

I.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES RELATING TO THE DEATH OF JAMES (THE ADMIRABLE) CRICHTON IN MANTUA ON 3RD JULY 1582, AND THE EVIDENCE AS TO THE EXISTENCE OF A CONTEMPORARY BEARING THE SAME NAME. BY DOUGLAS CRICHTON, F.S.A. Scot.

The mystery associated with the tragedy by which James Crichton of Elioeh and Cluny, better known as the Admirable Crichton, eldest son of Robert Crichton, Lord of Session and Lord Advocate of Scotland, met his death, has never been satisfactorily solved, and probably never will be. All the documents, or copies of them, relating to the subject have been examined by the present writer (who is preparing a biography of Crichton), and the most interesting of them are undoubtedly those which have been preserved in the archives of the Gonzagas, the ancient ducal family of Mantua.¹ Even these—which have never been dealt with in any previous account of Crichton—leave the writer in a state of dubiety as to the precise manner in which Crichton met his death, but they are extremely useful in that they conclusively prove the date of his death, which has always been a disputed point, owing to the fact that there are in existence several poems by Jacobus Critonius Scotus, variously dated Mediolanum (Milan), 1584 and 1585, two and three years after the date of the death of the Admirable Crichton given us by Aldus Manutius in his beautiful “In Memoriam” lines, in which reference is made to Crichton’s passing away in his twenty-second year. Crichton was born on the 19th of August 1560, and the year of his death, therefore, must have been 1582. Apart from this or any other evidence, the Gonzaga papers already mentioned definitely establish the day and year of Crichton’s death as 3rd July 1582, and it follows, therefore, that the James Crichton who appeared in Milan two or three years later was another member of the same great family. I shall proceed to deal with the letters in the Gonzaga

¹ I take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of the courtesies accorded me by Commendatore Alessandro Luzio, the Director of the State Archives at Mantua, and by Miss Margaret J. Robertson.

collection (commented upon in the *Archivio Storico Italiano* for 1886) concerning the death of the first Crichton, and conclude by giving the evidence as to the existence of the second James Crichton.

James Crichton (the Admirable) entered the service of Guglielmo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, in the early part of February 1582. He was most strongly recommended in a letter written by Annibale Capello, secretary to Cardinal Luigi D'Este, to Aurelio Zibramonti, secretary to the Duke of Mantua. Capello stated that Crichton knew Italian, Latin, Spanish, French, German, Hebrew, and Chaldaic; was well versed in philosophy, theology, astrology, and mathematics; improvised verses and orations; was a graceful dancer, a skilful fencer, and an accomplished singer and musician. On arriving in Mantua, Crichton was invited to prepare a scheme of fortifications for the esplanade. He presented his plans, which pleased the Duke, who, by the way, took great delight in hearing his young *protégé* dispute with the learned friars of the Franciscan, Carmelite, and Dominican Orders. In these theological contests Crichton always came off triumphant, leaving everybody astounded at his scholarship and wide knowledge, his force in attacking his opponents, and his promptness in defending himself.

Crichton, who is stated to have been extremely handsome in person,¹ became within a very short space of time the most popular figure not only in the Court of Mantua, but throughout the whole town and neighbourhood. This was most displeasing to the Duke's son and heir, Prince Vincenzo Gonzaga—himself a handsome youth, if one might judge from a copy of his portrait in the writer's possession—and there seems little doubt that the Prince, who had been accustomed to rank first in everything, was aroused to jealousy, which developed into intense hatred of the young Scotsman, whose universal talents and prepossessing appearance won for their owner the esteem and admiration of all classes. Crichton, apparently, was well aware of the fact that he had an enemy, and, seemingly, more than one, in Mantua, for he complained to the Duke of being annoyed by men who had evinced a dislike for

¹ Annibale Capello, who knew Crichton, stated that he had fair hair and blue eyes.

him.¹ The Duke requested him not to worry on that account, as so long as he (the Duke) was satisfied with him, no one would dare to interfere.

It was, perhaps, only natural that Vincenzo should desire to have Crichton removed from Mantua, but whether or not he contemplated the Scotsman's removal from this world by a process of pre-arranged murder cannot definitely be proved against him. But on his own admission, and that is all the evidence we have to proceed upon, he killed Crichton on this fateful night of the 3rd of July 1582.

The news of the tragedy was immediately sent to Zibramonti, the Duke's secretary, by Luigi Olivo, the Castellan at Mantua. A translation of the Italian reads as follows:—

“At two o'clock in the night, just as I was on the point of getting into bed, I was advised that the Signor Giacomo Critonio had been mortally wounded. I immediately dressed myself in order to send someone to see him and to provide in so far as there was need; but, on leaving my rooms, there came to me the Prince, who requested me to have the small door opened to four of his men, whom his highness wished to place in ambush on the lake, so that, as his highness told me, the Signor Critonio might not escape over the walls and swim the lake, he having slain Hippolito Lanzone at the feet of his highness. I replied to his highness that I could not comply with his request, because, the Signor Critonio having been mortally wounded, as I had been informed, he was not in a condition to enable him to escape by swimming. The Prince then calmed down, saying that he certainly thought he had wounded him, but that he would not be sure. His highness, then showing me his sword and buckler, the one bloody and dented, the other marked by several cuts, told me that it came about in this wise: that, having gone in his doublet with the said Lanzone about half-past one at night to bid good evening to the Signor Valeriano Cattaneo, he met one with his mantle before his face and his sword under his arm who wanted to keep to the wall side of the road, and, thinking that it was the Count Langosco [Vincenzo's groom-in-waiting], he had struck him down with his buckler, sending him to the middle of the road, and passed on; but, the man aforesaid, having just passed Lanzone, gave the latter a stab in the back, so that Lanzone with his sword had turned upon him, when his highness seeing him (Lanzone) swoon, and not knowing the cause, stepped forward and commenced fighting, giving and receiving cuts upon his buckler, until at last with a thrust he wounded his adversary, who then said: 'Pardon me, your highness, for I had not recognised you.' Nothing further happened, save that Lanzone, having said that he felt badly wounded in the back, had been helped along a few paces by the Prince, who wished to take him to be doctored, when he fell to the ground, and then and there died at the feet of

¹ I have copies of eight of Crichton's letters written in Italian, the originals of which are preserved in the Mantuan Archives. The letters indicate an ominous foreboding.

his highness, who recommended his soul to the care of two priests, there present. Whence did his highness, most grieved and in very great choler at having seen Lanzone dead, depart with the thought of providing against the escaping of the Signor Critonio ; but there has been no need for this provision, for, at three o'clock in the night—just now struck—the said Signor Critonio, having been medicated, rendered his soul to God. It is a truly strange case, for, beyond the manifest danger to which the Prince has been exposed, there has followed the death of these two gentlemen, worthy in truth to be mourned by all. I have sped the bearer right away, so that he may arrive at daybreak, and I have had him given a horse to make sure of his doing so in good time.

“I humbly kiss the hand of your illustrious highness.

“From Mantua, at 4 o'clock in the night of the 3rd July 1582.

“Your most illustrious highness's

“most obliged servant

“LUIGI OLIVO.”

[*Postscript.*]

“The said Signor Critonio has died in the house of Messer Hippolito Serena, according to what I have just heard ; Lanzone on the Strada da S. Silvestro, where he was wounded.”

On the following day the Castellan wrote another letter, in which he furnished further details in the tragedy. It is also addressed to Zibramonti :—

“I wrote this night, as you will have seen the unhappy success of these homicides, with so much personal affliction as I did never feel over any other strange accident, considering the peril in which the Prince has been ; which has given and still gives this town so much to talk about through the false report that has been spread abroad that his highness was badly wounded ; beside the loss of the Signor Critonio—may he be in Heaven !—and the unfortunate end of the Signor Hippolito Lanzone, that there will be nothing to wonder at if I have left out any particulars, especially taking also into consideration the extravagant hour and the excessive heat. I say then that when the Signor Critonio disclosed himself, praying the Prince to pardon him, his highness at once withdrew, and he (the Signor Critonio) bent his steps towards S^{to}. Silvestro, the Prince thinking that Lanzone was not wounded ; wherefore, when his highness saw him fall at his feet, disclosing himself wounded with a stab at the back penetrating deep under the bone of the left shoulder, though it did not pass through, dealt with a poignard by the said Signor Critonio on passing by him—when he saw him dead, he flew into such a rage, accompanied by excessive grief, that, having sent for some of his gentlemen and the Signor Carlo Gonzaga—for he was there alone and without even a lackey—he resolved by all means to take revenge on the person of the said Signor Critonio and would have done so had he not been made acquainted with the fact that he [Critonio] had little time to live, as it proved, for he died about an hour thence ; then his highness calmed down and retired to rest after having minutely narrated to me the whole incident, showing in what peril his life had stood ; regarding

which I said to his highness what seemed becoming in an humble servant. But his highness answered me that he had gone out to bid good evening to the Signor Cattaneo, and that he held he had been recognised by the Signor Critonio, for the hour was early and the light of the moon shone bright on all, and his highness was in his doublet, his face uncovered, and wore a tall berretta. The incident occurred where the road at the corner of the fuller's workshop goes into the street of S. Silvestro. The Signor Critonio walked as far as S. Tomaso, where he sat down upon a stone, wherefrom he was lifted into a chair and carried to Serena's house, where he died well disposed, although he was almost entirely unconscious. His wound above the right breast was very small and not very deep, it having been made with that little gilt sword that the Prince usually carries, but ill-luck would have it that it cut across the *vena cava*, which, besides being incurable, let such a profluence of blood that he was instantly suffocated. May the Lord God have received him in glory, as He had endowed him with so many rare qualities which will render him unique in the world. I have seen his writings, amongst which I have found three or four letters concerning the service of his highness, and I have retained them in my care. An inventory has been taken of his things and of some few monies of his, and there has been found a cruet of a liquor that his people here say is a very precious thing. If your highness will so command, I will take it into my charge. I swear to you that I have suffered so much in soul and body over this most unfortunate accident that I have been almost beside myself. I desired to give you this little further account so as not to be reputed a man who spares his pen. We may lastly say with one accord that the Prince has been reborn, *et enim manus domini erat cum illo*. The blessed God be praised and for ever.

"I humbly kiss your hand, recommending myself endlessly to your grace.

"From Mantua, on the 4th July 1582.

"Your most obliged servant, etc.,

"LUIGI OLIVO."

On learning of the unhappy occurrence, the Duke instructed Zibramonti to write the following letter to the Prince's tutor, Marcello Donati:—

"His Highness has commissioned me to write to you, for, having heard what has bechanced, his highness is deeply grieved for three reasons: The first, that the most serene Prince has stained his hands with blood; the second with that of a servant of his highness of such world-wide fame; the third for the company of Hippolito Lanzone, because in view of the word given to his most serene highness, his father, not to let him into his company, his highness thinks that the world will take occasion to doubt the faith of the Prince.

AURELIO ZIBRAMONTI.

"Gonzaga, 4th July 1582."

On the following day Donati replied in self-defence to the charge of neglect, and called upon the Duke to make radical provisions for his son's future in view of the idle life led by the Prince. There are some words

missing, owing to the document being corroded towards the margin. This is how the letter reads:—

“You must have heard that I have not left my house these six days, a looseness of the bowels having left me very weak that for four days . . . and with my stomach disarranged beyond measure in the excessive heat by some . . . to which I am now attending. The sudden intelligence of the unfortunate accident befallen the Prince has in suchwise upset me, that I find no rest either day or night. The peril in which his highness has doubly stood of his life is not of minor consideration than what I have heard from your highness and written me by you; because, if the Prince had been behind instead of in front he would have received the stab that Lanzzone got, and if he had not had a shield he would have been wounded by the thrust the Scotsman levelled at him before recognising him. It cannot be denied that Lanzzone was hardly the right sort of man to converse with his highness, being of a bestial character; nevertheless, it cannot be gainsaid that the replying to a blow with a stab was a dastardly act and the cause of the many inconveniences that have resulted from so grave an accident. God be praised that the Prince is safe. It was not in his mind to stain his hands with the blood of another, much less with that of a servant of the Duke; only in self-defence did he wound with a single thrust that unfortunate Scotsman. I have not as yet seen the Prince since this misadventure, but I have given him well to understand that he has met with this accident at the hands of the blessed God as a warning to conduct himself and live better, both more like a Christian and a Prince . . . and as soon as I see you . . . as is becoming in an honest man . . . vassal and servant, but I do not wish now . . . to say now, before answering what that has to me. . . . I have said that if the prudence of the Duke does not find means of altering the ways of this son (would to God I spoke untrue!) I fear worse will follow, living the life he does; and this is said with all reverence and humility and only out of zeal for the good of his highness. It is public opinion both here and elsewhere that the Prince permits himself too much occupation in what he should not and none at all in what he should. I supplicate your highness to pardon my devotion. . . . I am indebted to your highness for this liberty of mine in saying . . .

MARCELLO DONATO.

“Mantua, 5th July 1582.”

On the 6th of July the Duke instructed Teodoro Sangiorgio, a gentleman of the Court of Mantua and a member of the Ducal Council, to write the following letter (a reply to that of Donato) to Zibramonti, who had returned to Mantua:—

“I have given his highness to read the letter of Sig. Marcello Donato that you sent for his information, and his highness having seen that passage to the effect that the Prince occupies himself too much in what he should not and not at all in what he should, his highness has told me that he has not failed to provide that the Prince should be initiated into the State affairs so that he would gain knowledge and be thus distracted from the other things to which he should not attend; and in that you are a better witness than

anybody else, since you know you have been commissioned to give him a share in everything, without holding anything concealed from him. You have seen him introduced into the councils, and he has been sent many times to his highness to treat with him on all those more grave things that have occurred since the above-mentioned commission; and, finally, you were present when the said Signor Marcello spoke of this to his highness, who convinced him, showing him to have done in this respect all he could, wishing to give him (the Prince) a share in everything, save in the faculty of granting pardon and distributing the magistrates, which he reserves to himself and which he (Donato) could not deny to be most just. Whence we must draw the conclusion that if the said Prince attends to what he should not, it is not so because his highness (the Duke) has not done his utmost to divert him therefrom, though his weak health has suffered, and but for which he would have kept him nearer to himself, and by pressing upon him a sense of responsibility of his acts been able to keep him on the right path.

"All this has his highness commanded me to write to you so that whilst you are near to the Prince you may seek your opportunity of reminding him of it; and, should this be discussed by anyone, please reply in conformity with the above.

TEODORO SANGIORGIO.

"From Gonzaga, 6th of July 1582."

Zibramonti was instructed by the Duke to invite the Capitano di Giustizia to prepare legal proceedings in the matter of the deaths of Crichton and Lanzone, to establish the most minute circumstances, and to punish the culprits. Accusations were being freely circulated against the Prince in Mantua, and it was very necessary to take some step which would counteract the influence of the sinister rumours. Vincenzo also insisted that a trial should be held as speedily as possible, and the Castellani expressed what were supposed to be the Prince's sentiments in a letter to Zibramonti:—

"The Most Serene Signor Prince being indisposed, the Signor Marcello sent me this morning to the Signor Capitano di Giustizia to tell him to collect most minute information about the homicide committed upon the person of the Signor Critonio by his highness and by the Signor Critonio upon the person of the Signor Lanzone, regardless of persons, his highness desiring that through public note it should transpire for evermore that what he has done he has done in a just cause and chivalrously; ordering, further, that his sword be put in judgment, as well as that of the late Signor Critonio, longer by almost a palm, together with the spindle-shaped dagger of same, blood-stained to the hilt. I have obeyed his highness and found that the Signor Capitano was already possessed of some few details."

The Capitano di Giustizia, whose name was Biagio dell'Orso, did not waste any time in preparing and submitting his report. Indeed, the

haste with which it was made public is in itself suggestive of the nervous state of apprehension which had seized upon the Gonzaga family and the authorities, and the latter, being more or less under the influence of the Duke and his son, were naturally anxious to shield the Prince as much as it was possible for them to do so. There are some words missing from the original report, which, by the way, is addressed to Zibramonti, and is as follows:—

“In accordance with the letter that you write me upon the order of his most serene highness, I would say that besides the first visit to the two bodies of the gentlemen who met their death in the strife of the other night, Hippto, Lanzone and Giacomo Critonio, Scotsman, which I made myself where I found to be true all that the notary on duty, Julian, has as per the deposition of his own visit, *i.e.* that the signor Lanzone with a single wound under the bone of the left shoulder by the stroke of a dagger penetrating in towards by a palm, which much is measured by the blood stains upon the prohibited spindle-shaped dagger of the Scotsman—and of which wound there, at little distance from the spot of the strife, he fell dead at the feet of the Prince. The Scotsman has a thrust on his right side above the teat penetrating five inches straight in (as is evident from the measurement of the blood stains upon the point of the little sword of the Prince) received in the *same* affray and from which he fell before arriving at the house of Messer Hippolito della Serena, whither he was going to be doctored, and whence he was carried to the house where he breathed his last.

“I have furthermore derived information of the matter from several witnesses in accordance with the duties of my office, and there is only wanting the confession of the Prince, which, from what I have seen declared in the writings of the Castellan, I see conforms with the trial, and that from everything it is acknowledged to have been an accidental fray, the one party not knowing the other until after the unhappy success of the wounds: and that all the information is well disposed in favour of his highness' doings in this affair; and that there reasonably follows his acquittal and liberation for justice' sake, always provided that his highness be so content both to repress every sinister opinion of the world, as also to remove from his most serene person every stain that the [evil] deeds of men are wont to bring to those who commit them. The harshness and peril of the affray and its consequences denote its character, seeing that, of three, two are dead. The grace of God, moreover, in preserving his highness without injury in so strange a case is recognised from the impetus and terribleness of the Scotsman, the weak sword of the Prince more for peace than for war, and more for ornament than for dispute, shorter by five inches than his adversary's and all notched and ill-conditioned: wherefore must we all be most obliged to the goodness of God, and with this I remain the servant of your highness, whom God preserve in happiness.

THE CAPITANO DI GIUSTIZIA.

“From Mantua, the 6th July 1582.”

The Prince, according to Giovanni Battista Intra, was everywhere reputed to have been guilty of wilful murder. In vain did the Duke's agents busy themselves contending against the accusations that were freely indulged in. Alessandro Bianchi, the Bishop of Osimo, and Lord Chamberlain to the Gonzagas, while passing through various towns in Italy on the Duke's service, wrote to the Prince telling him of the censures that were being passed upon him. Vincenzo, in reply, gives his version of the unfortunate occurrence. This is what he writes:—

“Illustrious and Reverend Sir,—I thank you for the loving admonishment you give me with yours of the 17th of this month; knowing that it has been dictated by that goodwill which you have always held and hold for my welfare; and in order that you may know the truth about the unfortunate circumstance which befel me, and be able also to tell it to whom you may think fit, and thereby refute who otherwise should go about narrating this affair, I will tell you in detail how it happened. It was in this wise. One of these evenings taking fresh air about the town, about one o'clock in the night, and having with me Messer Hippolito Lanzone, a gentleman of this town, in whose humours I found much gusto, I met by chance James the Scotsman, and thinking that it was the Count Langosco, my groom-in-waiting, whom he resembled in stature, I went to knock him in jest, but, on coming near, I observed it was not he, and, therefore, putting my buckler, which I had shouldered, before my face, I passed on, leaving the Scotsman suspicious; and he, seeing Lanzone (in like manner having his buckler before his face) follow, tried to pass him at the wall side and, having done so, drove into his shoulders his dagger to the hilt. Whereat both did take to arms; but Lanzone being mortally wounded, he could not defend himself; therefore I, hearing the uproar, seizing hold of my sword, turned towards the noise, and the Scotsman not recognising me at first sight, aimed at me a great cut and a thrust, which I parried with my buckler, and myself levelling a thrust at the Scotsman—which he tried to parry with his dagger, but through being impetuous could not—he got wounded in the chest, and having recognised me, commenced begging for his life. I left him and returned to my companion, who, I found, could hardly stand upon his legs; and when I would support him he fell before me dead. It has truly been a case of pure misadventure, and if I had had to do with any but a barbarian, so much evil would not have resulted. I am sorry that the most illustrious Monsig^{re} Farnese, my uncle and lord, has felt displeasure at this my unforeseen misfortune, though I do hope that, understanding my justification, he will thank God that the thing has had end with the salvation of my life, placed in not little danger by the barbarity of that wretch, whom God forgive, and relieve your most illustrious highness of the gout. To which end I heartily offer and recommend myself.

“From Mantua, the 27th July 1582.

“(Signed) THE PRINCE OF MANTUA.”
(*Il Principe di Mantova.*)

Much to the Prince's annoyance, the gossiping continued, the scandal became more virulent as the days went by, and it was scarcely surprising that Vincenzo should desire to quit Mantua for a time. He therefore asked permission of his father to go to Ferrara, and forwarded the request along with a letter to Zibramonti which reads as follows:—

“Guido, my groom-in-waiting, has reported to me all that it has pleased my father I should be told, which I will lay much to heart, and for the future his highness will know from the results how much he has been able to achieve in me by his commandments; therefore, in my name, you will present to his highness what is herewith enclosed, and by word of mouth you will bear witness to him that it was never in my thoughts to disserve or give any displeasure to his highness, and if I have held a different course in regard to Hippolito, it has only been because his humour pleased me greatly and I found solace therein; nor have I thought to offend his highness in this,—and that for the future I will have greater care of what I am about, both in order to give contentment to his highness, as for the salvation of my life,—enlarging on this particular according as you shall judge convenient; and since I should be glad to retire from here, so as to hear this incident talked about no more, [as it has been] to my great displeasure, I will willingly hear from you whether it is well that before my departure for Ferrara I should come to kiss the hands of his highness, or whether it is better that I go straight away. I wait your advice, and meanwhile hope that his highness will deign to grant me leave, enabling me to go to Ferrara with his good grace and farewell.

“From Mantua, end of July 1582.

“All yours,
THE PRINCE OF MANTUA.”

It may be of interest to contrast Vincenzo's story of the encounter with the hitherto generally accepted version of the manner in which Crichton met his death. Thomas Dempster, a doctor of Divinity, writing in 1604 (*The Passions of the Minde in Generall*) says:—

“I remember that when I was in Italy there was a Scottish gentleman of most rare and singular parts, who was a retainer to a Duke of that country; he was a singular good Scholler and as good a souldier: it chanced one night the young Prince, either upon some spleene, or false suggestion, or to try the Scot's valour, met him in a place where hee was wont to haunt, resolving either to kill, wound or beat him, and for this effect conducted with him two of the best Fencers he could finde; the Scot had but one friend with him; in fine, a quarrell is pickt, they all draw, the Scot presently ranne one of the Fencers thorow, and killed him in a trice, with that he bended his forces to the Prince, who fearing lest that which was befallen his Fencer might happen upon himselfe, he exclaimed out instantly that he was the Prince, and therefore willed him to looke aboute him what he did: the Scot perceiving well what hee was, fell down

upon his knees demanding pardon at his hands, and gave the Prince his naked rapier, who no sooner had received it, but with the same sword he ranne him thorow to death."

Sir Thomas Urquhart tells a similar story in his *Jewel* (published 1630), and it is just possible that he may have read Dr Wright's book. Apart from this particular incident, it is difficult to take Urquhart seriously, and his narrative of the events in Crichton's life, lacking corroboration as they do, must be rejected as evidence.

It will be noticed that the accounts of the tragedy given in the Gonzaga letters do not agree in every particular. The present writer has no intention of passing judgment: the letters and the facts as to the personal character of the parties speak for themselves.

Crichton's body was left in Serena's pharmacy awaiting burial. No order, however, came from the Court of Mantua, and Crichton's servants, who were without money, placed him in a well-tarred coffin and had him buried privately in the neighbouring church of San Simone. The people of Mantua were indignant at this shameful abandonment of one who had been so popular in the town, and in a letter to Zibramonti, the Castellan refers to the universal feeling of regret and disgust. His note is as follows:—

"It seems that the people are left little satisfied that the body of the Signor Critonio has been taken into S. Simone privately and almost as if abandoned: rather should I say amazed, seeing besides, that he was of his highness's Council; therefore let his highness think—Critonio being still in a tarred coffin—whether it were well that remains so rare should be left in such wise abandoned, having at least regard for the rare gifts of his soul, and not for the error committed; for, a little before death, he said again and again that he asked pardon of the Serene Prince, shewing himself very penitent."

But nothing was done, and Crichton's remains were left, as they had been laid, among the tombs of the ancient church.

And now, having dealt with the Gonzaga papers, we may attempt a solution of the mystery as to the appearance of a James Crichton, a Scotsman, in Milan in the years 1584 and 1585. We have been enabled to date the Admirable Crichton's death indisputably, and as heretofore he has been credited with the poems of another James Crichton, we will

attempt to examine the evidence as to the latter. So far as the poems are concerned, it will be sufficient to name only two of them. One, printed in 1584, laments the death of Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, the title being as follows :—

“*Epicedium Illustrissimi et Reverendissimi cardinalis Carcli Boromei, ab Jacobo Critonio, Scoto, rogatu clarissimi summaque in optimum pastorem suum pietate viri Joannis Antonii Magii Mediolanen proximo post obitum die exaratum. Mediolina: ex typographia Pacifici Pontii MDLXXXIII.*”

The other poem, dated 1585, is addressed to Sforza Brivius, chief magistrate of Milan, congratulating him on his appointment to that high office.

Accepting, as we must, the evidence of the letters in the Gonzaga collection that the Admirable Crichton died on the night of 3rd July 1582, and with the epicedium and the congratulatory lines before us, we here have proof of the existence of another James Crichton, who was in Italy shortly after the death of his celebrated namesake, and may have been there even at the time of the tragedy. Further and more conclusive evidence as to this second James Crichton is furnished by Bernardini Baldini,¹ a contemporary Milanese author, who addresses to James Crichton, whom he designates “the survivor,” some Latin verse, in which, referring to the Admirable Crichton, he says, “Thy kinsman, Crichton, in past years was an ancestral honour of the world.”

Baldini, in a second poem entitled “On the Murder of James Crichton,” dilates upon the Admirable Crichton’s remarkable accomplishments and his tragic death. A translation of these lines may be given thus :

“Crichton, born in a rough and cold region which the Scot and barbarian² holds, spoke Greek like a man bred at learned Athens, and he spoke Latin words like a Latin man ; when he spoke Tuscan you

¹ *Bernardini Baldini lusus ad M. Antonium Baldinum, fratris filium. Mediolani, extyp. P. Pontii 1586.* I have not come across a copy of this in Great Britain, but one is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

² It was customary at this period for Italian writers to describe foreigners as “barbarians,” and the term need not be regarded in the nature of an aspersion upon our Scottish ancestors.

would swear in wonder that he was sprung from Tuscans, and had lived in those parts. He expressed the great Teutons with a Teutonic mouth, and his French tongue proved [seemed to prove] him of French descent. He knew the meaning of Aristotle and the Greek doctrines and the counsels of the Gods and the notes of Homer. It is no small task to describe in other ways his talents and words worthy of a god. Alas! he had not completed twenty-two years—handsome, of royal blood, a soldier, a knight—when a wicked hand cut off his poetic life. From that hour the hero sits for ever with the heavenly choir.”

Crichton the Survivor acknowledges Baldini's tribute to his famous kinsman—“Because thou mournest the bitter death of Crichton, connected with me by illustrious blood, thou art thyself dearer to me.”