

Patrick Ruthven, Alchemist and Physician

R Ian McCallum*

ABSTRACT

Patrick Ruthven, the fifth son of William, first Earl of Gowrie who was executed by James VI in 1584, was born in the same year, but was imprisoned by James in the Tower of London for 19 years from 1603 to 1622. During this time he was one of an unusually talented group of prisoners from whom he learned medicine and alchemy. He also married and had a family. After his release he practised as a physician but died in poverty in London in 1652, in spite of his aristocratic connections. Little is known about him and there are a number of aspects of his life such as his poverty which are unexplained. His daughter married the painter Van Dyck, and their daughter married a Welsh baronet, and thus there are now several collections of family papers in Wales. Ruthven's collected alchemical manuscripts, his Commonplace Book, is in the Special Collections of Edinburgh University, and other largely medical writings associated with him are in London in the British Library and the Wellcome Library.

INTRODUCTION

Patrick Ruthven, Lord Gowrie (1584–1652) was included amongst later Scottish alchemists by Small, in a paper in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* for 1876, and by Comrie (1932), but the published accounts of his life and alchemical interests are limited in content. Little is known about his personal history but Edinburgh University Library has an unusual volume in its Special Collections, Ruthven's *Commonplace Book* (Dc 1 30) which contains his alchemical manuscripts, and elsewhere there are a few other writings which are related to him and his activities. Descendants of Patrick Ruthven can be traced to the current generation and this has been valuable in determining the whereabouts of family papers, of which there are several collections in South Wales, from which some further details of his life have been obtained.

THE RUTHVEN FAMILY

The Ruthvens were well known for their interest in alchemy and science. In *Aulicus Coquinariae* (1650) is the comment 'The first Earl of Gowrie, beheaded in 1584, is said by Spottiswood to have been too curious in inquiring at wizards about the events of futurity. And his son, slain in the course of the memorable conspiracy, was also supposed to be addicted to mystical studies and natural magic. William and Patrick Ruthven, his brothers, were celebrated for their knowledge of chemistry, which was then believed connected with occult science; and the latter practised as a physician.' Patrick's older brother John, third Earl of Gowrie (b c1577), who was killed in the Gowrie Conspiracy of 1600 studied at Edinburgh University and at Padua and Rome. Patrick was interested in alchemy and magic, and his older brother William was credited by Bishop Barnet to have had the Philosophers' Stone, but as Bullough (1967) points out

* 4 Chessels Court, Canongate, Edinburgh EH8 8AD

Barnet was not a very reliable source. John was suspected of necromancy and witchcraft and to have used magical aids in a conspiracy against James VI, and after his death there was found on his body a parchment bag full of magical characters. George, Earl of Cromartie writing about the Gowrie conspiracies (1713) describes the bag as:

two sheets stitch'd in a little Book of neat 5 Inches long and three broad; full of Magical Spells and Characters, which none can understand, but those who exercise that Art. These papers I found in Sir George Erskine of Invertile's Cabinet, wrapt in paper, whereon was writ, with Sir George's own Hand, These are the papers which Sir Thomas Erskine, My Brother, did take out of the Earl of Gowrie's Girdle, after that he was killed in Perth: And which Papers were then delivert by my Brother, Sir Thomas, to me, to be kept. These papers I cannot now fall on, tho' I'm certain, I have them by me. But I declare on Faith and Honour, I did find them in Manner Foresaid, and have many times shown them to others in above Sixty Years time.

He refers briefly in the text to Patrick Ruthven as a 'Doctor of Physick'.

The story of the Gowries has attracted many people to study what is known about them, and to speculate. The Archdeacon of Orkney, J B Craven, of Kirkwall, collected material on the Gowries, and his manuscripts, which are in Aberdeen University Library (MS. 2154), contain notes of the many writings on the Ruthven family, and the Gowrie conspiracy. Another was Andrew Lang the Scottish writer, whose book on the Gowrie Conspiracy was attacked by the publisher of the *Perthshire Advertiser*, Samuel Cowan (1835–1914), who claimed to have seen hitherto unpublished family papers which revealed that the Gowrie conspiracy was in fact a plot by James himself to eliminate the Ruthvens. What little is known about Patrick Ruthven is summarized here, but much is conjectural. John Bruce (1802–69) who was treasurer and vice-president of the Society of Antiquaries of London in the 1850s, provides the most prolific source of information about

Patrick Ruthven. In 1851 Bruce read a paper to the Society describing documents relating to William, first Earl of Gowrie, and Patrick his fifth son, based on material from Colonel Stepney Cowell Stepney a descendant of Patrick Ruthven. Much of the following information is taken from Bruce's paper (1852) and from his later privately produced book (1867), which reprints his two papers on the Gowrie family which appeared in the journal *Archaeologia* in 1849 and 1851, together with some extra information about Patrick Ruthven which had accrued since then. The copy of Bruce's 1867 account of the Gowries in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in Edinburgh is inscribed on the fly leaf 'With Colonel Stepney's Compliments. March 1867' and on the title page 'John Bruce'. It includes a genealogy of the children of the first Earl Gowrie and names Patrick's five children.

THE HISTORY OF THE RUTHVENS OR GOWRIES

It is clear from Bruce and Cowan (1912) that there is much Ruthven information in family histories and records, particularly in Wales where personal papers of descendants of Patrick Ruthven have been deposited in archives in Carmarthen Record Office, and from Stepney Estate papers which were lodged in Llanelli Public Library in October 1965 when the then Llanelli Borough Council purchased the estate. The Ruthvens or Gowries were a distinguished but unfortunate family who were determined to keep Scotland Protestant in religion. The name Gowrie is from the Gaelic *gobhar*, a goat, and this is reflected in the family coat of arms which had a goat's head as a crest and two goats rampant as supporters, possibly because the Carse of Gowrie was the chief pasture for goats in Angus. The Gowries incurred the antagonism of James VI, and understandably. In August 1582 James was persuaded to go to the Castle of Ruthven, now Huntingtower, three miles from Perth, after

a hunting expedition in Athole. He was detained there (*The Raid of Ruthven*) and compelled to order the Duke of Lennox to leave Scotland. Lennox (Esmé Stewart, Lord of Aubigny, a nephew of James's grandfather) was a clever but unscrupulous man brought up in France (Hume Brown 1955). He had been sent to Scotland to engineer the return of Queen Mary and was suspected of favouring Catholicism. James aged 16 years at the time managed to escape to friends in St Andrews about 10 months later.

Again in 1600 was *The Gowrie Conspiracy*. It was alleged by James that he was lured to the castle of Alexander, the Master of Ruthven, brother of the third Earl of Gowrie, and his life was threatened. His attendants however rescued him and the Master of Ruthven and the Earl were killed. Another version of the story is presented by Cowan (1912) on the basis of a document said to be amongst family papers belonging to the then Lord Ruthven of Freeland, written by a member of the family or intimate friend. It was undated but 'has all the appearance of an ancient document'. This account describes a successful and elaborate trap set by James and designed to eliminate key members of the Ruthven family whom he perceived as a threat to his aim to succeed Elizabeth of England on her throne and to unite the two countries. The Ruthvens were not only leading Protestants but John, Earl of Gowrie, he saw as a possible favourite of Elizabeth whom she might prefer as a successor. Cowan's document describes a complex scheme set up by James in which he manoeuvred the Ruthvens into a position in which they could be murdered and made to appear to have threatened the King's life and to have died as a result. The point is made that James provided the only account of what went on at the time and that this story was not believed by the Scottish clergy, or the magistrates of Perth. In the back of Cowan's book there is a copy of a letter published in *The Morning Post* in July 1912 from Andrew Lang, the London-based journalist, in which he is scathing about the date and authenticity of Cowan's source, but he begins by stating that,

although James' account of what went on was highly improbable, he (Lang) was one of those who had accepted it. The letter was responded to by Cowan and by a Mrs J Ruthven-Stuart, a member of the Ruthven family, whose letter was published after Lang had died in August 1912. The Freeland peerage was created in 1651 by Charles II for Thomas Ruthven of Freeland, but on the death of this son David in 1701 became extinct; it was revived later. Two acts of 1600 ordained that the heirs of the Earl of Gowrie should for all time be unable to enjoy any honours, dignities, offices or lands in Scotland; and that the surname Ruthven be abolished. These acts were reversed in 1641 on the petition of Patrick Ruthven (Gibbs & Doubleday 1926, 365). He erroneously assumed that this restored the peerage as well as the surname of Ruthven but not that of Gowrie. His son Patrick took out a marriage licence as Patrick, Lord Ruthven, in 1667.

PERSECUTION OF THE RUTHVENS

Patrick Ruthven was the youngest child of William, fourth Lord Ruthven and first Earl of Gowrie (born 1541?), who took part in carrying off James VI in *The Raid of Ruthven* of 1582. Patrick, the last of 13 children, was only a few weeks old when his father was executed in Edinburgh on the 4th May 1584 (Bruce 1852). At the time of the conspiracy of 1600, in which his older brothers John and Alexander were killed, Patrick, then 16 years of age, and his brother William were both with a private tutor in Edinburgh. On hearing of the tragic events they joined their mother at Dirleton Castle, a Ruthven fortress between Gullane and North Berwick in what is now East Lothian, today a magnificent ruin with beautiful gardens. It had passed to the Ruthvens when Janet Halyburton, eldest daughter of the last Lord Halyburton, married William, second Lord Ruthven, in 1515. William and Patrick, having been warned of their impending arrest by a troop of horsemen

from Edinburgh or, according to Panton (1812, 26–7), by Kennedy a former servant, fled across the border to Berwick. William had received a letter from James some days before the incident asking him to meet him in Perth on the 5th August. The attempt to apprehend them was made on the 6th, and it has been suggested that Kennedy may have been acting for James in encouraging the boys to flee rather than to stay and defend their family in public (Panton 1912, 26–7). Having put themselves at the mercy of the English governor Sir John Carey, Queen Elizabeth gave permission for them to stay in England where they were joined by their sister Beatrix (Masson 1884). Three weeks later they moved south to Cambridge where they stayed with a tutor for two years, still under the protection of Queen Elizabeth. In September 1602 they made a secret visit to Scotland but soon returned to England.

In April 1603 when James VI was on his way south to accept the English crown he ordered their apprehension, accusing them of various crimes including plotting and conspiring against him. William it has been suggested escaped to the continent to seek refuge with Theodore Beza, the French reformer and colleague of Calvin, with whom his elder brother John, the third Earl, had lodged for three months. William is said to have achieved distinction as a scientist, although nothing certain is known of his career. A letter by Theodore Beza is in the *Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire* in Geneva, dated 15 April 1602, and addressed to William and Patrick (there is a copy in National Archives of Scotland). The letter is in contemporary Latin and it is not entirely clear what it says, but it shows that the Ruthvens were in contact with him. So far no evidence has been found that William was in Geneva. A web site, Gowen (a name said to be formed from *Gowrie* and *Ruthven*), suggests that William may have gone to Iceland as he was mentioned in Icelandic ballads (Scotlands Rimur) and later settled in Georgia, USA.

Patrick was put in the Tower of London by James VI for 19 years without trial or

any accusations against him. Bruce (1852) comments that ‘From the time of the Raid of Ruthven in 1582 King James pursued every member of the Ruthven family with implacable dislike’. The name Ruthven was abolished by Act of Parliament from 1600 until 1641, and that of the House of Ruthven near Perth, an imposing pair of tower houses which the Ruthvens had held since the 12th century, was changed to Huntingtower (Burke’s *Peerage* 1970). Patrick Ruthven was treated in the Tower of London with some deference, which perhaps reflects the flimsy basis for his imprisonment, and the facilities that were provided for him included a furnished apartment and allowances for food and washing etc, the bills for which between 1603 and 1604 are in the public records (Bruce 1852). It is interesting that they include not only Patrick Ruthven’s food, clothes and laundry, and other necessities, but payments for a series of readers whose function is not clear but who were presumably secretarial or clerical helpers. On 26 (or 24) May 1614 Bruce says that Patrick, accompanied by a keeper, was permitted to visit his sister Barbara in London as she was thought to be near death. However, in a genealogical table of Patrick’s immediate family (Bruce 1867) there is no Barbara, although there is a Beatrice who married Sir John Home of Coldingknowe. In 1616 Patrick was given a grant of £200 a year from the Exchequer for ‘apparell, bookes, phisick and such like necessaries’, and in 1620–5 a Grant of Annuity of £500 for life. On 4 August 1622 an order was signed by King James releasing him from prison but confining him to the University of Cambridge and an area within six miles round it. This Ruthven must have found too limiting as he petitioned the king for an enlargement of the condition which bound him to the Cambridge area. Thus a Royal Assent to an Enlargement (discharge from prison) of Patrick Ruthven from the Tower of London, dated 1623/4, gives him permission to live in Somersetshire, although where is not known.

At this time he was being referred to officially as Patrick *Ruthen* and practised as a physician,

but it is not known where. From 1639–40 he lived in the Parish of St Martin in the Fields. Later when financial provision for him failed and his pension remained unpaid he is described as a Doctor of Medicine (The Scots Peerage 1907) and to have practised in London. Bruce (1867) mentions a reference to Patrick's role as a physician in Sir William Sanderson's additions to Bishop Goodman's *Aulicus Coquinariae* (1650, 7–8), where the Gowries are described as 'all of them, much addicted to Chemistry. And these more; to the Practise; often publishing (as such Professor usually do) more rare experiments than ever could be performed; wherein the King (a general scholar) had little faith'.¹ In 1639 Sir Henry Slingsby of Scriven (Rev D Parsons: The diary of Sir Henry Slingsby. London 1836. p 48. Quoted in Bruce 1867) refers in his diary to his wife's illness 'At last after some tryalls wth Dr baskerville and Mr Ruthen a Scottish gentleman of ye family of ye Ld Gowers, who had made it his study in ye art of Physick to administer help to others, but not for any gain to himself, at last she was a patient of Theodore Meene (Mayerne) ye King's Physitian, and from him she had reap'd ye most benefit for her health'. Patrick Ruthven was rehabilitated in 1641 and styled himself as Earl of Gowrie, Lord Ruthven. Patrick was well connected, having his seven sisters married to aristocrats including the Earl of Montrose, Earl of Atholl, and Duke of Lennox, amongst others. It has been pointed out that his sisters married into the highest ranks of Scottish society in spite of the ban on the name Ruthven (Masson 1895), and it is odd that none of these relationships saved him from such a long spell in the Tower of London or from his subsequent poverty.

THE 'ACADEMY' IN THE TOWER OF LONDON

William Harvey (1578–1657), after taking his degree at Cambridge in 1597, studied at Padua where he obtained an MD. He may well have met Patrick's brother John Ruthven there, and,

as Harvey became physician to the Tower of London after leaving Padua, he is likely to have known Patrick, and it is suggested that he encouraged him to study medicine (Ruthven-Finlayson 1982). While in the Tower from 1603 to 1622 Patrick Ruthven was one of a group which included Henry Percy the ninth Earl of Northumberland (1564–1632), who was imprisoned from 1606 to 1621. Percy was an unique character, 'complex, withdrawn and partially deaf' (Blake 1999). Although involved in James VIth's accession to the English throne, Percy had been compromised by a kinsman in the Gunpowder Treason (1960, 246–61). He himself does not seem to have studied alchemy but was widely read in scientific matters and had some alchemical works in his extensive library. Sir Anthony Van Dyck painted a posthumous portrait of him for his son, now in the Egremont Collection at Petworth, which shows him seated at a table with a clock and a paper with a Latin inscription and a mathematical drawing.

Percy, mathematician, chemist, astrologer, and humorist, established a Literary and Philosophical Society in his apartments in the Tower (Markland, 1838). The group had been active earlier, for in about 1593 Sir Robert Cecil, son of Lord Burleigh, and Acting Secretary to Elizabeth's Privy Council, was investigating the so-called *School of the Night*, a group of scientists and mathematicians which met under the aegis of Henry Percy and Sir Walter Raleigh (Cook 2001). Sir Walter Raleigh (1552–1618), 'a great Chymist' according to Aubrey (1992, 254), was imprisoned in the Tower from 1603 to 1616, and the polymath Thomas Harriot (1560–1621) his master in mathematics, although under house arrest, was able to visit him there. There were also two other mathematicians Hues and Warner, forming 'the three Magi'. Robert Hues (or Hughes; 1553?–1632), whose patron was Henry Percy (Bruce 1867), was a mathematician and scientific geographer who sailed round the world at least once (DNB 1908). Hues dedicated *Tractatem de Globis et eorum Usu* etc to Raleigh, and he frequently visited Lord Grey of Wilton

(d 1614) when he was confined to the Tower.

Also in the Tower were Henry Brooke, eighth Lord Cobham (1564–1618/19) one time Member of Parliament for Kent (1558–89) and Hedon (1593), and his brother George, who was later executed. They were, with Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Griffin Markham and Lord Grey of Wilton, all allegedly involved in ‘the treason of the Maine’ which aimed to kill the king and his family and put Arabella Stewart on the throne. Henry Brooke was an ally of Sir Robert Cecil, his brother-in-law, and intimate with Raleigh. He was confined to the Tower in 1603, followed by Raleigh against whom he informed. Cobham who got as far as being taken to the scaffold, was reprieved but died following a seizure in 1619 (DNB 1886). Others who were recorded in the Tower in September 1612 (Green 1858) were Lady Arabella Stuart, the Countess of Shrewsbury, Lord Grey, Sir Cormack O’Neile, brother of Tyrone, Sir Donal O’Cane, Sir Neal Garvey, Mr Nectan O’Donell his son, Sir Thomas Bartlet, a Mr Mathews, William Baldwin, Jesuite, and Serjeant Hoskins, a poet. Raleigh, Harriot and Percy all pursued interests in scientific subjects, and the latter was able to buy books from a London bookseller. Warner had similar interests. Raleigh had free access to the garden of the lieutenant of the Tower and converted a ‘little hen-house’ into a *still* house where ‘he doth spend his time all the day, in his distillations’ (Shirley 1951), and he had a reputation as a compounder of medicines. Amongst his expenses for his still house in 1606/7 were ‘quicksilver, verdgrease & copyr’. Percy’s experiments up to 1610 also included distillation of liquors and compounding of medicines. The mathematician John Willis (1616–1703), one of the founders of the Royal Society, is quoted (Batho 1960, 246–61) as writing: ‘Their prison was an academy where their thoughts were elevated above the common cares of life, where they explored science in all its pleasing forms.’ It seems that Ruthven had stimulating intellectual companions with him in prison. Bruce refers to a manuscript

which contains what is possibly a reference to Patrick Ruthven in a list of persons who were to have been admitted as the first fellows of a Royal Academy in England. This list includes a Patrick Ruthin who was thought at first to have been an eminent soldier of that name who later became the Earl of Forth and Brentford, but Bruce thought that it was much more likely to be Patrick Ruthven.

RUTHVEN AND THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND

An extract from State Papers of July 8th 1613 (Green 1858) records that ‘The Earl of Northumberland has quarrelled with Ruthven’s (the Earl of Gowrie’s) brother in the Tower Garden’. In connection with this there is a curious footnote to Patrick Ruthven’s relationship with Henry Percy in the form of a letter from Ruthven to Percy which Bruce (1852) describes in detail and dates from the period around 1622 when both Ruthven and Percy had been released from prison. To Bruce it suggests a mature individual rather than a callow youth and in 1622 Patrick Ruthin would have been about 38 years of age. The text of the letter in Bruce is as follows:

Mr Ruthen to the Earl of Northumberland

My Lord,

It may be interpreted discretion sometimes to wink at private wrongs, especially for such a one as myself, that have a long time wrestled with a hard fortune, and whose actions, words, and behaviour are continually subject to the censure of a whole state; yet not to be sensible of public and national disgrace, were stupidity and baseness of mind: for no place, nor time, nor state, can excuse a man from performing that duty and obligation wherein nature hath tied him to his country and to himself. This I speak in regard of certain infamous verses lately by your lordship’s means dispersed abroad, to disgrace my country and myself, and to wrong and stain by me the honour of a worthy and vertuous gentlewoman, whose unspotted and immaculate vertue yourself is so much more

bound to admire and uphold, in that, having dishonourably assaulted it, you could not prevail. But belike, my lord, you dare do anything but that which is good and just.

Think not to bear down these things either by greatness or denial; for the circumstances that prove them are so evident, and the veil wherewith you would shadow them is too transparent. Neither would I have you flatter yourself, as though like another Giges you could pass in your courses invisible. If you owe a spite to any of my countrymen it is a poor revenge to rail upon me in verse: or if the repulse of your lewed desire at the gentlewoman's hands hath inflamed and exasperated your choler against her, it was never known that to refuse Northumberland's unlawful lust was a crime for a gentlewoman deserving to have her honor called in question.

For her part, I doubt not but her own unspotted vertue will easily wipe out any blot which your malice would cast upon it; and for me and my countrymen, know (my good lord) that such blows that come in rime are too weak to reach or harm us.

I am ashamed in your lordship's behalf for these proceedings, and sorry that the world must now see how long it hath been mistaken in Northumberland's spirit; and yet who will not commend your wisdom in chusing such a safe course, to wrong a woman and prisoner? The one which cannot, and the other by nature and quality of the place may not, right his own wrongs. Wherefore (setting aside the most honorable order of the garter, and protesting that whatsoever is here said is no way intended to the nobility and gentry of England in general, which I doubt not will condemn this your dishonorable dealing, and for which both myself, and I dare truly say, all my countrymen, shall be even as ready to sacrifice our bloods as for our own mother Scotland,) I do not only in regard of our own persons affirm, that whatsoever in those infamous verses is contained is utterly false and untrue, and that yourself hath dealt most dishonourably, unworthily and basely; but this I'll ever maintain. If these words sound harshly in your lordship's ear, blame yourself, since yourself forgetting yourself hath taught others how to dishonor you; and remember, that though nobility makes a difference of persons, yet injury acknowledgeth none. PATRICK RUTHVEN

Gyges, of the 7th century BC, had a brazen ring which made him invisible, by which he obtained possession of the wife of Candaules and his kingdom of Lydia. There is a manuscript copy of Ruthven's letter in the British Library (Sloane MS. 1775. f 48v) bound with other unrelated manuscripts and without a date, and it is interesting that at the time he refers to himself as Ruthen. From this letter, which is firm and pointed, one can conclude that Patrick Ruthven was aware of the anti-Scottish feeling associated with the court of King James and his alleged over-generosity to the Scots who had accompanied him to London (Lockyer 1998) and that this may have formed one part of Northumberland's 'infamous verses'; and that the lady concerned was held in great esteem by Ruthven. Finally it seems that Ruthven was quite capable of firmly admonishing Northumberland for his bad behaviour, and of publicizing his comments, and must have got to know him well while they were both in the Tower. Bruce says that this letter, copies of which were once extremely common, might relate to Ruthven's wife Elizabeth Woodford perhaps before they were married. This seems a reasonable assumption but as no dates are known for the marriage or of the births of Ruthven's five children one can only guess at the time relations of these events.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

If Mary the youngest daughter was under 20 when she married Van Dyck in 1639, Patrick Ruthven is likely to have married before he was released from prison in 1622, which a pamphlet of 1851 suggests. In April 1851 Sir Charles Young of the London College of Arms offered a reward to any officiating minister or Parish Clerk who could find the entry of Patrick Ruthven's marriage and furnish a certificate. This seems to be connected with the attempt by Patrick's descendants to revive the Ruthven titles but does not appear to have succeeded. The first evidence of Ruthven's

marriage is in a notice of 27 February 1639–40, using his proper name of Ruthven of the parish of St Martins in the Field, assigning £120 of his pension of £500 to his ‘loving daughter Mary Ruthuen’ spinster of the same parish. This may have been to provide a dowry for Mary when she was given in marriage to Anthony Van Dyck at that time, and King Charles I is also said to have given her a small dowry (Blake 1999). Ruthven married Elizabeth daughter of Robert Woodford of Brightwell, Burnham, Bucks, and widow of Thomas, first Baron Gerard of Gerard’s Bromley, Staffordshire. The details of the relationship between Patrick and Elizabeth are a complete mystery and it is not known how they became acquainted. Elizabeth died in 1624 having had five children, three boys and two girls. It seems likely therefore that Patrick and Elizabeth were married no later than 1619 or 1620, and it was not until 1622 that Patrick was released from the Tower at the instigation of Lord Haddington (who had been involved in the Gowrie conspiracy).

LAST DAYS, DEATH AND BURIAL

Power of attorney from Patrick Lord Ruthven was given to a Mrs Lettice Ellinsworth of Westminster to receive the annuity of £500 and receipts on the 8 May 1648; plus five acknowledgements of sums from £5 to 20 in payments, presumably all to cover debts. Bruce prints a copy of an authorization by Patrick Ruthven in 1650 to pay a debt out of his pension. He died on 24 May 1652 at the age of 68 years, and is shown in the burial register of St George’s, Southwark for that date as *Lord Ruthen KB*. Although Alan J Gulston suggested that these letters stand for Knightsbridge and that Patrick lived there, the usual and more likely explanation is that they stand for King’s Bench prison where he died in poverty. The church of St George the Martyr, close to the prison site, probably built in the 12th century, was rebuilt and enlarged in 1629, and rebuilt again in 1734/

36. It had been in a ruinous condition, and only two memorials prior to the 18th century remain. Thus the only record of Patrick Ruthven’s burial place is the burial register. It is astonishing that a man who was so well connected with the Scottish aristocracy died in such circumstances but perhaps he was so independent-minded that he refused to seek help.

THE MAN

Patrick appears to have been a gentle and considerate man of great learning, with a family tradition of scholarship and interest in the occult, not unusual for an aristocrat at that time. He seems to have made good use of his spell of enforced, unjust and excessively long incarceration in the Tower. During that period, although he was well looked after, he did not appear to have traded on his powerful aristocratic connections as he might have done. He was dogged by bad luck in his subsequent career and in the circumstances of his daughter, whose husband Anthony Van Dyck’s fortune was dissipated by dishonesty, and about which Patrick could do very little. His personality shines through his misfortunes as an admirable, caring and likeable man. Comments in *Aulicus Coquinariae* (1650, 17–18) are friendly: ‘There remaine but one younger sonne of that house, who though a childe was from that time imprisoned, by act of Parliament, and so continued afterwards here in the Tower of London until that king’s death; and the grace of the late King Charles restored him to liberty, with a small pension, which kept him like a gentleman to these times, but now failing he walks the strets, poore, but well experienced also in chimicall physick, and in other parts of learning.’

PATRICK RUTHVEN’S CHILDREN

Tracing Patrick’s descendants is part of the search for more specific information about him than has been easily available hitherto. The

family tree published by Bruce (1852) shows that Patrick had five children. It is not known whether his older brother William ever married or had children, or when or where he died, and there is no information about other members of Patrick's family other than Mary. Nothing is known of the third and fourth children except that Robert was living in 1660 (Bruce 1867). Elizabeth is not known to have married. The marriage of Patrick the second son (born in Holborn) to Jane McDonell is listed in the Parish Register of St Martin's in the Fields. In November 1656 he petitioned Oliver Cromwell, and letters of administration were given to him in 1656/7 in respect of his father's estate. Mary's circumstances are much better known and her descendants can be traced to the present.

MARY RUTHVEN

Mary, although without financial means, must have been an attractive and amenable person. According to Bruce (1852) 'She is stated to have been a young lady of extraordinary beauty. Those who have seen her portrait, by Vandyke, at Hagley, may judge how truly that was the case.' She was appointed a maid of honour to Queen Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I, and on 27 February 1640 married the Flemish painter Sir Anthony Van Dyck. Mary gave birth to a daughter, Justiniana, in 1641, but Van Dyck died shortly after her christening. Mary had a mass celebrated for her husband, probably in the Queen's Chapel in Somerset House (Blake 1999), although he was buried in St Paul's, a Protestant church. In spite of Van Dyck's wealth and valuable paintings Mary was swindled out of most of them (Brown 1982). Richard Andrew seized the paintings and smuggled them to the Continent despite petitions to Parliament from Patrick Ruthven in 1645 after Mary's death in that year, and again two years later, which were unsuccessful. Justiniana married a Welsh Baronet Sir John Stepney (d 1681) and their descendants, the Stepney Gulstons, can be

traced to the present in the Carmarthen area. Much Ruthven family history, particularly seeking to explain what actually happened in the Gowrie Conspiracy, is collected in their family papers, which also contain important information on Patrick Ruthven. There are at least four collections of Stepney family and estate documents.

VAN DYCK PAINTINGS OF THE RUTHVENS

Van Dyck is said to have 'immortalized his wife repeatedly in painting' (Knackfuss 1899), but it is not stated how many times, and several paintings formerly thought to be of Mary are now regarded as dubious. Van Dyck portraits are notorious for the difficulties in their attribution. The most authentic portrait of Mary Ruthven by Van Dyck is the oil on canvas painting in the Museo del Prado, Madrid (inv 1495; 41×31⁷/₈ ins; 102.5×79.7 cms) which is dated 1639–40 (Moir 1994; Pl 81; p 47), and which was in the collection of Isabel de Farnesio (1692–1766), the second wife (1714) of the Spanish king Felipe V. It was restored in 1992 and is in excellent condition. Mary's bright blue dress is striking, and her expression is pert and mischievous and suggests a sense of humour. A string of pearls round her neck relates to St Margaret whose pearls represented purity and virtue, a symbol used by Van Dyck in several portraits of women, and has been taken to symbolize her pregnancy. From this it is deduced that the painting was done in the spring of 1641 rather than in 1639 (Depauw & Luitjen 1999, 205) as is suggested in Moir (1994). As Van Dyck got older and more into worldly pleasures he used assistants a great deal (Cust 1900, 131, 141), so that many portraits attributed to him are doubtful, but it is unlikely that he would delegate his wife's portrait to an assistant. *Iconography*, distributed by Gillis Hendricx in 1645–6, had an engraving by *Schelte à Bolswert* of the Prado painting (illus 1), which includes in the caption 'Nata in



ILLUS 1 Mary Ruthven, after 1641. Fifth state engraving (24.2×16.8cm) by Schelte à Bolswert (c1586–1659) after the Van Dyck painting now in the Museo del Prado. (Copyright: Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet)

Scotia'. As Mary was likely to have been born in London it is certainly incorrect. A less successful etching was made by Joannes Meyssens and there were two other copies of this printed, one by Richard Gaywood (active 1644–88), published in London; and the other in France by Louis-Ferdinand Elle (Paris 1612–89). Later depictions were an etching by the German artist Ernst Ludwig Riepenhausen (1765–1840) and a lithograph by Achille Deveria (1800–53) of Paris. A Latin poem of 1646 by Constantijn Huygens, probably after seeing the engraving of Mary Ruthven by Schelte à Bolswert, is given in translation by Depauw and Luitjen (1999, 205):

‘Thus did I appear alone among England’s
thousands,
It was I whom Van Dyck deemed worthy to be
his wife.
Should you frown upon this painting and wish to
see me in the flesh:
it is sufficient that I am immortalised by his
hand.
Though no longer among the living, I shall
endure for centuries more
than if my Pygmalion had wished me back to
life.’

Abraham Cowley in a poem on the Death of Van Dyck refers to Mary as ‘his beauteous Lady still he loves’ (Cust 1900).

It might be thought that Patrick Ruthven himself would have been painted by Van Dyck and that such a picture would be amongst family portrait collections. A painting which included Patrick Ruthven would be an important record as no portrait of him is known, but its existence although claimed has not so far been verified. A picture at Knole, identified as an early copy of a Van Dyck original now in the USA, was wrongly identified in the inventory of 1799 as Vandyke [*sic*] and Lord Gowry, and in the 1828 inventory as Patrick Ruthven (Alistair Laing, pers comm). Another note in the Derwydd papers refers to a painting by Van Dyck of Lord and Lady Ruthven with a child which was in a gallery in Florence, and ‘Van Dyck wife and child engraved by

Bartolozzi’. Van Dyck’s mode of work in his Blackfriars studio make it difficult to be certain about the attribution of his pictures, some of which though painted in his studio were done by his assistants, and there were many copies done later by others.

PATRICK RUTHVEN AS ALCHEMIST: HIS *COMMONPLACE BOOK*

Ruthven’s reputation as an alchemist seems to rest like that of Sir George Erskine (McCallum 2002) mainly on the existence of his collection of manuscripts. There is nothing to suggest directly that he did much laboratory work himself but rather that he studied and made notes on the Hermetic writers, choosing authors who were popular and available to him and his contemporaries. However during his sojourn in the Tower of London he probably had access to laboratories belonging to Henry Percy or Sir Walter Raleigh or both, thus it is likely that he had practical experience, and this is reflected in the publications associated with him. The *Commonplace Book* which is in Edinburgh University Library’s Special Collections (Dc 1 30), was shown to the Society of Antiquaries of London in December 1851 by Thomas Wright (1810–77) a graduate of Cambridge University, a well known antiquary, author of a history of Essex and of many historical studies, and an archaeologist (Wright 1852). He had moved to Brompton, London from Ludlow in 1836. In 1837 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London and there was a marble bust of him in Burlington House. His publications have 129 entries in the British Museum Catalogue. Wright worked for a number of wealthy patrons and was a man of great industry but he is described as inaccurate and careless at times (DNB 1909). One friend and colleague was James Orchard Halliwell-Phillips, a well known Shakespearian authority and collector of rare manuscripts (DNB 1908). A printed cutting pasted onto the front board of

the *Commonplace Book* refers to the paper by Bruce to the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1852. Also pasted onto the front flyleaf is a printed copy of a letter by Thomas Wright, from Sydney Street, London, dated 3 December 1851 (Wright 1852) responding to John Bruce's article in the same journal, *Observations upon certain Documents relating to William, first Earl of Gowrie, and Patrick Ruthven, his fifth and last surviving son*.

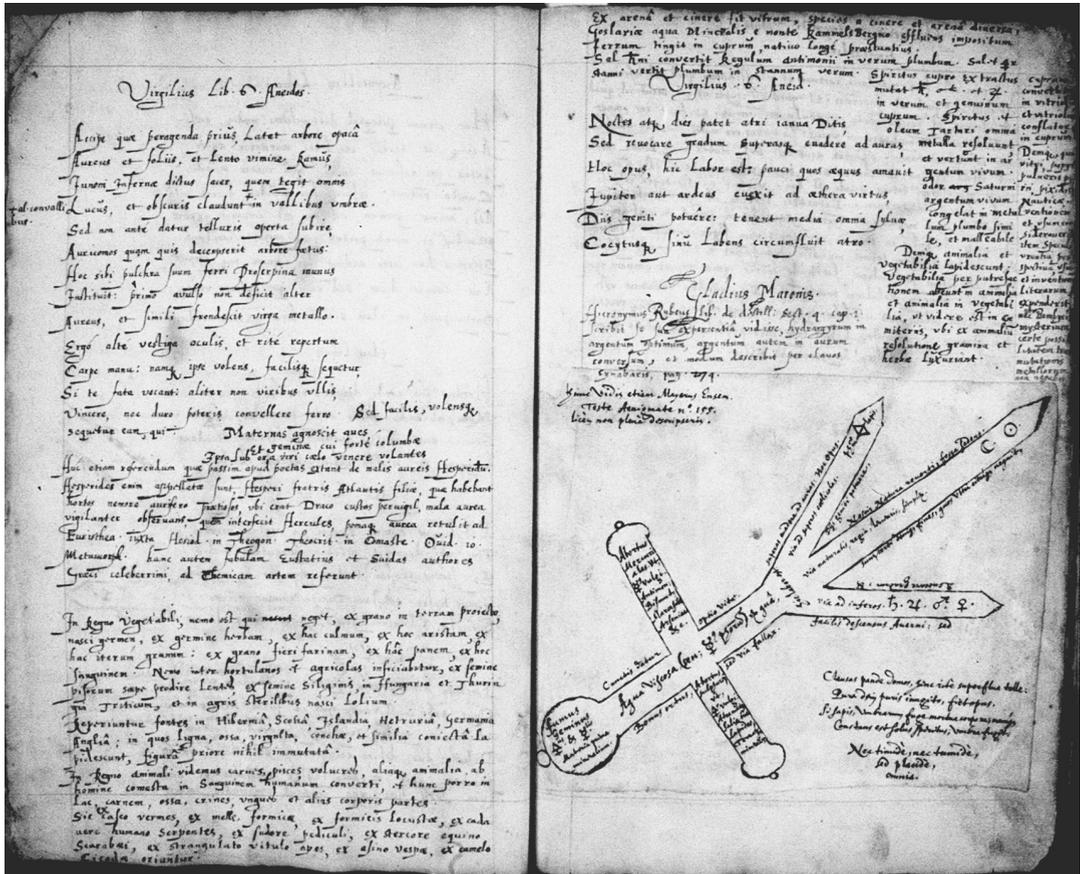
PROVENANCE OF THE *COMMONPLACE BOOK*

It is not known how Edinburgh University Library acquired this book or from whom, nor is there an acquisition date. However, James Orchard Halliwell, later Halliwell-Phillips (1820–89), an insatiable collector of rare books and manuscripts, presented Edinburgh University library with a valuable Shakespeare collection in 1872 and received an honorary LLD in 1883. He also left more than 300 volumes of his literary correspondence to the University (DNB 1908). He corresponded with the University librarian David Laing (1793–1878), a noted antiquary who became librarian of the Signet Library in Edinburgh in 1837. Halliwell-Phillips was greatly indebted to Laing for practical help in borrowing a rare copy of *Titus Andronicus* from the University library so that he could make a facsimile copy, and this may have influenced him (Nicholson 1935). It seems a reasonable conclusion that Halliwell-Phillips owned the book and presented it to the University, perhaps at the suggestion of Laing. In the middle of the 19th century there was some interest in Patrick Ruthven generated by his descendants in connection with the possible reviving of the Ruthven titles, and there is a letter in the David Laing collection in the Edinburgh University Library from Stepney Cowell Stepney, a descendent of Patrick Ruthven, written to Laing at the Signet Library, dated 29 April 1867, from 5 St George's Place, Hyde Park Corner, London

(La IV 17 fols 8888–9). Laing had sent him a letter of James Earl of Gowrie which he had given to John Bruce.

THE CONTENTS OF THE *COMMONPLACE BOOK* (illus 2–4)

The *Commonplace Book* is a half-leather bound folio volume of about 13.25×8.25 inches [33×20.6cm], and 1 inch [2.5cm] thick. It seems to have a 19th-century binding and on a small label on the back board is printed: *D Batten. Bookbinder, Clapham Common*. On the front board verso is a diamond-shaped leather plaque embossed in gold with an elaborate pattern (having about 1.5 inch sides) which could have come from a previous binding. In the front and back of the volume are pasted the remains of an elaborately scripted and indecipherable letter with widely spaced writing; of which there have possibly been eight pages. The writing is in an earlier style, perhaps 16th century, and the letter may have been used to strengthen the binding at some point, and it does not seem relevant to Patrick Ruthven. The *Commonplace Book* consists mainly of short extracts from or references to various alchemical writers or philosophers or to well known alchemical texts amongst which *Clangor Buccinae*, and *Rosarium Philosophorum* appear frequently. Not all such entries are listed here but sufficient of them to indicate the varied sources which Ruthven commonly cites. There are excerpts from a variety of sources: Hermes Trismegistus' *Tabula Smaragdina*, Norton, the *Rosarium Philosophorum*; a beautifully scripted piece on the Philosophers' Stone containing some Hebrew words (illus 3), Augurellus, Richardus Anglicus, Bernard Trevisanus, Geber, Ripley, Roger Bacon, Agrippa, Sendivogius, Petrus Bonus, Basil Valentine, Morienus, Marsilius Ficinus, Arnoldus Villanovus, Calid, Trithemius, and the *Monas Hieroglyphica* are all quoted, often several times. The margins of the pages are also often filled with short entries from a

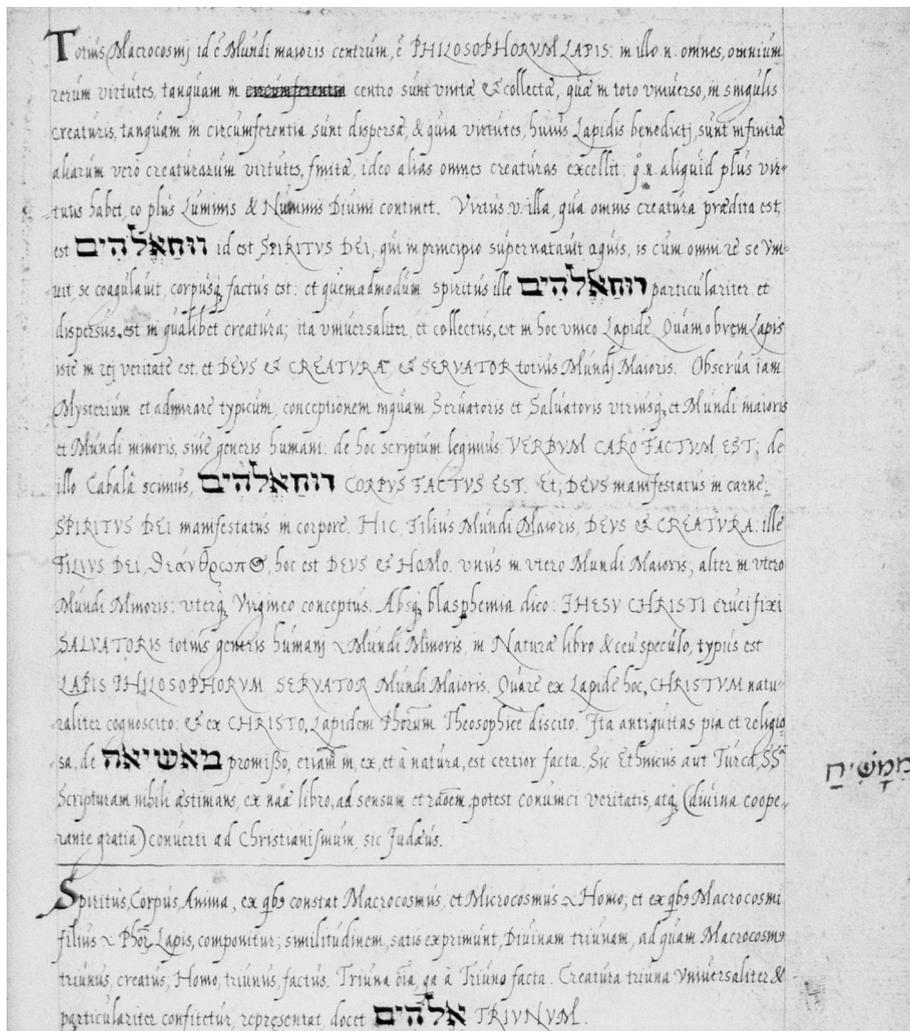


ILLUS 2 Page (7 v) from Patrick Ruthven's *Commonplace Book* showing a sword-shaped diagram with three blades, with marginal notes. The lower half has a pasted-in sheet having a sword-shaped diagram, with a hilt and cross piece but with the blade divided into three. There are various alchemical symbols (for Hg, Cu, Au, Ag,) and *Facilis descensus averni* (from Virgil, *Aen.*, VI. 126) along the side of one blade. (Copyright: Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections)

wide range of authors or texts. There are also dated letters at the end of the manuscripts the latest being 1631 (f 88r), which is about nine years after Patrick's release from the Tower. Pages are mostly c7.5 by 13.5 inches (21.5 × 33cm) with inch-wide margins on free edges ruled in red; and half-inch margin at binding. The tracts are assembled in random fashion and they are mostly of a uniform size (approximately 8 by 13.25 inches; 20×33cm) except for a few much smaller leaves here and there (eg 6 × 8.5 inches; 15×21.25cm), mostly near the end. It is written mainly in a uniform hand probably that

of Ruthven (see folio 83v for a section which may have been written by him). Some of the tracts show signs of having been folded and carried about. The folios are numbered in pencil in the top right corner on alternate leaves to 124, including blank pages. Not all the tracts have titles, and texts are mostly in Latin, but some are wholly or partly in English or French.

The *Commonplace Book* also contains (83v) a copy of a letter in English addressed to the Earl of Argyll from Müller copied by Patrick Ruthven in 1629. The letter deals with the works of Trithemius and has a section in Latin blank-

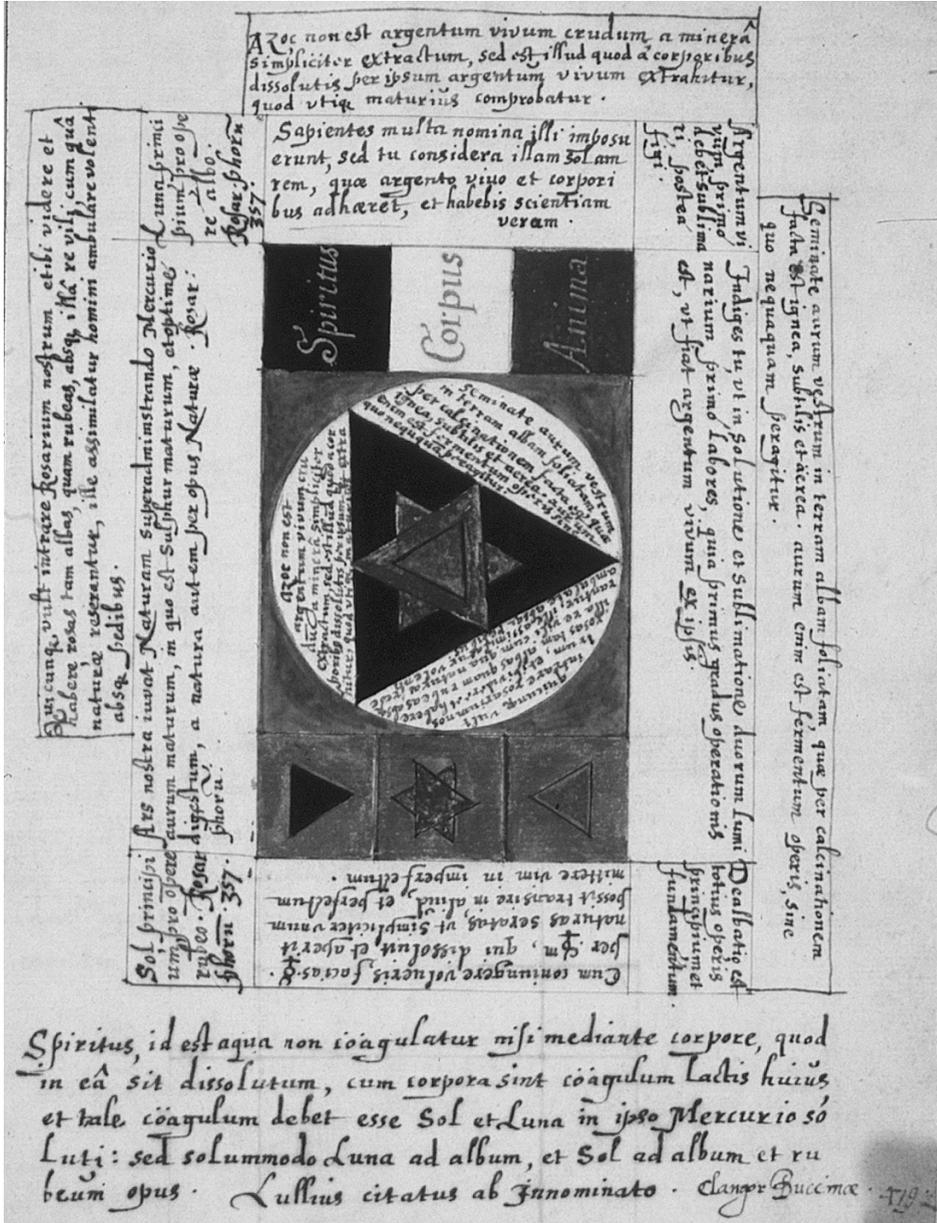


ILLUS 3 Part of a page from the *Commonplace Book* (p 21,r). The delicately scripted tract in Latin suggests the work of a professional scribe. There are five Hebrew words scattered throughout the text and one in the margin, some of which signify Yahweh. The tract is about the Stone, and begins: *Totius macrocosmij id c(um) Mundi maioris Centrum, cum philosophorum lapis*, etc. (Copyright: Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections)

verse which appears to be a coded account of alchemical processes. Müller was a Rosicrucian who spent some time in Scotland in the early 17th century, and Argyll had alchemical interests. Another letter from Müller to the Earl is in the British library (Sloane MS. 3761). There is also an account of a discussion between John Napier of Merchiston and Müller on mercury in

November 1607 when the latter was ill with gout in Edinburgh and thought to have died. Napier had apparently written this and it was found among his papers after his death.

Ruthven was a contemporary of George Erskine (?1570–1646) and John Dee (1527–1608) and the wide range of authors whom he quotes is comparable to those studied by them.



ILLUS 4 *Commonplace Book* (p 43, r) f 72r: Coloured six-pointed star diagram with alchemical symbols on the limbs. In the middle, *Corpus, Spiritus, Anima*. Surrounded by text from *Clangor Buccinae*, and *Rosarium Philosophorum*. It is concerned with processes involving mercury, sulphur and silver etc. (Copyright: Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections)

Dates in the text in various places are 1612, 1629 and 1630. The manuscripts presumably represent material collected over a period of years and

bound together later, perhaps after Ruthven's death. The binding of the tracts seems to have been a little haphazard, as in Erskine's MSS.,

and in one case the pages have been misplaced. For example: on f 31 is the heading *Riplie in his preface*, followed by: *Of Calcination, Of Dissolutione, Of Separation*, which should have preceded the section on f 18: *Of Coniunction, Of Putrefactione, Of Congelation, Of Sublimatione, Of Fermentation, Of Multiplication, Of Proiection, In his Erroneous Experiments, In the Epistle to kinge Edward the 9*. The handwriting appears in each case to be that of Ruthven. Ripley in Ashmole (1652) has a long *Preface* and then the first gate *Of Calcination, (2) Of Solution, (3) Of Separation, (4) Of Conjunction, (5) Of Putrefaction, (6) Of Congelation, (7) Of Cibation, (8) Of Sublimation, (9) Of Fermentation, (10) Of Exaltation, (11) Of Multiplication, (12) Of Projection; then The Recapitulation, and An Admonition, wherein the Author declareth his Erronious experiments*. Thus gates 7 and 10 are missing in Ruthven.

When one compares the *Commonplace Book* with Erskine's volumes in the library of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh (McCallum 2002), the parallels are compelling. The form in which the tracts are extracted and presented and the authors quoted include many of those studied by Erskine eg the *Tabula Smaragdina* of Hermes Trismegistus, Norton, and *Rosarium Philosophorum* are mentioned often. However, there are several tracts and authors to which Erskine does not refer such as *Clangor Buccinae, Monas Hieroglyphica*, or Dienheim. Although Ruthven refers to the *Monas Hieroglyphica* he does not mention Dee's name as author. Dee, who started his alchemical studies in about 1542, conceived the *Monas* in 1557, and it was first published in 1564. Josten (1964) suggests that Agrippa, Dorn and Dee may have derived their hermetic interpretation of the *Monas* and the idea of its effect on the magus from Trithemius (1462–1516). The tract on f 49r immediately following the entry mentioning the *Monas* is by Agrippa; Trithemius is cited several times elsewhere (on f 56r, 56v and 94v). Why did Ruthven not give Dee's name? Perhaps it was politically unwise at the time to do so when

King James was unwilling to see Dee. Although so involved in alchemical studies while in the Tower, there was no money in alchemy and Ruthven made his living as a physician.

PATRICK RUTHVEN'S LETTER TO SIR KENELM DIGBY (illus 5)

With the copy of Bruce's 'Papers relating to William, first Earl of Gowry and Patrick Ruthven his fifth and last surviving son' (1867), in the Derwydd collection is a nine-page pamphlet entitled *Further Papers Relating to the Ruthven family which have come to the knowledge of Colonel Cowell Stepney since the Volume of Papers relating to the first Earll of Gowrie and Patrick Ruthven was printed*. This gives the text of a letter signed by Patrick Ruthven written from Westminster in March 1632 and addressed to Sir Kenelm Digby (1603–65) the English diplomat, writer, and chemist, one of the first members of the Royal Society. Ruthven mentions recipes for mercury and oil of gold, and the letter suggests that Patrick was regarded as a knowledgeable alchemist by others well able to judge. The original letter (illus 5) is in the Bodleian Collection, Oxford (MS. Ashmole 1458 f 109r), and has the address '*For my worthy, noble & much honoured freind, Sr Knelme Digbie, Knight, these*' on the back (f 110v). It seems, from the manner in which Ruthven writes, that he and Kenelm Digby were well acquainted. The letter is likely to be in Ruthven's own hand rather than that of an amanuensis as he had by then left the Tower and was living in Westminster. However, when the writing is compared to that in Patrick Ruthven's *Commonplace Book* it is difficult to match it with any particular item. While much of the *Book* is in the same hand, in which certain letters, particularly *p, f* and *s* are given a flamboyant tail by the writer, there are no such flourishes in letters in Ruthven's note to Digby. But the *Commonplace Book* is mostly carefully scripted in neatly printed letters and could have

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S^r It is now high tyme that I should performe
 my promise. I have sent you her enclosed
 the two Receipts which D. Napier desired
 the one the one & the other the oyle of gold. They
 are endowd byerie laborious, but certaintie they
 shal be carefully wrought. if you doubt of any
 thinge, at our first meetinge, I shall give you
 fuller information. In the mean tyme I must
 crave your pardon that I have bin so long some
 in doinge you this service & I hope if your
 goodnes will take nothing ill at the hands of your
 Unfayn'dly affectionate friend
 and Servant
 Ruthven

Wearminster this 27. March.
 1632.

ILLUS 5 A letter from Patrick Ruthven to Sir Kenelm Digby (1603–65), diplomat and writer, dated March 1632, suggesting that they were on friendly terms. Digby was one of the first members of the Royal Society in 1663. (Copyright: The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS Ashmole 1458, fol 109r).

been written largely by an amanuensis, while the letter to Digby is consistent with something written not for show. Even a letter to the Earl of Argyll (f 83v), which appears to have been copied out by Ruthven personally, does not help and is written in a different style.

Sir Kenelm Digby was also friendly over a long period with Van Dyck who painted his portrait four or five times (Cust 1900; Blake 1999) one of which was at Knole House. The D Naper (D it has been suggested stands for *Dominus*) mentioned by Patrick in the text of

the letter is probably John Napier of Merchiston (1550–1617) as one can link this reference to the section in Patrick’s *Commonplace Book* (f 99r) where there is an account of Napier’s discussion with Müller about crude mercury, and *Limell* of gold (whatever that is) is mentioned.

PATRICK RUTHVEN AS PHYSICIAN

In the library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine in London there is a

manuscript volume (MS. 716) of about 1619 which has been described at times as having been Patrick Ruthven's and in part written by him. In 1967 S A Moorat, the then Curator of Western MSS. at the Wellcome Library read through the entire text of the manuscript. He described five different scripts and accepted that the Ruthven mentioned in the texts was Patrick. All the scripts with the possible exception of one (B) were in English and, by comparison with two pages from the Ruthven volume in Edinburgh which could have been by him, none of the hands appeared to resemble them. As has been pointed out by Bullough (1967) some of the names with which the manuscript abounds have direct links with Ruthven. For example Sir Walter Raleigh who was visited by Sir Robert Killigrew in the Tower in 1613 when Ruthven was still there. In 1616 Robert Sidney, second Earl of Leicester (1595–1677), married Dorothy Percy, daughter of Henry Percy the ninth Earl of Northumberland, who was in the Tower at that time also. It is a slim book entitled *The Ladies Cabinet Enlarged and Opened: Containing Many Rare Secrets, and Rich Ornaments of several kinds, and different uses. Comprized under three general Heads*

- (1. Preserving, conserving, Candyng, & Viz. of –
 (2. Physick and Chirurgery.
 (3. Cookery and Housewifery.

Whereunto is added, Sundry Experiments, and Choice Extractions of Waters, Oyls, &c. Collected and practised, By the late Right Honorable and learned Chymist, The Lord Ruthven. With a particular Table to each Part. London, Printed by T.M. for M.M.G. Bedell, and T. Collins, at the middle Temple-Gate, Fleet-street. 1654. There are copies of this book in the Scottish National Library (third edition with additions 1658), and in the Wellcome Library and the British Library in London. There is also a copy of the second edition in the Ferguson collection in the University of Glasgow (Catalogue of the Ferguson Collection 1943)

which is wrongly listed as being by Sir Thomas Ruthven, First Baron Ruthven.

The Ladies Cabinet Enlarged, with 217 pages of text, ran to four editions and has the initials M.B. appended to the Preface. The first section is as indicated a series of recipes for preserving soft fruits, flowers, artichokes, apples, oranges, herbs etc in sugar. The second section is medical with a whole range of treatments for a wide variety of conditions. Interestingly it includes an entry (pp 63–5; 30) on the use of antimony cups and in a further section the use of antimony to make vomits (p 145; 220). Antimony which was at one time a favourite with alchemists because it can be used to purify gold, is referred to in *Experiments in Physick* (pp 63–5). There are rather imprecise instructions on casting antimony cups and other forms of the *regulus* (antimony metal) such as in the shape of shillings or half crowns which can be used to prepare antimony wine (see McCallum 1999). The antimony cup is described as standing in a little earthen container and the wine is put both inside the cup and round it. 'These cups or pieces will last for ever, and be as effectual after 1000 times infusion, as at first; and if they be broken at any time, (as easily they may, being as brittle as glass) they may be cast again into what forms you please. Note that he that casts them must be skilful in making his spawde, as also in scowring them, and making them bright afterwards; for if they be carefully handled, they will look even as bright as silver.' The account continues with instructions for making the true spirit of antimony by sublimation of the regulus, and how the true oil or essence of antimony can be made from it. The third section consists mainly of cooking recipes but has a recipe for sweet bags to lay among linen. While the book title clearly indicates that the contents originate with Ruthven the 1654 edition is dated two years after Ruthven's death and the ambiguity of the title may mean that the contents were collected from Ruthven's notes and published by Bedell and Collins rather than by Ruthven himself. Bullough (1967)

quotes Craven in respect of another and earlier Ruthven volume which was said to be in Perth Public Library, but she was unable to find any trace of it.

CONCLUSION

So much about Patrick Ruthven is obscure and there are few facts about his life and many puzzles. A few more details of his life have been found and perhaps there is more to come. To some extent he triumphed over his adverse circumstances and made the most of his opportunities in the Tower of London with such a fascinating and diverse group of people. It seems likely that his interest in alchemy flourished during this period when he probably had access to a laboratory and a library. His work as a physician was carried out at a time when there were national financial difficulties which resulted in his pension being unpaid at least for periods, but it is noteworthy that, although he was well connected by marriage to the Scottish aristocracy, there is no suggestion that he sought to solve his financial difficulties from this source. Perhaps he was too proud to do so.

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manuscripts, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Ville de Genève.

NOTE

- 1 In the introduction to *Aulicus Coquinariae* it is explained that it is an answer to *The Court and Character of James I* by Sir Anthony Welldon, largely compiled by Dr Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester (d 1655) but brought together by Sir William Sanderson (d 1676), Secretary to Lord Holland, and author of histories of James I and Charles I. Welldon was the son of Queen Elizabeth's Clerk of the Kitchen. *Aulicus Coquinariae* means *princely cook*.

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