the formation of language, and the origin of our notions of Power. I have in the course of the Winter made some observations which I am persuaded to regard as original.

If I were only permitted to present you with more or less of what I can produce on these subjects, carefully and industriously write and liable to be received or rejected at your pleasure, but I cannot hope for it. I have such progress in my collection of travels, that I should have sufficient time. Allow me to declare, in the presence of the God! who knows my heart, that whatever lies I may have told you formerly I now speak truth.

I am Sir your very humble servant,
[Signed] Robert Heron



Notes and references

1 *i.e. Encyclopaedia Britannica*, founded in Edinburgh in 1768. The reference to Houel's *Travels* is probably Jean-Pierre Houël's *Voyage pittoresque des isles de Sicile, de Malte et de Lipari*, published in French in the 1780s and later translated by Heron. I owe this reference to Philip Dodds.

2 There are several references to his hairdresser in the journal. Professional hairdressers appeared in seventeenth-century France to look after haircuts and wigs. Heron expected to be shaved as well. The almost daily engagement of such a person is indicative of Heron's pretensions and self-regard since his services could be regarded as extravagant, not to mention expensive, for one who was so often short of money.

3 Thomas Blacklock (1721-91), the highly respected blind poet from Annan, Dumfriesshire, who was disgracefully rejected as their minister by the parishioners of Kirkcudbright on account of his disability. He was an associate of David Hume, James Boswell, Samuel Johnson and the young Walter Scott. He is probably best known today as a staunch supporter of Robert Burns whom he encouraged to visit Edinburgh after the publication of the Kilmarnock edition. Blacklock was also greatly interested in the education of the blind. He lived in Chapel Street in Edinburgh. See McAlpine Smith, E. 'Blacklock, Thomas (1721-91)'. In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online [ODNB]*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2525>.

4 Colin Macfarquhar (1744/5-93), born in Edinburgh, was a printer, publisher and founder with Andrew Bell of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Between



1788 and 1797 he was editing material for the third edition of *Britannica*, which has been described as ‘an exemplar of the Scottish Enlightenment, the most informative general encyclopaedia in eighteenth-century Britain, and a best seller with a press run reaching perhaps 13,000 sets’. He reached the article ‘Mysteries’ before his death. See Kafker, F A. ‘Macfarquhar, Colin (1744/5-93)’. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40545>; and Brown, S W and McDougall, W, eds. *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Volume 2: Enlightenment and Expansion, 1707-1800*, Edinburgh, 2011, 538-44.

5 Possibly the Edinburgh printer David Willison, who was prosecuted along with Charles Elliot, among others, for piratical publication in 1775. Brown and McDougall, 2011, 125-6. Willison was clearly part of the *Britannica* team.

6 A library founded by James Sibbald (1747-1803), who was born at Whitlaw Farm, Roxburghshire. The phenomenally successful library, which had once been owned by Allan Ramsay, was patronised by Burns and Scott among many others. For a list of the books held by the library in 1786, see Sibbald, J. *A New Catalogue of the Edinburgh Circulating Library*, Edinburgh, 1786. For Sibbald, see McDougall, W. ‘Sibbald, James (1747-1803)’. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25495>.

7 Charles Elliott was the owner of a bookshop in which he retailed unbound copies of *Britannica* at £10 per set, making himself a fortune in the process. See Kogan, H. *The Great EB. The Story of the Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Chicago, 1958, 22.

8 Antoine Francois (1755-1809), comte de Fourcloy, was a distinguished French chemist and entomologist, who is credited along with his fellow-countryman Antoine Lavoisier of practically inventing the lexis of chemistry. At this point Heron was extracting information from Fourcloy’s *Eléments d’histoire*



naturelle et de chimie, Cuchet, 1782, for entries in *Britannica*. His translation of the fourth edition appeared in 1796. He published *Elements of Chemistry: comprehending all the most important facts and principles in the works of Fourcloy and Chaptal: with the addition of the more recent chemical discoveries* in 1800, drawing upon Fourcloy's *Philosophie chimique: Vérités fondamentales de la chimie modern, disposées dans un nouvel ordre*, Paris, 1792.

9 The word seems to transcribe as something like 'Misaging' but could it be 'Misogyny', a 'letter' on which was promised for *Britannica* and possibly inspired by his current musings on 'Creation'. Later he was reading Hume on polygamy and divorce.

10 Richardson, S. *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*, 7 vols, London, 1754.

11 Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations*, first published in 1756, was a massive contribution to the history of cultures which doubtless informed Heron's *History of Scotland*. See *Complete Works of Voltaire* website: http://www.voltaire.ox.ac.uk/www_vf/ocv/ocv_essai.ssi.

12 John Dryden (1631-1700) was an English poet and dramatist, who published *The Works of Virgil*, London, 1697. See Hammond, P. 'Dryden, John (1631-1700)'. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8108>.

13 Dryden's 'First Georgic of Virgil' was often cited in the eighteenth century as the perfect evocation of the countryside in all its moods.

14 This might have been John Home the dramatist (1722-1808) but there were other Homes in Edinburgh.

15 Charles Elliott's bookshop. See note 7.



16 Heron inserted the following note here: ‘The Journal of the two last days is dated in August by mistake’.

17 Samuel Johnson (1709-84), the incomparable, as parliamentary reporter. He is mentioned quite frequently in the Journal. Described by a modern critic as ‘arguably the most distinguished man of letters in English History’ (Roger, P. ‘Johnson, Samuel (1709-84)’. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14918>), he was also one of the greatest Scot-baiters of all time.

18 Edward Holdsworth (1684-1746), English scholar of the classics and a poet in his own right, was author of *Remarks and Dissertations on Virgil, with some other Classical Observations, by the late Mr Holdsworth. Published with several notes and additional remarks by Mr Spence*, London, 1768. See Money, D K. ‘Holdsworth, Edward (1684-1746)’. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13498>.

19 *i.e.* ‘change for the better’.

20 *i.e.* the Meadows, south of the University of Edinburgh.

21 The post office was situated in North Bridge Street. There was a service to New Galloway that departed Edinburgh every Monday and Thursday, arriving the same day. The charge for a single letter was 5d. See *The Town and Country Almanack for 1791*, Edinburgh, 1791, 21-22. There was also a weekly carrier service, which departed from the Grassmarket on Mondays and returned on Saturdays. See *Williamson’s Edinburgh Directory, from June 1790 to June 1792*, Edinburgh, 1790, 17.

22 This individual is not identified but Gordon, the surname of the Kenmure family, was common in New Galloway and the Glenkens.

23 Mrs Blacklock was Sarah Johnston (1732-1808), daughter of a Dumfries



surgeon. The novel may be *The Young Widow; or, the History of Mrs Ledwich*, 2 vols, a set of which was in Sibbald's Library (Sibbald, 1786, item 5594), or the recently published *The Young Widow; or, The History of Cornelia Sedley*, 4 vols, London, 1789, by William Hayley (although published anonymously).

24 Edward Gibbon (1737-94), the famous historian who wrote *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 6 vols, London, 1776-88. Jovian (363-64) and Valentinian (364-75) were Roman emperors.

25 *i.e.* *Edinburgh Magazine or Literary Miscellany*, founded by James Sibbald of Sibbald's Library in 1783.

26 The plays of George Colman the Elder (1732-94), including the popular *The Jealous Wife* (first performed in 1761), had been collected in *The Dramatic Works of George Colman*, 4 vols, London, 1777, a set of which was held by Sibbald's Library (Sibbald, 1786, 2170-73). The fourth volume mentioned here contains the plays *Polly Honeycombe*, *The Musical Lady*, *The Deuce is in Him*, *The Oxonian in Town*, *The Portrait*, *The Fairy Prince*, *Occasional Prelude*, *The Spleen; or, Islington Spa*, and *New Brooms*. Colman enjoyed the patronage and friendship of William Pulteney, earl of Bath, some of whose vast wealth he hoped to inherit. In the event the inheritance went to Frances Pulteney, wife of William Johnstone of the Westerhall family, Dumfriesshire, who thus became 'the wealthiest man in England', hastily adopting the Pulteney name. See Baldwin, O and Wilson, T. 'Colman, George, the elder (c.1732-94)'. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5976>; and Rowe, M J and McBryde, W H. 'Pulteney [formerly Johnstone], Sir William (1729-1805)'. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/56208>.

27 *i.e.* Peruvian Bark, also known as quinquina and cinchona, the latter after the cinchona tree from the bark of which quinine was isolated. The correspondence of Dr William Cullen (1710-90), Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh, contains 1,710 documents in which this substance is mentioned.



Heron is apparently sampling it for the first time. See *The Cullen Project* website: <http://www.cullenproject.ac.uk/items/i1/>.

28 Miln, R. *A Course of Physico-Theological Lectures Upon the State of the World from the Creation to the Deluge*, Carlisle, 1786.

29 *The Connoisseur* was a weekly publication of well-written, moderately critical essays set up by the aforementioned George Colman the Elder and Bonnell Thornton, with contributions from William Cowper. 140 issues appeared between 1754 and 1756 before publication ceased when Colman discovered his true passion was theatre.

30 The minister of Corstorphine, in 1790 a parish, and now a suburb of Edinburgh, was Thomas Sharp, who died 13 July 1791. See Scott, H. *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, 9 vols, Edinburgh, 1915-61 [*Fasti*], I, 8. Heron was a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, a ruling elder for Kells (New Galloway) and until 1799 a General Assembly delegate.

31 *i.e.* for *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

32 Several books have this title or similar. Possibly *Advice to the Clergy, a sermon preached at the primary visitation of John lord bishop of Oxford July 19, 1716*. Heron would be interested in the text for reasons of potential self-discovery.

33 Hester Thrale (1741-1821), also known as Hester Lynch Piozzi, first published her *Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson, or Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson LL.D During the Last Twenty Years of His Life*, in 1786. It immediately sold out and went into a further four editions that year although Horace Walpole dismissed it as ‘wretched, a high-varnished preface to a heap of rubbish, in a very vulgar style, and too void of method even for such a farrago’ (Walpole, H. *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, 6 vols, London, 1840, IX, 46).

34 Goldsmith, O. *An History of the Earth and Animated Nature*, London, 1774.



35 Possibly Alexander Christison, who transferred from the High School of Dalkeith where he was rector to become classics master of Edinburgh High; a man who ‘though possessed of no original advantages of birth and fortune, gradually raised himself to eminence and respectability’ (Steven, W. *History of the High School of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1849, 135). He lived in Bristo Street.

36 The identity of Miss S. remains a mystery.

37 William Julius Meikle (or Mickle) (1734-88) was born in Langholm, Dumfriesshire, but spent half of his life in England. He published his translation from the Portuguese of Luis de Camoes’ epic *Os Lusíadas* as *The Lusiad or The Discovery of India*, Oxford, 1776.

38 Swinton, J, *et al. An Universal History from the earliest account of time*, 65 vols, London, 1747-68.

39 Burnet, T. *Telluris Theoria Sacra*, London, 1681, appeared in translation as *Sacred Theory of the Earth*, London, 1689.

40 Woodward, J. *Essay towards a Natural History of the Earth and Terrestrial Bodies Especially Minerals*, London, 1695.

41 Whiston, W. *A New Theory of the Earth*, London, 1696.

42 Leclerc, G-L, comte de Buffon. *Théorie de la Terre*, Paris, 1749.

43 *The Spectator* was a Whig publication founded by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, a daily which lasted for a year, 1711-12, but which, bound in eight volumes, continued to be read long after its demise. It aimed ‘to enliven morality with wit and to temper wit with morality’.



44 The *Monthly Review* was founded in 1749 by London bookseller Ralph Griffiths. He earned notoriety for publishing *Ascanius or The Young Adventurer*, a life of Bonnie Prince Charlie, and John Cleland's *Memoirs of Fanny Hill*.

45 See note 38.

46 The *English Review* was founded by publisher John Murray in 1783 and edited by Gilbert Stuart.

47 Pindar. *P. Bozzy and Piozzi, or the British Biographers, A Town Eclogue*, London, 1786. Bozzy refers to James Boswell (1740-95) biographer of Johnson. For Piozzi, see note 33.

48 Brydon, P. *A Tour Through Sicily and Malta*, London, 1773, extracted in the *Annual Register*, 1775. In view of his current readings on 'Creation', Heron was most likely interested in the descriptions of the active volcano, Mount Etna, which Brydon dubbed 'the home of philosophy'.

49 *i.e.* William Nicol (1744-97), teacher of classics at the High School, whose punitive methods convinced Henry Cockburn that Latin had been invented to torture boys. Nicol accompanied Burns on his Highland tour but many found his bad temper inhibited friendship. See Lindsay, M. *The Burns Encyclopaedia*, London, 1959, 272. Several of Heron's other acquaintances might have also been teachers or student-tutors, such as Tattersall, Haining, Scott, Smith, Hawkins and Fairbairn but their identification as such is by no means certain.

50 John Pinkerton (1758-1826) published *Vita Antiquae Sanctorum Scotorum* in 1789. He was an irascible *literator* and literary forger who published extensively on Scottish history and literature. Due to his compromised reputation his controversial *Letters of Literature*, London, 1785, appeared under the pseudonym of Robert Heron, possibly inspired by his mother's surname,



which was Heron. This book was also contentious: ‘the singularity of this work suggests that its author was guilty of strangeness for the purpose of attracting notice . . . the odium occasioned very naturally fell on poor Robert Heron who was just then struggling into being as a literary man’ (Chambers, R. *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, 3 vols, Edinburgh, 1875, III, 246). The two men had interests in common (in Scottish history and literature, and in numismatics); both experienced difficulties in trying to survive by the pen; and both died in poverty. There is some evidence that Heron was quite taken with Pinkerton’s *Scottish Poems Reprinted from Scarce Editions*, 3 vols, London, 1792, which used the pseudonym H Bennet. It is probable, but not known for certain, that the two men actually met. See Couper, S. ‘Pinkerton, John (1758-1826)’. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22301>.

51 Possibly Edmund Butterworth, writing master at the High School of Edinburgh.

52 ‘Healthy living’.

53 *i.e.* John Heron, who was sent to Edinburgh to live with Robert. He died of consumption soon after. See Trotter, A. *East Galloway Sketches*, Castle Douglas, 1901, 270-75.

54 Joseph Black (1728-99), chemist and physician, was a distinguished scientist of the Scottish Enlightenment, who taught at the University of Glasgow before moving to Edinburgh in 1766. There he presented several series of popular lectures on chemistry, a subject which he established as a science at the University of Edinburgh. His discoveries on heat, carbon dioxide and magnesium fed directly into the early stirrings of the Industrial Revolution. See Anderson, R G W. ‘Black, Joseph (1728-99)’. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2495>.



55 The writers and subjects mentioned in this paragraph would be recycled in Heron's *Elegant Extracts of Natural History*, Edinburgh, 1792.

56 William Smellie (rhymes with wily) (1740-95) possessed a remarkable intellect extending to medicine, languages, publishing, natural history and writing. He was editor of the first *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. See Brown, S W. 'Smellie, William (1740-95)'. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25753>.

57 Reverend John Hill (1747-1805) was the professor of Humanity (Latin) at Edinburgh University. A noted classicist and a co-founder of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, he also wrote a life of Hugh Blair.

58 James Hope was something of a boon companion of Heron's. The two men often met. Hope had a collection of fossils.

59 Sir John Chardin (1643-1712) was the author of *The Travels of Jean Chardin*, London, 1686. He was born in Paris and later moved to England. He was a tireless promoter of trade with India and Persia, on which latter country he became a distinguished authority. His publications gave rise to the later European craze for Orientalism. See Eurich, A. 'Chardin, Sir John (1643-1712)'. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5138>.

60 Pennant, T. *History of Quadrupeds*, 2 vols, London, 1781, I, 15-19; and Pennant, T. *British Zoology*, 4 vols, London, 1768, I, 15-21.

61 There was a clutch of Murrays in New Galloway. James may be the brother of a well-known character, John Murray (1766-1830), who became provost of the tiny royal burgh. See Kennedy, W D. *To Grasp an Opportunity*, Aylesbury, 2016, 94.



62 Julius Caesar (100-44 BC). The quotation was most likely from *De Bello Gallico*, Caesar's most popular work.

63 There was no *Annual Review*. Heron probably meant *Annual Register*.

64 (Johann) Georg Adam Forster (1754-94), a fascinating and overlooked character, was born in Prussia. Having learned Russian, he accompanied his father, Reinhold, who was appointed naturalist on the *Resolution*, Captain James Cook's ship on his second global circumnavigation. Forster's *A Voyage Round the World, in His Britannic Majesty's Sloop, Resolution*, London, 1777, was particularly influential in Germany, to which he moved in 1778. He travelled through Germany and the Netherlands accompanied by Alexander von Humbolt, winding up in Mainz as a Jacobin sympathizer. See Jefcoate, G. 'Forster, (Johann) Georg Adam (1754-94)'. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9909>.

65 A thin piece near the binding remains, which shows that all of one side and part of the other had been written upon. It appears to have been a continuation of the entry for 8 February.

66 Barthélemy, J B, baron de Lesseps. *Travels in Kamtschatka, during the years 1787 and 1788*, 2 vols, London, 1790.

67 *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres delivered in the University of Glasgow by Adam Smith. Reported by a student in 1762-3.*

68 Perhaps the well-known bookseller and bookbinder John Guthrie. The shop he ran with his partner James Tait moved in this year (1790) from the Netherbow to Nicolson Street. See *Williamson's Edinburgh Directory, from June 1790 to June 1792*, Edinburgh, 1790, 45.



69 St Bernard's Well was a natural spring on the Water of Leith, north of Edinburgh. Discovered in 1760, the supposed health-giving qualities of its waters meant that it soon became a popular destination for excursions from the city. The original well-house had been replaced in 1789 by a classical temple designed by Alexander Nasmyth.

70 Abraham-Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperon (1731-1805), French orientalist, published *Le Zend Avesta*, 3 vols, Paris, 1777, the first European translation of the ancient Zoroastrian scriptures.

71 Heron's barber, probably Robert Mitchel of Alison's Square. See *Williamson's Edinburgh Directory, from June 1790 to June 1792*, Edinburgh, 1790, 70.

72 Dr John Jortin (1698-1770) was an ecclesiastical historian and a literary critic, as well as the archdeacon of London. See Young, B W. 'Jortin, John (1698-1770)'. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15126>. Seven volumes of his sermons were published after his death: *Sermons on Different Subjects by the late Reverend John Jortin*, 7 vols, London, 1771-2. A set was held by Sibbald's Library (Sibbald, 1786, item 1689), but Heron appears to have borrowed his copies from the booksellers Bell and Bradfute (see note 82).

73 James Robertson was minister of Ratho. *Fasti*, 1915-61, I, 183.

74 Riesbeck, J K. *Travels through Germany, in a series of letters*, trans. P H Maty, London, 1787.

75 Gilbert Stuart (1743-86) was a historian and political writer whose interests included polemics and alcohol. Among his major publications were *An Historical Dissertation Concerning the Antiquity of the English Constitution*, Edinburgh, 1768; *A View of Society in Europe*, Edinburgh, 1778; and two insightful



histories of sixteenth-century Scotland. See Zachs, W. 'Stuart, Gilbert (1743-86)'. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26704>. Stuart's contribution remains somewhat underrated.

76 Alexander Pope (1688-1744), foremost English poet of the eighteenth century. *Imitations of Horace* appeared in 1733-38.

77 James Neill was a partner in the Edinburgh printing firm Neill & Co. and part of the *Britannica* circle. Heron thought highly of him.

78 John Murray (1737-93), an Edinburgh-born veteran of the marines who became a London publisher, bookseller and founder of the famous publishing company. He published several Scottish authors. See Zachs, W, *et al.* 'Murray family'. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/64907>.

79 Peter Hill was a bookseller, based at the south side of the Cross in Edinburgh. See *Williamson's Edinburgh Directory, from June 1790 to June 1792*, Edinburgh, 1790, 48.

80 Since Hume's essays are clearly identified throughout the text they are not individually referenced.

81 Lucian (125-180), the Graeco-Syrian rhetorician, described Alexander of Abonoteichus as Alexander the Imposter. His fondness for satire, sarcasm and witty insights seems to represent a style of literature across many centuries and cultures that Heron found appealing.

82 From the context it seems likely this was John Bradfute the bookseller of Bell and Bradfute, Parliament Close, Edinburgh. See *Williamson's Edinburgh Directory, from June 1790 to June 1792*, Edinburgh, 1790, 11.



83 A novel by John Moore (1729-1802), Scottish physician. It was believed to rank with works by Smollett and Fielding when it appeared in 1789. Moore was the recipient of Robert Burns' famous autobiographical letter of 1787.

84 Soame Jenyns (1704-87), English poet, wit, writer and politician. The books to which Heron refers might have been *Miscellaneous Pieces in Two Volumes* (1761) or *Miscellaneous Pieces in Verse and Prose* (1770). Among his other works was *A Free Enquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil* (1757). Samuel Johnson was a severe critic of Jenyns' publications. Jenyns repaid him with the following lines:

Would you know all his wisdom and his folly
His actions, sayings, mirth and melancholy,
Boswell and Thrale, retailers of his wit
Will tell you how he wrote and talk'd and cough'd and shit!

85 This appears to be a garbled reference to two books by English dissenter Richard Pulteney (1730-1801): *A General View of the Writings of Linnaeus*, London, 1782, the first biography of the great man in English; and *Historical and Biographical Sketches of the Profession of Botany in England*, 2 vols, London, 1790.

86 Henry Dundas (1742-1811), first Viscount Melville, was the political manager of Scotland, fount of Scottish patronage worldwide and creator of the 'Dundas Despotism'. See Fry, M. *The Dundas Despotism*, Edinburgh, 1992; and Fry, M. 'Dundas, Henry (1742-1811)'. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8250>.

87 First mention in the journal of Heron's *Elegant Extracts of Natural History collected and revised from a great variety of the most elegant and authentic writers in this Science ... with a preface containing some hints on education*, 2 vols, Edinburgh, 1792. The title page lists the subjects to be discussed: 'General Phaenomena of the Earth and Heavens: History of the Human Species: Quadrupeds: Birds:



Fishes: Insects and Reptiles: Vegetables; Fossils'. Much of his recent reading mentioned throughout the Journal fed this project.

88 Moore, J. *A View of Society and Manners in Italy*, London, 1781.

89 *The Adventurer* was Johnson's successor to *The Rambler*. See note 108. *The Harleian Miscellany*, London, 1744-46, was a massive undertaking, a total of five volumes cataloguing the books and tracts which comprised the collection of Edward Harley, second earl of Oxford, and an eight-volume sampler.

90 *i.e.* for *Elegant Extracts*.

91 John Hoole (1727-1803), English translator, poet and critic of the Poor Laws, published *An Account of the Life and Writings of John Scott Esq.* in Scott, J. *Critical Essays on Some of the Poems of Several English Poets*, London, 1785. Walter Scott characterised Hoole as 'a noble transmuter of gold into lead'. See Painting, V W. 'Hoole, John (1727-1803)'. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13703>.

92 Anders Sparrman (1748-1820), Swedish naturalist who joined James Cook's second voyage at the Cape of Good Hope. He was an apostle of Carl Linnaeus and a distinguished professor of natural history. The book to which Heron refers was probably *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, towards the Antarctic polar circle, and round the world: but chiefly into the country of the Hottentots and Caffres, from the year 1772 to 1776*, 2 vols, London, 1786, a copy of which was in Sibbald's Library (item 5864). See Pratt, M L. Dr Anders Sparrman: travelling with the labouring poor in the late eighteenth-century Cape, *South African Historical Journal*, 61.4 (2009), 731-49.

93 The probable reference is to the Philanthropic Society of London founded in 1788.



94 *An Expostulatory Letter from J. J. Rousseau, Citizen of Geneva, to Christopher de Beaumont, Archbishop of Paris*, London, 1763. Heron was reading Rousseau in preparation for his own discussion of education in the introduction to *Elegant Extracts*.

95 Hugh Blair (1718-1800), Edinburgh minister and hugely influential literary critic. In 1760 Edinburgh University appointed him to the first-ever chair of English anywhere in the world. Two years later he became professor of the Regius Chair of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres. He was a passionate defender of the authenticity of James Macpherson's Ossianic translations supposedly from the Gaelic. For a time Heron worked as his secretary or amanuensis and he too became a staunch defender of Ossian, whose alleged work he regarded as a valuable historical source. Blair began publishing his *Sermons* in 1777, which grew to five volumes by 1801. A remarkable number – 33,500 copies – of the first two volumes were sold. The five-volume edition was described by an enthusiastic reviewer as 'the most popular work in the English language' with the exception of *The Spectator* and, surely, he might have added, the Bible. See Sher, R B. 'Blair, Hugh (1718-1800)'. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2563>.

96 The life of Joseph Addison (1672-1719) is included in Johnson's *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets*, 4 vols, London, 1781, II, 343-444.

97 William Greenfield was hand-picked by Blair to be his successor as Professor of Rhetoric at Edinburgh. The co-minister of the High Kirk (in St Giles'), he was described as second only to Blair as a preacher, but eventually had to flee to London under the cloud of scandal. See Sher, R B. *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1985, 140, 162 and 314.

98 James Cririe (1752-1835) was born in Newabbey. His widowed mother moved the family to Kirkgunzeon where Cririe obtained his first



job as a teacher, moving in time to appointments at Lochrutton, Wigtown and Kirkcudbright Grammar School. In 1788 he became rector of the High School of Leith. His expertise in Latin and Greek led to his appointment to the Classical department of Edinburgh High School in 1794. In 1801 he was called to the parish of Dalton as minister. Maxwell Wood, J. The Edinburgh High School of other days, a group of Dumfries and Galloway masters, *The Gallovidian*, 59 (1913), 151-54, for Crieie see 152-3. Interesting, I think, that Heron was fingered for debt by a fellow Doonhamer! None of the others that I mention in note 49 as possible teachers occur in this article.

99 Johnson's 'Life of Pope' appears in his *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets*, 4 vols, London, 1781, IV, 1-240.

100 This may be James Finlayson (1758-1808), professor of Logic at Edinburgh University and editor of *The Sermons of Hugh Blair*.

101 de Chastellux, F J. *Travels in North America in the years 1780, 1781, 1782*, trans. G Grieve, London, 1787.

102 George Lillo (1691-1739), an English dramatist whose most famous play was *The London Merchant* (1731).

103 Pliny. *Letters, with an English translation by William Melmoth*, 2 vols, London, 1747.

104 *The History of George Barnwell* is the alternative title for *The London Merchant*. See note 102.

105 Melmoth, W. *Letters of Cicero to several of his Friends, with Remarks*, 3 vols, London, 1753.



106 This could have been John Leyden (1775-1811), poet and linguist from Denholm, Roxburghshire, who was currently studying for the ministry at Edinburgh. He was fascinated by oriental languages but also loved ballads and Scottish literature. He became a specialist on Indian languages and culture before his early death of a fever at Java. See Bayne, T W, rev. Maxwell, R. 'Leyden, John (1775-1811)'. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16630>.

107 'Mr Burns' is not the bard despite the claims of some Burns scholars. He was not in Edinburgh at this time, when his letters were dated from Ellisland. The man in question may be Thomas Burns, a customer and acquaintance of John Bradfute, or the lawyer George Burns.

108 Johnson initiated his series of 208 essays, named *The Rambler*, in 1750. It was published twice a week until March 1752.

109 The original title of Thomas Mallory's *Morte d'Arthur* was *The Hoole Book of Kyng Arthur and of His Noble Knyghtes of the Rounde Table*. Some confusion arises between Hoole and Hole because Richard Hole (1746-1803) published his *Arthur, or the northern enchantment: a poetical romance, in seven books*, London, 1789. It is to the latter that Heron refers.

110 Monday was the 9 August. The dates for the rest of the week are consequently wrong until Heron corrects himself on Friday.

111 *A Letter from M. Rousseau, of Geneva, to M. D'Alembert, of Paris, concerning the effects of theatrical entertainments on the manners of mankind*, London, 1759.

112 James Grierson of Dalgoner (1753-1843) was clearly a friend of Heron since he figures quite prominently in the journal. A near neighbour of Robert Burns at Ellisland, he became a keen collector of Burnsiana. See Lindsay, 1959, 155-6.



113 The journal contains a couple of references to the *Letters of Junius* ‘the bitter licentiousness’ of which was condemned by Horace Walpole. Junius was a pseudonym; the letters, appearing between 1769 and 1772, satirically attacked government corruption. Heron published his own edition, *The Letters of Junius, Stat Nominis Umbra, with Notes and Illustrations Historical, Political, Biographical and Critical*, 2 vols, London, 1795.

114 This seems to be the first explicit reference to the expedition subsequently undertaken and described in Heron, R. *Observations made in a Journey through the Western Counties of Scotland; in the Autumn of M,DCC,XCII. Relating to the Scenery, Antiquities, Customs, Manners, Population, Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Political Condition, and Literature of these Parts*, 2 vols, Perth, Edinburgh and London, 1793.

115 Smith, A. *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Edinburgh, 1759.

116 James Downie was a shoemaker based in Nicolson Street, Edinburgh. See *Williamson’s Edinburgh Directory, from June 1790 to June 1792*, Edinburgh, 1790, 30.

117 Knox, J. *A Tour through the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebride Isles in MDCCLXXXVI*, London, 1787.

118 Carl Linnaeus (1707-78), crucially important Swedish botanist and zoologist who published his *Systema Naturae* in 1735 so developing the Linnaean system of classification which revolutionised the study of natural history. Thomas Pennant (1726-98), Welsh zoologist and traveller whose publications include *British Zoology*, London, 1766; and *Arctic Zoology*, London, 1787. Foucher D’Obsonville was the author of *Philosophic Essays on the Manners of Various Foreign Animals; with Observations on the Laws and Customs of Several Eastern Nations*, London, 1784.



119 See note 113.

120 A euphemism for the penis.

121 Bruce, J. *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile, in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773*, 5 vols, London, 1790.

122 He visited New Galloway in his *Journey* (II, 150-65) but did not mention he was a native of the place.

123 See note 114.

124 This is Henry Mackenzie (1745-1831), the ‘Man of Feeling’, arch sentimentarian and patron of Burns and Scott. He wrote a famous review of the Kilmarnock edition, which established Burns’ reputation as a ‘heaven-taught ploughman’. It may be due to Mackenzie that so many Scots say ‘I feel’ when they mean ‘I think’.

125 This was a perennial problem. Ministers’ salaries were paid by the heritors or landowners in kind as well as cash but the process was further conflicted by the value of the teinds, or tithes, inherited from the medieval church. In brief, most ministers perpetually claimed that more money was their due.

126 Hildrop, J. *A Modest Apology for the Ancient and Honourable Family of the Wrongheads*, London, 1744. Also included in Hildrop, J. *Miscellaneous Works*, 2 vols, London, 1754.

127 Hist. Regr. refers to James Tytler’s journal, *Historical Register, or Edinburgh Weekly Intelligencer*, which was launched in this year.

128 William Collin’s *Ode to Pity* and *Ode to Fear* were both published in 1746.



- 129 Another reference to the *Journey*. See note 114.
- 130 See note 117.
- 131 The Royal Exchange Coffee-House, Princes Street, Edinburgh.
- 132 The following year Heron published *The Seasons, by James Thomson. A New Edition. Adorned with a set of engravings, from original paintings. Together with an original life of the author, and a critical essay on The Seasons by Robert Heron*, Perth, 1793, with a dedication to Hugh Blair, on whom see note 95.
- 133 Percy, T. *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry: consisting of Old Heroic Ballads, songs and other pieces of our earlier poets, together with some few of Later date*, 3 vols, London, 1765. The ballad in question is Sir Patrick Spens. See Heron, 1793, I, 23-5.
- 134 de Lolme, J L. *The Constitution of England: or An Account of the English Government in which it is compared both with the Republican Form of Government and Other Monarchies of Europe*, London, 1785. There was a reply to de Lolme in 1789: *An Answer to Mr De Lolme's Observations on the Late National Embarrassment by Neptune*.
- 135 A reference to Boswell and Johnson's famous tour of the Hebrides in 1773. See Boswell, J. *A Journey of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson LL.D.*, London, 1785.
- 136 Claris de Florian, J P. *Gonsalvo of Cordova: or, The Conquest of Granada*, trans. R Heron, Perth, 1792.
- 137 Perhaps James Kirkwood, an engraver in Parliament Close; or Alexander Kincaid, a printer in Fountainbridge. See *Williamson's Edinburgh Directory, from June 1790 to June 1792*, Edinburgh, 1790, 56; and Supplement, 5.



138 Mudie's Literary Lounge was a circulating library not to be confused with the phenomenally successful London 'Mudie's' of the nineteenth century. There were at least twenty-nine circulating libraries in Edinburgh before 1800. See Towsey, M R M. *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and their Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750-1820*, Leiden, 2010, 94.

139 Albanis Beaumont, J-F. *Travels through the Rhaetian Alps in the year 1786, from Italy to Germany through Tyrol*, London, 1792; reviewed in *The Monthly Review or Literary Journal Enlarged*, 12 (Sept. to Dec. 1793), 305.

140 *New Annual Register*, 1790.

141 Heron's essay on *The Seasons* is appended to his edition of 1793. See note 132. See also Cowan, E. J. The Poetics of Robert Heron, *Review of Scottish Culture*, (forthcoming).

142 Gillies, J. *A View of the Reign of Frederick II of Prussia: with a parallel between that prince and Philip II of Macedon*, Edinburgh, 1789. Gillies became historiographer royal for Scotland on the death of William Robertson. See Wroth, W W, rev. Cunningham, I C. 'Gillies, John (1747-1836)'. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10744>.

143 *i.e.* the *Journey*.

144 Hayley, W. *An Essay on Painting, in two epistles to Mr. Romney*, London, 1781. William Hayley (1745-1820) was an English poet and patron of artists. See Painting, V W. 'Hayley, William (1745-1820)'. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12769>.

145 Perhaps Brown, J. *A Dissertation on the Rise, Union, and Power, the Progressions, Separations, and Corruptions, of Poetry and Music*, London, 1763, a copy of which was held by Sibbald's Library (Sibbald, 1786, item 895).



146 Berkeley, G. *Alciphron: or, The Minute Philosopher*, 2 vols, London, 1732. George Berkeley (1685-1753) was a philosopher and the bishop of Cloyne, Ireland. Some of the ideas he expressed in *An Essay Towards a New Theory of Vision*, Dublin, 1709, and *A Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge*, Dublin, 1710, found echoes in Heron's work. He also influenced Adam Smith, Thomas Reid and David Hume. See Stewart, M A. 'Berkeley, George (1685-1753)'. In *ODNB*, Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2211>.

147 Hannah More (1745-1833), English writer, philanthropist and energetic female activist. To counter the ideas of Tom Paine she wrote *Village Politics: addressed to all the mechanics, journeymen, and day labourers, in Great Britain*, London, 1792.

148 Probably Somerville, T. *Observations on the Constitution and Present State of Britain*, Edinburgh, 1793.

149 *The Memoirs of Charles-Lewis, Baron de Pollnitz. Being the Observations he made in his late Travels from Prussia thro' Germany, Italy, France, Holland, England etc.*, 2 vols, London, 1739.

150 Hayley, W. *An Essay on History, in three epistles to Edward Gibbon, Esq.*, London, 1780.

151 Playfair, W. *A Letter to the People of England on the Revolution in France*, Paris, 1792.

152 Quotation from Horace perhaps best translated as 'My country when will I see you again?' but *Rus* conveys the sense of countryside. Heron probably intends a pun on Rousseau here, suggesting the sense of 'when will we see your likes again?'



153 Gaius Valerius Catullus (c.84 -c.54 BC), Roman poet who pursued the lyrical, producing memorable love poems as well indecent scurrilous verse.

154 Warburton, W. *The Divine Legation of Moses, Demonstrated on the Principles of a Religious Deist, from the Omission of the Doctrine of a Future State of Rewards and Punishments in the Jewish Dispensation*, 2 vols, London, 1738-41.

155 The Constitutional Associations were established in the 1770s to push for electoral reform.

156 This title is difficult to read and this interpretation may be a long shot. I suggest Phormio of Terence, which appeared in *The Comedies of Terence Translated into Familiar Blank Verse by George Colman*, London, 1765. Phormio is portrayed as a parasite, a role which may have lowered Heron's self-esteem even further.

157 Dr John Francis Gemelli Careri's account of his visit to the Philippines appears in Churchill, J. *A Collection of Voyages and Travels: Some Now First printed from Original Manuscripts*, 4 vols, London, 1704, IV, 416-500.

158 William Dunbar (1460-1513x30), the greatest of the Scottish medieval makars or poets. Heron, who was very interested in Scottish poetry, would have eagerly perused Pinkerton's *Ancient Scotish Poems*, London, 1786, and *Scotish Poems Reprinted from Scarce Editions*, London, 1792. He was doubtless also influenced by Sir David Dalrymple's *Ancient Scotish Poems*, Edinburgh, 1770, which established Dunbar in the poetic canon.

159 See note 158.

160 Rousseau, J. J. *Narcissus, or, The Self-Admirer*, which was published in volume eight of *The Works of J. J. Rousseau*, 10 vols, Edinburgh, 1773-74.

161 The reference here is probably to Domingo Fernandez Navarette (c.1610-89), a Spanish missionary whose account of his travels to China was



published as *Tratados, Historicos, Politicos, Ethicos y Religiosos de la Monarchia de China*, Madrid, 1676. See Cummins, J S. *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarette, 1618-1686*, London, 1962. Some part of Navarette's *Travels* appeared in English in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels some now first Printed from Original Manuscripts others now first Published in English*, 6 vols, London, 1732.

162 Darwin, E. *The Botanic Garden. A Poem, in two parts: Part I. Containing the Economy of Vegetation; Part II. The Loves of the Plants. With Philosophical Notes*, London, 1791.

163 The dates are askew on this page and the next. In 1798, October 16 was a Wednesday. Heron also dates the Thursday 16 October yet makes the following Tuesday 23 October.

164 Philippe-Isidore Picot, baron de Lapeyrouse or La Peirouse (1744-1818), French naturalist.

165 Kramer, C G. *Herman of Unna: A Series of Adventures of the Fifteenth Century in which the proceedings of the secret tribunal under the emperors Winceslaus and Sigismund are delineated*, 3 vols, 2nd edn, London, 1794.

166 *Letters of Lady Rachel Russell: from the manuscript in the library at Wooburn [sic] Abbey: to which are prefixed an introduction vindicating the character of Lord Russell against Sir John Dalrymple; to which is added the trial of Lord William Russell for high treason, extracted from the state trials*, London, 1793. Lady Russell (1636-1723) was the wife of William who was tried and executed for his part in the Rye House plot in 1683. The executioner botched the beheading requiring four strokes of the axe to complete his task. After the first Russell is said to have complained, 'You dog, did I give you 10 guineas to use me so inhumanely?'

167 *i.e.* of Lapeyrouse, though of which publication is not indicated.



168 *The Manual of Epictetus, containing an abridgement of his philosophy*, trans. G Stanhope, Glasgow, 1750. It is doubtful if Heron received much comfort from reading the stoic philosopher Epictetus (55-135), who argued that while all good is inspired by virtue, vice drives the opposite.

169 The Shakespeare Tavern and Coffehouse, Shakespeare Square, at the east end of Princes Street.

170 Heron later made good use of his reading of the journals of Lapeyrouse and George Vancouver (*A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World 1791-1795 etc.*, 3 vols, London, 1798) together with other travelogues mentioned in the journal, when he produced *A Collection of late voyages and travels: chiefly translated and abridged from the French and other foreign publications . . . The whole forming a body of important and amusing information concerning the present state of society and manners, of arts and literature, of religion and government, the appearances of nature, and the works of human industry in Persia, Arabia, Turkey etc.*, London, 1797.

171 This passage suggests that Heron spent some time researching coinage, possibly for *Britannica*.

172 Socinianism arose among the Anabaptists in fractious disputes about scriptural interpretations in the sixteenth century. The word derived from a leader in these debates, Faustus Socinus. In the late seventeenth century these profound squabbles impacted on Britain, to surface again around 1790-1820 but they now baffle, due to seeming irrelevance and the density of theological polemics. By the late eighteenth century the word 'Socinian' was applied to more or less any religious dissenter. At its worst Socinianism was regarded as a heresy which denied the unity of God and preached the destruction of evil-doers.



Further Reading

The manuscript of Robert Heron's journal can be consulted at the Centre for Research Collections, University of Edinburgh (EUL La.iii.272).

For further autobiographical material, see the preface to the final volume of Heron's *A History of Scotland*, 5 vols, Edinburgh, 1798-99. For a brief account of Heron's life, see Henderson, T F, rev. Matthew, H C G. 'Heron, Robert (1764-1807)'. In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* [ODNB], Oxford, 2004; online edition: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13090>. Fuller treatments are given in Chambers, R. *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, 4 vols, Glasgow, 1835, III, 45-49; Murray, T. *The Literary History of Galloway*, 2nd edn, Edinburgh, 1832, 219-27; and Trotter, A. *East Galloway Sketches: or, Biographical, Historical, and Descriptive Notices of Kirkcudbrightshire chiefly in the nineteenth century*, Castle Douglas, 1901, 270-75. See also Cowan, E J. Robert Heron of New Galloway (1764-1807): enlightened ethnologist, *Review of Scottish Culture*, 26 (2014), 25-48, which re-assesses Heron's work in the context of the Scottish Enlightenment and ethnology; and Carswell, C. Robert Heron: a study in failure, *Scots Magazine*, new series, 18.1 (1932), 37-48, which takes the journal as its main source and is more sympathetic than its title suggests.

Hugo Arnot's *The History of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1779, and John Stark's *Picture of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1806, offer detailed depictions of the city around the time of Heron's stay. The entry for Edinburgh, and its appendix, in the *Old Statistical Account* provide further contemporary details, as does *The Traveller's Companion through the City of Edinburgh and Suburbs*, Edinburgh, 1794. A wealth of anecdotes about the places, manners and characters of late



eighteenth-century Edinburgh can be found in Robert Chambers' *Traditions of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1824-25, and to a lesser extent in the published recollections of Henry Cockburn, *Memorials of his Times*, Edinburgh, 1856. John Kay's caricatures, collected in *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings*, 4 vols, Edinburgh, 1842, provide a colourful glimpse of Edinburgh society during the 1790s, and include a number of people mentioned by Heron.

Brown, S W and McDougall, W, eds. *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, volume 2: Enlightenment and Expansion, 1707-1800*, Edinburgh, 2011, provides the context for Heron's reading habits and his involvement in the Edinburgh book trade. See also Sher, R B. *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and America*, Chicago, 2006. For the wider intellectual setting, see Broadie, A. *The Scottish Enlightenment*, Edinburgh, 2007; and Sher, R B. *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh*, 2nd edn, Edinburgh, 2015.

