

EARLY LETTERS  
OF  
ROBERT WODROW

1698-1709

THIRD  
SERIES

Scottish  
History  
Society



~~Ref. 54.~~

SCS. SHS. 105







PUBLICATIONS  
OF THE  
SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY  
THIRD SERIES  
VOLUME  
XXIV



EARLY LETTERS OF ROBERT WODROW  
1698-1709



# EARLY LETTERS OF ROBERT WODROW

1698-1709

Edited from the Manuscript in Edinburgh  
University Library, with Notes and Ex-  
tracts from the Answers to these Letters  
in the National Library of Scotland, by

L. W. SHARP, Ph.D.



EDINBURGH

Printed at the University Press by T. and A. CONSTABLE LTD.  
for the Scottish History Society

1937



*Printed in Great Britain*

## PREFACE

I HAVE pleasure in expressing my indebtedness to Mr. F. C. Nicholson, Librarian of Edinburgh University; Dr. H. W. Meikle, and Mr. M. R. Dobie, Librarian and Keeper of MSS. respectively in the National Library of Scotland; Dr. W. R. Cunningham, Librarian of Glasgow University; and the Rev. Dr. John Campbell, Librarian to the Church of Scotland, for essential facilities kindly granted to me; and to Dr. Annie Cameron, and Mr. M'Innes of the Register House, and other friends and correspondents for help in various difficulties. Mr. R. G. Cant of St. Andrews University gave me some valuable criticism on one portion of the notes (would that I could have troubled him for more), and my colleague, Dr. J. C. Corson, has corrected such proofs as I have given him with meticulous accuracy, and has given me the benefit of his expert knowledge of the art of indexing, though I am conscious I have fallen from grace in many respects, have wearied of 'ever climbing up the climbing wave.' Finally, I must thank the staff of Messrs. T. & A. Constable Ltd., for their patience and care with a text made difficult by the strangeness and inconsistencies of Wodrow's spelling.

L. W. SHARP.

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## INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

THE Wodrow Society published *The correspondence of the Rev. Robert Wodrow . . . Edited from manuscripts in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh, by the Rev. Thomas M'Crie*, in three volumes, at Edinburgh in 1842-43. The Wodrow letters in that collection were taken from three Octavo volumes, numbered 2-4, dated 1709-1731. In his Preface Dr. M'Crie regretted that the first of the Octavo volumes containing letters previous to 1709 was missing. It is the recovery of this volume among the Laing Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library which gives occasion for this present book.<sup>2</sup>

Strangely enough, at the time when Dr. M'Crie was publishing his edition, the missing volume was actually in the possession of a member of the society, Joseph Bain. His son, Joseph Bain, the editor of *Calendar of documents relating to Scotland preserved in His Majesty's Public Record Office*, presented it in 1870 to David Laing, who bequeathed it to Edinburgh University in 1878. Bain's letters conveying the gift are worth quoting as a record of the history of the book<sup>3</sup>:

---

<sup>1</sup> In the notes I have frequent occasion to refer to the Wodrow MSS. in the National Library of Scotland and elsewhere. Wodrow arranged his miscellaneous MSS. in an Octavo, a Quarto, and a Folio series. His Correspondence is separately arranged in an Octavo series, containing his copies of his own letters, and a Quarto series, containing the original letters from his correspondents. In the references, which are very numerous, to the first four Quarto volumes of letters I have, for the sake of brevity, adopted a simple form, e.g. 'Quarto, ii. 1,' or even 'Q. ii. 1.' When I refer to an item in the miscellaneous series I use the fuller form, e.g. 'Wodrow MSS. Quarto vol. i. no. 1.'

<sup>2</sup> Its press-mark is Laing iii. 355.

<sup>3</sup> Among the Laing Correspondence in Edinburgh University Library. Laing's own letters have not been preserved.

March 30, 1870.

I send the little volume of Wodrow's Letters 1698-1708. If you think them curious enough, be so good as to accept them on behalf of the Society. Many of them being on antiquarian subjects, you are the best custodian of them. There is one very amusing one (4 Feb., 1706) to *Mr Lachlan Campbell*, in which Wodrow says some sharp things about Hamilton of Wishaw & Crawford of Drumsoy. I shall be glad to have your opinion by & bye of the vol.

April 16, 1870.

I thought the Wodrow vol. would interest you, but kept my opinion to myself till I heard your own. Be pleased to accept it as quite at your own disposal either to place with the others in the Faculty Library, or to grace your own. The enclosed old bookplate of my uncles will cancel the inscription which I wrote in the boards.<sup>1</sup> Its history is this—it was given to my father 36 years ago, along with 4 vols. of MS. Sermons, by Miss Wodrow of Saltcoats, the daughter of Dr James Wodrow, Minister of Stevenston, a descendant I believe of the Minister of Eastwood. I had forgot all about it, till on looking through my poor Father's books I discovered it a few months ago. It is curious that *he*, though a member of the Wodrow Society, does not appear to have observed that it was wanted by Dr McCrie. I am not conversant with these vols., my Wodrow reading being confined to the *Analecta*, which used to amuse & interest me much. *This* vol. shews at what an early age Wodrow began his labours for posterity, & was ready to turn his hand to anything, from getting Lord Pollock's coach painted to settling the ecclesiastical affairs of the nation. Your worthy friend Dr Burns would have rejoiced over it.

June 13, 1870.

I duly received your letter of 7th. To have offered for your acceptance any MS. of Wodrow, *new* to one so well acquainted

---

<sup>1</sup> There is no bookplate on the volume now, and the only inscription is: 'D. Laing. Presented to me by Joseph Bain, Esq.' In 1878 Bain presented to Laing a volume of Wodrow's 'Sermons abroad . . . 1703-1732,' which is now in Edinburgh University Library, Laing iii. 116.

as yourself with the works of that singular man, would have been quite enough pleasure to *me*. So that your kind *liberality* in making over to the Antiquaries in my name, so many vols., was quite uncalled for, though I thank you all the same. Looking at their names in the Monthly Notice which has just reached me, I am not sure that I would not have intercepted the Poems of old Arthur Johnston, or Moyse's Memoirs.

The obscurity this little volume lay under for the thirty-six years mentioned by Bain, for the most part in the ownership of a member of the Wodrow Society, is remarkable, but equally surprising is its obscurity since its acquisition by Laing. So far as I have searched I have found no published mention of it by Laing, though he clearly recognised the importance of the discovery. And by a curious omission it was overlooked by the Rev. Henry Paton in his *Report on the Laing Manuscripts* for the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

It is a small octavo of 6·3×4 inches bound in the original calf, lettered on the spine 'Letters 1698-1708 R.W. Vol. 1.' It contains two parts, 'Letters 1698-1701' and 'Letters 1701-1708,' the first part having 210 written pages besides a three-page list of contents, the second part 182 written pages. Like its three fellows it consists of transcripts of Wodrow's letters in his own hand.

Though Wodrow preserved nearly all the letters he received, his correspondents did not return the compliment, so that his original letters are very scarce. The Librarians of the Bodleian, Cambridge University, and the British Museum know of no letters from him in their great collections. There are very few in the Scottish University Libraries, or in the National Library, except for some in the Quarto series of volumes preserved by Wodrow himself. Indeed, in only one case have I been able to find an original letter corresponding to the copy preserved in the first Octavo volume, namely the letter to Ridpath of

April 17, 1706, in Quarto Letters, volume iv., no. 48, in the National Library. The text of this edition is therefore necessarily based on Wodrow's own copies. Fortunately these are very full, and as he has not revised or altered them in any way, they have as much authority as originals. Further, Wodrow did not copy all his letters,<sup>1</sup> and this volume has therefore a character of its own as a selection made by the author himself. The principle of the selection is not stated, but probably it was to collect his 'Letters upon Literature,' the title of the corresponding first Quarto volume containing the early letters of his correspondents. I have therefore not thought it necessary to include all letters written by him within this period preserved elsewhere, and in particular I have omitted 37 original letters written by him to his father, which, with the answers, are preserved in Quarto Letters, volume iv. They were written from Edinburgh, from November 1706 to January 1707, and give reports of the meetings of Parliament and Assembly. But I have made an exception of some early letters written to his father in 1697, when Wodrow was a divinity student at Glasgow and Chaplain to Lord Pollock, as they are his earliest known letters and are of some biographical interest. I print them here with his father's Memorandum on his studies.

Mr James Wodrous Memorandum about my studies  
quhen at Pollok 1697<sup>2</sup>:

*Memorandum*

1. For short & ready stock helpfull to meditation, conference, & prayer, gete & repeat once a week the lesser catechism with the proofes.

---

<sup>1</sup> There are none, for example, to Robert Maxwell, Thomas Mack, or William Brodie, though the answers are preserved in the Quarto Letters.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Index title. It is in Quarto i. 9.

2. Mind that distich for acceptable converse with all men :

Quisquis in hoc mundo cunctis vult gratus haberi  
Vel capiat, quærat, plurima, pauca, nihil.

3. Your present work is to get the Hebrew & read Wendelin with the compend of Turretine & some practically divinity now & then ; above all 3 chapters a day in the Bible according to the Directorium ad lectionem Biblicam.

To this Memorandum Robert Wodrow replies <sup>1</sup> :

D. Fa., I have begun to read Wendelin and the compend of Turretine. I desire your advice whither as I read through I shall compendise both, or let it alone till afterwards. The advantage I expect by compendising is that it will fix it more in my mind and hinder cursoryness in reading. I desire to hear your mind how reason is an instrument for interpreting of Scripture, for as far as I can see it seems to be only usfull to interpret Scripture as it apprehends the convenience or inconvenience of one place of Scripture with another ; and consequently its not properly said to interpret Scripture, but to apprehend the interpretation and light one place of Scripture gives to another. Wendeline makes forma Scripturæ to be Veritas. I doe not soe well see how that can be, for Veritas is neither proper to Scripture, there being human writers that have truth in all their writings ; neither is it the essential constitutive whereby the Scripture is made the word of God, nor is it the ground why we believe it because it is true (for the question recurs how know we its truth), but because God has said soe and soe, therefore as far as I see inspiratio divina seems to be its forma.

Send out with the first occasion a little write book in 16mo that open[s] long wise with a clasp on it ; its in the

<sup>1</sup> Quarto i. 10. The Index title is : ' My letter to my Father, March 1697, qñ Chap. at Pollock.'

lattron on the right side of it ; ther are some physick compends in it and its red on the face. I rest your affectionat son,  
R. WODROU.

His father replied on March 27, 1697,<sup>1</sup> advising him not to compendise till a second reading, but Robert by no means agrees and treats the arguments of his father and of the recommended author with a good deal of freedom <sup>2</sup>:

D. Father, On Saturday Ireceived yours and I think your reasons for not compendising at the first will scarce hold, for supposing I wer to compendise, I would, befor I began, read the full purpose both in Turretine and Wendeline, then read it a 2d time befor I compendised it. The first reading would make me understand it and the 2d would be for minding the most considerable points, and the 3d reading at compendising would be to fix it further, and by that time I think I would be in case to make my compend short enough and to judge of coincidencyes. I am convinced that compends are useless if not often perused and are (as our proverb is) like a good bou, but quhen we need it its in the castle.

Turretine allowes reason (subjective I mean) a far greater sway in Scripture then to compare on place with another. 1. to perceive reveled things, quhich he proves from Math. 13. 51. quhich is not probative, for renewed reason may ther be meand, and the natural man knous not the things of God, neither can he, for they are specially discerned. 2ly to explain Scripture. This he makes different from comparing on place with another ; for example Neh. 8. 9. quhich does not at all imply it was done by reason. 3ly to discern between treu and false, quhich he proves from Phil. 1. 10. quhich seems to be as lame as the former 2. 4ly to defend the truth from objections, quhich he proves by Rom. 9 the whole by Pauls

<sup>1</sup> Quarto i. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Quarto i. 12.



answering objections, quhich he did not certainly by reason, but was inspired.

I desire to hear your mind if reason can goe these lenth without being ane adequate rule of faith & maners. To perceive revelation, explain Scripture, discern between treu and false, & to defend the truth, seems to make a pretty compleat rule.

I read yesterday some of Tillotsons sermons. He seems to make the fear of God too servile and defines it 'ane inward acknouledgment of a holy and just Being quhich is armed with ane almighty and iresistible pouer and justice.' I desire to knou hou far we may fear God because of his pouer, and least we fall under it and yet it be filiall fear, or hou far we may make use of the consideration of hell and wrath to make us fly in to C[hrist] and hate our sins because of this. I could wish (if it be not more troblsome to you) rather to write in my difficultyes because I get time to consider and intend my mind on them quhen writting, and quhen occasion serves to conferr on them with you. I rest your affectionat sone,

March 29, 1697.

R. WODROW.

You may (if you please) send me out the answer of this with my old shoes to morrou with the post if he come to you, and any word (if ye have received it) from my brother.

R. W.

Wodrow's letter of April 26, 1697,<sup>1</sup> completes this series of letters to his Father :

D. F., I have taken this occasion to acquaint you that Walter Steuart Blackhalls sone came last Friday to Edinburgh and that he will shortly be west. Its not probable but he hath some word from my brother soe you may be enquiring for him at his coosine Limlocks to morrou and

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<sup>1</sup> Quarto i. 14.

after, for most probably he will touch there if at all in Glasgow.

I desire to knou hou the using means for gaining the ungodly and the giving them the offers of salvation is consistent with the absolute decre of reprobation. I was reading yester night in the Supplement to the Morning Exercises this way of colecting the Trinity without revelation once supposing us fallen, befor we can be reconciled to God. We wer once in covenant with God & reconciled to him : this is supposed befor we could fall and this supposes the Father to be knouen. Then befor ane infinite God can be satisfied it most be by another person that is not finite in the finite creaturs stead. This supposes the son. Then because we can conceive the sone only to satisfy for us and to make offers of his satisfaction if we will receive it and not to give us any pouer soe to doe, we being impotent in our selvs and not able to receive the offered salvation, befor we can be reconciled we most have a 3d person to work a willingness in us to receive these offers. I desire [to hear hou] <sup>1</sup> you please this way of collecting the S. Trinity. It seems to imply revelation in its bosome. I desire to knou quhat is the most convincing argument for drauing consequences from Scripture, for Christs expl[ana-tion] Math. 22 I think is not soe clear, & none other of Turretins profes bind. Again in drauing consequences from Scripture I see noe rules hou we should doe it laid down by any, and I think as its comonly explained our reason bears to much bulk in it & soe at best these consequences are but probable and may deceive us. Turretine in that ques[tion] whither the penmen of the H[oly] Scripture wrote by command from God, as a proof they did brings Matt. 28. 19, quhich supposes that all ministers that have that command most write also ; his oun answer

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<sup>1</sup> Uncertain. The writing is blurred.

to this I take not. Elsquer he argues that the Church cannot be judge of contraversyes because it would be judge in its oun case. I think this argument may be retorted in the Scripture therfor I desire the answer to it if retorted. I rest your affectionat son,

Ap. 26, '97.

R. WODROW.

Keep this till I come in & rive it not.

In his reference to the loss of what he called 'the juvenile portion of the correspondence,' Dr M'Crie added that 'the want is less to be regretted, when it is considered that the volumes which have been preserved commence at the time when he entered on public life, and bring down the correspondence to within a few years of his death, thus embracing the most active and interesting part of his history.'

This was no doubt true for Dr M'Crie, but most commentators on Wodrow have remarked on the interest of his correspondence with such celebrated scholars as Bishop Nicolson, Sir Robert Sibbald, Edward Lhuyd, and James Sutherland; and Maidment, for example, printed most of the letters of the last three to Wodrow in his *Analecta Scotica*. Yet this correspondence does not extend beyond 1709, and all Wodrow's letters to them (except for one letter to Lhuyd) are contained in this present volume. The truth is the earlier are of more general interest than the later letters, which treat almost entirely of religious topics.

Before his ordination in 1703 Wodrow's tastes and interests ranged over nearly the whole field of knowledge—the state of Protestantism at home and abroad, Scottish history and antiquities from Pictish and Roman times, numismatics, natural history, new theories and discoveries in science, the geography and ethnology of many countries, the language, customs and folk-lore of the Highlands, education at home and abroad, current books,

and news of all kinds, whether of a process against witches, the birth of a monstrous calf, the problem of the divining rod, the way of fixing quicksilver on the backs of looking-glasses, or the Wandering Jew.

Within these topics his curiosity demands the minutest details. In his *Queries for Caledonia*<sup>1</sup> he asks for information about the geography, geology & climate of the country, the language, religion, system of government, social customs, and physical appearance of the Indians 'with a particular accompt of these moon eyed inhabitants that are said to be all overgrouen with a white doun, to have their eyes of a crescent form,' their diseases and remedies, their animals, fish, trees, vegetables, the suitability of the soil for European crops, their weapons, household utensils, etc. In a letter to Alexander Stevenson asking for frequent dispatches, he concludes: 'Accompts from hills and mountains, moss or mure, bank and syke, sea or shore, books, stones, coins, charters—in short any thing rather than nothing will be acceptable.'<sup>2</sup> He did not spare his correspondents—the people of Scotland were kept busy so long as Wodrow could hold a pen.

Young Wodrow was in short a virtuoso of a very desperate kind. Usually his correspondents—earnest and helpful young men—did their best to satisfy his thirst for knowledge, but in one letter a more sophisticated comrade, William Brodie, then on a military expedition to the Highlands, rallies him on his weakness and encloses a warning description of a virtuoso, which is worth quoting for its own merit as well as for its reflection on Wodrow.<sup>3</sup>

You tell me in yours that your antiquarian fancy is as much aloft as ever, so that any rarities I can afford you will be as acceptable as ever, but seeing by reason of my confine-

<sup>1</sup> P. 12.

<sup>2</sup> P. 197.

<sup>3</sup> Quarto iii. 102. It is dated from Fort William, March 6, 1704. I have not traced the author of the amusing 'character.'

ment to one place I cannot contribute to the satisfying, I am willing to attempt the extinguishing of it, and that the antidote may work the more effectually I give you it in the words of a woman who describing a virtuoso, says :

He is one who amuses himself continually with the contemplation of these things that all the rest of the world slight as useless, impertinent, and below regard, and who will not scruple to sell an estate in land to purchase on in scallop, conch, muscle, cockle shells, perewinkles, sea shrubs, weeds, mosses, sponges, coralls, corallines, sea fans, pebbles, marchasites, and flint stones, and hath abandoned the acquaintance and societie of men for that of insects, worms, grubbs, maggots, flies, moths, locusts, beetles, spiders, grasshoppers, snails, lizards, and tortoises, &c. His study is like Noahs ark the generall rendezvous of all creatures in the universe, and the greatest part of this mans moveables are the remainders of his deluge ; his travels are not designed as visits to the inhabitants of any place, but to the pits, shores, and hills, from whence he fetches not the treasure, but the trumpery. He is ravished at finding an uncommon shell or an odd shaped stone, and is desperately enamoured at the first sight of an unusuall markt butterflie, which he will hunt a whole day to be master of. He traffiques to all places and hath his correspondents in every part of the world, but his merchandizes serve neither for promoting of trade to the enriching of the nation nor himself. A box or two of pebbles or shells and a dozen of wasps, spiders and catterpillers are his cargoe, he values a chamelion or salamandras egg above all the suggars and spices of the West or East Indies, and would give more for the shell of a starfish or a sea urchin entire than for a whole Dutch Herring fleet. He visits mines, collpits and quarries frequently, not as others for gain, but for the sake of the fossile shells and teeth that are sometimes found there. He is a smatterer at botany, but for fear of being suspected of any usefull design by it he employs his curiosity only about mosses, grasses, barkes, thistles, &c., that are not accused of any virtue in medicine, which he distinguishes and divides very nicely. He preserves carefully these creatures, which others industriously destroy, and cultivates sedulously these plants which others roots up as weeds. He is the embalmer of insects and deceas'd vermin and dresses his mummyes with as much care as the ancient

Egyptians did their kings. As for his cash it consists much in old coins, and he esteems the face of Alexander in one of them worth more than all his conquests. His inventory is a list of the insects of all countries and the shells, pebbles and ores of all shores, which can no more be compleat without two or three remarkable signatures, then an apothecarys shop without a tortoise and a crocodile, or a countrie barbers without a battred cittern. A piece of ore with a shell in it is to him a greater present then fine gold, oriental pearl, or diamonds. His collection of snails, shells, and vermin compleated (as he thinks) he sets up for a philosopher, and nothing less then universal nature will serve for a subject of which he thinks he has an entire history in his lumber office. He despises all these insignificant fellows that can make no better use of these noble incontestable evidences of the universall deluge, scallop and oyster shells, then to stew oysters or melt brimstone for matches, and by this time he thinks it necessary to give the world an essay of his parts that it may (if possible) think as highly of them as he doth himself, and finding Moses hard beset of late he resolves to give him a lift and defend his flood to which he is so much obliged for spareing his darling toys. He shakes the world to attoms with ease which melts before him as readily as if it were a ball of salt. He pumps even the center and drains it of imaginary stores by imaginary loopholes, as if punching the glob full of holes could make his hypothesis hold water. He is a man of expedition and does that in a few days which cost Moses some months to compleat. His ordinary discourse is of his travels under ground in which (if he may be believed) has gone farther then a whole warran of connies. Here he began his collection of furniture for his philosophicall toy shop, which he will conclude with his fortune, and then like all flesh return to the place from whence he came and be translated only from one shop to another; and whether acts like the wiser animal, this man that with great care distinguishes and divides the many varieties of grass finding no other fruit of his labours then the charging of his memory with abundance of superfluous names, or the ass that eats all promiscuously for satisfying of appetite and support of nature, may easily be determined by any man of sense. In short he measures himself by his vanity and is greater or less in his own esteem according to the proportion he has of it, and being well provided of it and of a score of cockle shells

and a dozen of hodmandods or any trifle else, he hath a sufficient foundation to build a reputation upon. But if after all his time, labour, and expence spent in prosecution of the passion he shall after hear his catterpillars affronted, his butterflies irreverently spoken of, it must be more provocking to him then 'tis to a lion to be pulled by the beard ; and if when to croun all his labours he has discovered a water so near a kin to that famous one that could be kept in nothing but an asses hoof, that it was never found but in the scull of the same animal, a water that makes no more of melting a world, then a Dutchman does of a firkin of butter, and when he has written a book of discoveries & wonders therupon, if (I say) the impertinent scriblers of the age will still be demanding proofs and writing answers, he has reason to throw down his pen in a rage and pronounce the world that could give him such interruption unworthy to be blest with his future labours, and breath eternall defiance to it as irreconcilable as the quarrel of the sons of Oedipus, to which prudent resolution we leave him till he recover his temper.

Nou if this cap fitt you, you may wear it, if not return it carefully, for possibly I may have use for it my self now that the days are length'ned and the weather pritty good.

Wodrow was called not only a virtuoso but an Athenian, although that of course does not imply that he was an apostle of the Greek view of life : it is the sense used by Demosthenes in his First Philippic : 'Are you content to run round and ask one another, "Is there any news to-day?"' <sup>1</sup> and that used by Paul in describing his adventures at the Areopagus : 'For all the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time to nothing else, but either to tell, or hear some new thing.' <sup>2</sup> In this sense Robert Maxwell writes to him : 'I was just going to write to you when William came in which made me to pause a little whether to delay my news till we came west, but when I considered your Athenian temper it resolved all my doubts' <sup>3</sup> ; and Wodrow himself in a letter to

<sup>1</sup> First Philippic, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Acts xvii. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Quarto iii. 101.



Lachlan Campbell exclaims : ' All I am upon is to satisfy my own curiosity and Athenian Spirit.' <sup>1</sup>

In this eagerness for miscellaneous information Wodrow was of course not unique. ' Queries ' were a common form of intercourse, and the Royal Society (as any volume of Philosophical Transactions of the period will show) was still mainly a society of virtuosi, with Sir Hans Sloane as Secretary (afterwards President) and Aubrey and Pepys among its members.

Wodrow no doubt fed his hunger for knowledge as far as possible at home, but he complains frequently of the intellectual poverty of the West of Scotland. Though he loves Scotland and is proud of her fight for political and religious independence, and of the great men of her past, yet he is almost morbidly conscious of her present limitations and provincialism. Glasgow, in Wodrow's language, is like some remote Arctic station. ' This cold climate,' he complains to Davidson at London, ' is much removed from the wordle and particularly from the better part of it, learned men.' <sup>2</sup> Edinburgh indeed is in a better condition : ' I need not speak of neuse to you,' he writes to Lachlan Campbell at Edinburgh, ' who lye at the fountain of all kinds of them. . . . You must look for noe returns from this solitary and retired place.' <sup>3</sup> Still more then were Oxford and London, Leyden and Paris, in his eyes cities of vast learning and important events, whose greatness only served to throw his own small village into deeper shadow. In his last letter to Paterson when the latter was going to England he pleads with him : ' though you meet with Charletouns, Woodwardes, Rays, Lhuyds, &c., in England, your good nature will not permitt you to forgett the meanest of your friends here,' and begs him not to grudge ' a spare hour to your freind in a corner

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<sup>1</sup> P. 285.

<sup>2</sup> P. 95.

<sup>3</sup> P. 133.

quhen you are ranging throu the closets of the learnd and enriching your mind with their converse.' <sup>1</sup>

Despite this envy of the great world, Wodrow was content to stay in his corner. Unlike his brother, and many of his 'comrades,' he did not pursue his studies abroad in Holland nor, as far as I can find, did he cross the border or go farther than Edinburgh in search of learned converse.<sup>2</sup> To overcome his isolation he preferred to establish couriers and correspondents to serve him all over the world. He had envoys in Edinburgh, the Highlands, Ireland, Oxford, London, the Netherlands, Paris, Darien, Virginia, and Guinea. And he availed himself also of all the home and foreign journals which he could buy or borrow—the *Gazette*, *Philosophical Transactions*, *History of the Works of the Learned*, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, and others, which brought regular news of books and events to his receptive mind.

His correspondents include men who have achieved some literary reputation, such as Nicolson, Lhuyd, Sibbald, Sutherland, and Ridpath, but for the most part he writes to his 'comrades' of Glasgow College. The letters of such men as George Thomson, John and Matthew Simson, Matthew Connell, Lachlan Campbell, George Logan, and Alexander Stevenson prove that Glasgow was not so intellectually stagnant as he pretended, but rather sent out men of high intelligence and sound training to seek further improvement in more famous universities abroad. Much of what he says of the solitaryness of Glasgow is a lament that all the best of his comrades are scattered, and no wonder then that 'thir bounds begin to turn melancholy.' <sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> P. 186.

<sup>2</sup> He fully intended to study in Holland but was persuaded by his father to enter on his trials first. 'After these were over, two calls were put in my hand, which to my great regret hindered me from seeing England and Holland.' *Life of James Wodrow, written by his son*, Edin., 1828, p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> P. 293.

Nor was Scotland quite the 'first youngest sister to the Frozen Zone,'<sup>1</sup> that English critics accounted her. In the reigns of King William and Queen Anne it was showing signs of emerging from a period of bitter religious strife that had left no room in life for the graces of learning and literature. In history, Sir James Dalrymple, James Anderson, and Father Innes; in geography, Slezer and Adair; in natural history, Sibbald and Sutherland; in mathematics, the Gregorys; in scholarship, Ruddiman; in publishing, Freebairn and Watson; in poetry, Pitcairne and Watson's *Choice collection* proved that there was some revival of activity in the arts and sciences. But if Wodrow had his Presbyterian friends in mind, his pessimism was more justified. Most of the scholars, poets, and scientists above mentioned were Jacobites and Episcopalians. Wodrow himself, in his youth, is an exception in his Church.

The chief interest of this volume, apart from the attraction of the personality of the writer, is in the account it gives of Wodrow's scientific studies and of his training as a historian; in his comments on the current events of the day, which include the Darien venture and the Union; his accounts of books, especially of acquisitions for Glasgow University Library; and in new evidence for the importance of Utrecht and Leyden as finishing schools for the Scottish student.

It would be an exaggeration to pretend that a good scientist was lost when Wodrow gave up his studies in Natural History. He was an assiduous 'lithoscoper,' who made a collection of natural curiosities with the intention of presenting it to his University to form a museum corresponding to the Balfour-Sibbald Museum of Edinburgh. If he and the Principal had agreed to Suther-

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<sup>1</sup> *Caledonia: A poem.* [By D. Defoe.] Edin., 1706, p. 1.

land's proposal that he should be trained for the post of Keeper of the Glasgow Physic Garden,<sup>1</sup> he might perhaps have become Glasgow's first Professor of Botany. In his favour it may also be said that he recognised the necessity for scientific methods. He is constantly deprecating hypotheses and insisting on the need for experiments: 'the truth is we are not ripe for raising hypotheses as yet,' he writes to Lachlan Campbell, 'and quhat ever lenth the last century has brought this kind of study, yet we want observations and experiments sufficient to found theory on.'<sup>2</sup>

Yet his approach to the subject was not scientific, nor had he the detachment and disinterestedness of the pure scientist. Writing to Lhuyd,<sup>3</sup> he says: 'I take great delight in considering the antiquitys and naturall history of my native country, as far as my station and other studies will permitt, quhich I think contean a great deal of deuty in them as that quherby observers have opportunities of contemplating the providence, wisdome, and pouer of our almighty creatour and preserver.' To a great extent his interest in fossils is inspired by the hope of finding evidence to support the Scriptural account of the Deluge, as his preoccupation with the theories of Woodward, Ray, and Lhuyd clearly shows.

Further, his interest tends more and more to centre on the folk-lore aspect of Natural History, especially on the cocknee, snail, corbie, toad, and eagle stones, to which the Highlanders attributed magical powers. Wodrow himself did not share all the popular beliefs: 'Credat Judeus Appella' (Let the Jew Appella believe), he writes to Nicolson when reporting the legend of the corbie stone,<sup>4</sup> and he supports Lhuyd's correct identification of 'elf arrows' as prehistoric arrow heads.<sup>5</sup> But he is fascinated by the

<sup>1</sup> P. 184 n.

<sup>2</sup> P. 237.

<sup>3</sup> P. 188.

<sup>4</sup> P. 221.

<sup>5</sup> P. 257.

possibility that there may be some good foundation for the belief in charms, witchcraft, and second sight, and that the devil may indeed use such devices to insinuate himself into human hearts.

As a historian Wodrow has obvious limitations. His knowledge did not go much beyond Scottish history, and almost his sole interest in that was to maintain and defend the civil and religious independence of Scotland, and especially to assert the right of Presbyterianism to be the only true and national religion. But though prejudiced, he is honest and sincere according to his light, and faces his difficulties frankly and fairly. He is admittedly at fault in his valuation of the Scottish copies of the Chronicle of Melrose, but his comparison of the Calderwood MSS. with the printed edition is careful and elaborate, and his examination of Bishop Sage's attack on Knox's *History* shows shrewd skill in weighing documentary evidence. His strength as a historian lies in his insistence on original manuscripts and early editions. He had none of the architectural skill of a Gibbon or a Macaulay, and in his *History of the Sufferings* he wisely takes for his model his favourite Calderwood, whose method is exactly suited to his genius. His accumulations of first hand depositions and precognitions, eyewitness accounts, and memoirs written by contemporaries who knew the scene or the actors, together with his insight into character, give freshness and vividness to his reconstruction of the past.

But more important for us is his own eyewitness account of contemporary events—the Darien venture, the Union with England and the struggle between Presbyterian and Episcopalian, Revolutionist and Jacobite.

He has few new facts to tell us of the Darien expedition—the story is well documented otherwise—but he gives a vivid impression of the hopes and enthusiasm at the out-

set, the anxiety in the progress, and the dark mood of bitterness and disillusionment in the failure of the enterprise. Wodrow's own principles were too deep-rooted to be shaken by the disaster. While many Scotsmen bitterly attacked the king, Wodrow as far as possible shielded him from criticism and excused him in his own mind, laying the blame rather on the selfish spirit of the people and the dissensions among the colonists. To him William was the saviour of the country from popery and prelacy and the bulwark of the reformed faith in Europe, and only a failure in these respects could have weakened his firm support. William's death was a great shock to him and his fellow Presbyterians, and disappointment over Darien was submerged in fears of greater calamities that might threaten their religion.

For Wodrow, indeed, the expedition to found a New Caledonia was not chiefly a matter of expansion of trade and wealth, as it was for Paterson and the Glasgow merchants; it was an attempt to recapture Scotland's heroic past and to assert her power and influence, and her independence of England in the world.

He must have felt justified in his cautious attitude towards the Darien failure when the far greater crisis of the Union loomed in view, and when many based their chief arguments for Union on the benefit it would bring to Scotland's trade. 'A great many are soe litle mindfull,' he writes to Ridpath, 'either of religion, liberty, or soveraignty that all are ciphers to a liberty of trade with you, and quhen that is granted I am at a losse as to a great many fine things they promise themselves by it, and treuly, considering we want and most for some time want established factorys abroad, since we want ships and a stock for trading in any considerable way, and quhich is worse, we want honesty one to another in dealing, and a selfish spirit overunns all, I see noe great things I can promise

from a liberty in trade it self without both a distinct kingdome and Parliament.' <sup>1</sup>

It would be interesting to speculate what Wodrow's attitude would have been to a union with England under William (he would have opposed it no doubt), but under Queen Anne, the favourer of Jacobites and Episcopalians, it was a matter of the greatest danger to be resisted by all legitimate means. The Scottish Parliament, since the Revolution, had proved, under the leadership of men like Hamilton and Fletcher of Saltoun, a fearless upholder of Scottish independence and the covenanted religion, and he was abashed at the prospect of losing the strong defender of all that he held most dear, or of seeing it reduced to impotence by incorporation in a Parliament of which the great majority would be English Episcopalians. To quote his own moving words to Ridpath: 'I have a great many melancholy thoughts of living to see this antient kingdome made a province, and not only our religiouse and civil libertys lost, but lost irrecoverably, and this is the most dismall aspect ane incorporating union has to me, that it putts matters past help. Though many a time we have been over run and our civil and religiouse rights invaded, yet at the nixt turn we had them restored some way, as 1572, 1638, 1688. But nou, once lost, ever lost.' <sup>2</sup>

His attitude throughout this most difficult period was consistently temperate, though always sincere and high principled. He did not allow himself to be distracted either by the tactics of the Flying Squadron on the one hand, or by the extreme measures urged by the Cameronians or extremists, such as the Presbytery of Hamilton, on the other, and he hated that 'the odiouse names of Court and Country party' should intrude into the meetings of the General Assembly. He believed that there were Acts of

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<sup>1</sup> P. 290.

<sup>2</sup> P. 291.

Parliament enough to secure the Church in its full freedom without exacting recognition of an abstract right of its 'intrinsic power,' and urged his colleagues 'to improve the talent we have, and not put it in a napkin and cry for more.' But he would not relinquish any of the essential rights of the Church, and he therefore approved of the Synod of Glasgow's assertion of the supremacy of 'the present established Church government' drawn up in clear but inoffensive terms by the best lawyers of the kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

In one respect Wodrow was rigid and impervious to argument, namely his attitude to Episcopacy. In this he was at one with his whole Church and there was nothing in his own history to modify his attitude. At the very hour of his birth, when his mother was believed to be under the prospect of death, the soldiers were searching the house for his father, who had to be smuggled out as the doctor's servant, and through the impressionable years of childhood he must have often known the fear of persecution. His attitude was that the Revolution had made Presbyterianism the Church established by law and that the Episcopalians were not unduly oppressed by being outed from the parish churches. Yet his very biased account of the riot at Glasgow would seem to deny them the right to hold meetings in private houses.<sup>2</sup> Against Episcopalians as individuals he had no ill feeling, and probably, like his father,<sup>3</sup> put his hand in his pocket to help deprived ministers who were in actual distress. His correspondents included an English bishop, a deprived Scots minister (Alexander Edward), and Episcopalians such as Sibbald, and he was on good terms with the publisher Freebairn, the son of a deprived minister. His

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<sup>1</sup> Pp. 242-3, 247-8.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 254 and 259.

<sup>3</sup> *Life of James Wodrow, written by his son*, Edin., 1828, p. 176.



friendship with these was sincere and cordial so long as silence or discretion was used in regard to political and religious differences, but once a word was spoken against his cherished tenets, Wodrow was quick to jump to their defence. Thus Nicolson's *Scottish historical library*, which Wodrow encouraged and helped so unstintingly, was received by him without a word of praise, partly because of the slighting treatment of the Rev. Robert Fleming, partly because Nicolson quoted some papers that asserted the dependence of the Scottish Church on the See of York. Sibbald's pamphlet refuting these papers was eagerly anticipated by Wodrow, and when it came was welcomed for its argument, which was reckoned 'very close and home.' But Sibbald himself had to be brought to order for his dedication to Dodwell (who was reported as saying that the Presbyterians were doomed to the place of torment), in which he claimed that Scotland's independence had been defended chiefly by Episcopalians, who as a class were now 'groaning under heavie pressures and few pitie them.' 'I am sure,' retorts Wodrow, 'their pressours that I ever heard of wer but flea bites to the scorpions quherwith they oppressed others.'<sup>1</sup> In this passage one can perhaps see the germ of the *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*.

From 1698 to 1703 Wodrow was Librarian of Glasgow University and a large and important part of the correspondence is taken up with the record of his activities in this office. We hear of him making up his catalogues and accounts, receiving visitors, lending books out to friends against the rules of the library, reporting to enquiring antiquaries on the Glasgow MSS. and urging the acquisition of transcripts of important MSS. in other libraries. But the most important information concerns the methods of

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<sup>1</sup> P. 252.

book accession ; few libraries can have such a wealth of material on this as Glasgow.

The letters show that he bought books for the library chiefly from Edinburgh, London, and Holland. No doubt books were bought in Glasgow also, but it was clearly not an important book centre at this period. The only known Glasgow printer in the reign of William was Robert Sanders, junior, one of whose publications, Law's *Calendarium lunæ perpetuum*, 1699, Wodrow presented to Bishop Nicolson. William Dickie, the stationer, is several times mentioned and his shop referred to as a rendezvous of Wodrow and his friends. He probably supplied books to the University, for he made a donation to the library, presumably as a kind of discount to a valuable customer.<sup>1</sup> He was indeed a man of some enterprise, for we learn that he commissioned one of the Glasgow students in Holland to send home books to him from there.<sup>2</sup> There is also mention of Mr Reed, the auctioneer, whose clients no doubt included Wodrow, both for himself and the library, but as Wodrow begs his friends to support 'our auction,' it was probably not a very large or flourishing concern.

By contrast, Edinburgh was an important centre of the book trade, with printers and booksellers such as Watson, Freebairn, Vallange, Symson, Reid, and Mosman, from most of whom Wodrow bought books, though nearly all were Jacobites and Episcopalians. Numerous books were published here at the turn of the century, a good stock of London books was also to be had, and periodically a bookseller would take a trip to Holland to bring back the best of the new foreign books.<sup>3</sup> There were frequent and regular auctions, and if we may judge from the catalogue numbers

<sup>1</sup> *Munimenta*, iii. 445-6.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter from S. Lockhart to R. Wodrow, Quarto ii. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Lachlan Campbell, writing from Leyden on March 30, 1702 N.S., mentions that Robert Freebairn is about to leave for home with a parcel of books. Quarto ii. 13.

quoted by Wodrow's correspondents, these sometimes extended to several thousands of books, though it is not to be expected that these were all sold on the same day.<sup>1</sup>

There is evidence that Wodrow ordered direct from the Edinburgh booksellers; for example, he had a regular order with Vallange to supply the *History of the Works of the Learned* as the various parts appeared. But for the most part he relied on his friends to buy books for him and send them west either by the weekly carrier or by a private hand. He was almost entirely dependent on friends to buy books for him in London or Holland. From London they were sent by sea to Leith, or preferably by land with a Glasgow merchant, such as John Good or Archibald Edmiston, returning from London on business; from Holland they were brought by one of the numerous Scots skippers who carried on the important general trade between Amsterdam or Rotterdam and Leith or Bo'ness. In Edinburgh his chief agents were Robert Maxwell and James Paterson; in London, James Wallace or one of the Scots students returning from Holland by way of London; in Holland, Matthew Simson and John Simson (Wodrow's predecessor as Librarian at Glasgow University), Matthew Connell, George Thomson, and others. He bought largely in London from Andrew Bell and Smith and Walford; and in Holland from Van der Water in Utrecht, and Leers in Rotterdam.

Naturally there were difficulties in this method of buying books, difficulties of duplication (for he tried in London and Holland for specially wanted books), of price and payment, of damage in transit, and especially difficulties of delay. There are not infrequently complaints. Andrew Bell does not follow his commissions, sends books that are

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Maxwell refers to 'P. 17 no. 335' and 'No. 2252' of a catalogue when discussing books to be purchased at Freebairn's auction. December 5, 1700. Quarto iii. 13.

not ordered, and his prices are extravagant, sometimes 'the very price they are sold for at Edinr. bound.' (However Lachlan Campbell defends Bell and points out that he has enclosed three books as a donation to the Library.)<sup>1</sup> Delay was of course unavoidable; his journals are usually several months in arrears, and in one case books 'bought this time twelmoneth are not yet come to our hands; the skipper not having taken care to report them, they wer seised upon. We have write to the managers of the Customes about them & got ane order to loose them.'<sup>2</sup>

Considering the difficulties, the scheme, owing chiefly to Wodrow's zeal and persistence, worked well enough, and a system of bills and letters of credit solved the problem of accounts.

There was no lack of knowledge of the new books published, for besides the *Philosophical Transactions* (which included a section on foreign books) and such specialist book reviews as the *History of the Works of the Learned*, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, *Bibliothèque universelle*, *Journal des Sçavans*, and *Acta eruditorum*, all of which Wodrow bought or borrowed, there were numerous booksellers' and auction catalogues and bibliographical compilations, such as *Catalogus universalis librorum*. The Glasgow Librarian's range of selection was still typically 17th-century Scottish—academic, with Theology predominant, though standard works in the sciences, law, history, philosophy, and classical literature are represented. English and Scottish poetry, drama, and essays receive no mention at all.

There are signs in the letters that Wodrow was also building up a considerable private library of his own. There are catalogues of this preserved,<sup>3</sup> and it is perhaps

<sup>1</sup> P. 92 and Quarto ii. 39. The donation is recorded in *Munimenta* iii. 446.

<sup>2</sup> P. 20.

<sup>3</sup> In the Wodrow Collection in the National Library of Scotland.

worth digressing to note that it included a fair selection of classical literature—Pliny, Cicero, Ovid, Horace, Thucydides—and a small section of poetry and belles-lettres, and even plays. He had *The Athenian Oracle*, *The Tatler*, Sir David Lindsay's *Poems*, the *Flyting of Polwart and Montgomery*, *The Arabian Nights*, Prior's *Poems*, Dryden's *State of Innocence* (an operatic version of *Paradise Lost*) and *Wild Gallant*, Sir George Etherege's *Man of Mode*, Nathaniel Lee's *Tragedy of Nero*, Cibber's *Non-juror*, Shadwell's *Virtuoso*, and Addison's *Cato*.

These letters throw new light also on the educational link between Scotland and the Netherlands. Emphasis has usually been laid on the legal and medical attraction of Utrecht and Leyden, which was very strong for Edinburgh and for the gentlemanly classes in Scotland. But Glasgow at this time sent chiefly post-graduate students of theology, sons of ministers, merchants, and small landed proprietors. The theological attraction had been especially strong since the time of the 'Sufferings,' when many Presbyterians, such as Carstares, fled to Holland to the protection of William of Orange and studied at the universities there; and it continued after his accession to the throne of England.

There are many accounts of the state of these universities, and the character of their professors, in letters from Glasgow students to James Wodrow and his sons Robert and Alexander, and some correspondence between Leydecker, de Vries and Trigland, and Professor Wodrow and others. The general custom had been for Glasgow students to go first to Utrecht, but also to take advantage of special courses at Leyden. At the time of these letters Utrecht was suffering a decline in popularity, and there was a general move to make Leyden the chief place of study. There are hints of dissensions at Utrecht and some slackness and irritability among its professors. De Vries, Leydecker, and van Maastricht were now old men and may have been

tempted to take things more easily and to rest on their reputations. The transference of the honoured Witsius from Utrecht to Leyden in 1698 is also given as a reason for preferring the latter. John Simson says severely of Utrecht : ' If this College mend not again next year these who come over will not find it worth their while to come to this place ' ; and George Thomson, writing from Leyden, expresses the opinion ' that there is scarce any thing worth ther while to be had [at Utrecht] in respect of this place.' <sup>1</sup>

By contrast Leyden was in a flourishing state and most of the Scots were well satisfied. ' We have more Scots and English this year then hath been heer of a long time,' writes Thomson, ' we have about 20 Scotsmen al very studious so that ther was never a parcell of better students at Lyden. We ar all intimat comerads so I hoep to have a very pleasant winter of it.' <sup>2</sup>

Matthew Connell gives similar testimony : ' From other nations [in Theology] there are but very few, and of other sciences such as law, medicine, etc. the greatest number is from Scotland, being once this year (as I am informed) above 38 or 40, but now not so many.' <sup>3</sup>

A more critical estimate is given by Lachlan Campbell, whose letter from Leyden in the following year deserves quoting at some length <sup>4</sup> :

' I think my self very unfortunat that I came not here when Spanheim lived for there is scarced any thing among the professors of Theology (be systems which we may have as well at home) except a colledge Trigland has on Goodwynes Moses & Aaron, which he dos very well when he pleases to take pains. His publick are sometymes curious

<sup>1</sup> November 26, 1698. Quarto i. 21 ; November 8, 1699 N.S. Quarto i. 64. But John Smith praises Utrecht highly. March 1, 1700 N.S. Quarto i. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Quarto i. 64.

<sup>3</sup> April 18, 1701 N.S. Quarto i. 113.

<sup>4</sup> March 30, 1702 N.S. Quarto ii. 13.

enough for them that understand or are taken with long citations out the Talmud, &c. Witsius in private gives us a neat & distinct colledg upon his own *Œconomia Fœderum*, and in publick on the Lyfe of Paul, in which he has some curious dissertations on passages of the Acts. Mynheer Mark once a day in private hearkens his lads their lessons in his own *Medulla* & in another private colledg upon the hist. of the Old Testament for which he take Spanh[eim's] *Introd[uction]*. He gives us long dissertations out of the Rabbins Talmud & Cabballa on the serpent's speakeing &c., & at that rate with much adoe wrestles through a paragraph or 2 at a time, so that for ought I know he'll afford himself mater for all his life. However I find them all very civill in converse, especially Trigland, who promised to send your brother some orations he had lately. Perizonius has an excellent private colledg on the Roman history; he's now upon Constantine & takes in the best hints of Ecc. History by the by, wherein he is sure not to miss his holiness now & then, & on a morning after I had had a long conference with him the night before, mostly upon our affairs in Scotland chiefly with relation to Church Government, I had the satisfaction to hear him, after a long deduction of the mater of fact, plainly decide in favor for Presbytery. His publick lessons also are much frequented they being at present on the Rom. & Batavic antiquity which he does very well. He seems truly to be a fine man. By this short account yow may judge of the present state of the University which is yet far before Utrecht.'

Final impressions are that in Theology the Scots did not find the Dutch universities so much superior to their own as they had expected. In Glasgow, Theology had probably more attention given to it than any other subject, and the Scots professors, though they did not print much, were not far behind the more famous teachers abroad. In

Law, Medicine, and History there was a far greater disparity between the universities of the two countries, and in these the necessity for foreign study continued much longer. Yet the theological course in Holland did the provincial Glasgow student a great deal of good. There were benefits from travel—visits to Amsterdam, Rotterdam, the Hague, and Ryswick, especially during the negotiations for the Treaty in 1697, when the equipage and retinue of the king and the plenipotentiaries gave colour and grandeur to a historic scene. At the universities there was free intercourse between professors and students and much frank discussion on the tenets of their religion, for Holland, though Protestant, was not Scottish Presbyterian. The freedom from the strict doctrine and discipline at home, and the contact with men of other nationalities and with Scotsmen of less rigid religious views studying Law and Medicine, had a stimulating and broadening effect. John Simson, for example, one of the forerunners of the Moderates in Scotland, must have owed some of his breadth of mind to such influences.<sup>1</sup>

After Wodrow's ordination in 1703 the tone of the letters changes considerably. There are indeed comparatively few letters from 1703-1708, perhaps a sign that 'letters upon literature' were coming to an end. 'I have nothing remarkable from this place, and as little from the Reipublick of Letters, for I am turned a quite stranger now to these dominions,' he writes to Campbell early in 1706, and his request for fossils and charms is now half hearted: 'If you have gotte any thing for my collection of naturall

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<sup>1</sup> There are few intimate glimpses of the students' life in Holland. Francis Finlayson writes to Alexander Wodrow from Utrecht: 'I arrived at this place on Saturday the 2d current & immediately took up my quarters in the same lodging with Mr Adair. Mr Thomson & I pay for the Chamber, each of us 25 gild. per annum besides a duckatoon each to the landlady's daughter,' and asks 'what methods you took to be supplied in turf at Leyden.' October 15, 1697. Quarto i. 32.



curiosity's I shall be glad to know. Since time & my station will not allow me to prosecute that, I am now upon another collection that seems more proper for my present employment, and that is of the curiosities, if I may say soe, or rather remarkables of Providence.'<sup>1</sup> His letters to Nicolson, Sibbald, Sutherland, and Lhuyd now cease, except for a belated letter to Lhuyd in 1709 in which he still professes an interest in subterranean researches, though in actual fact his catalogue of natural curiosities shows very few additions after 1702. In their stead we have letters to the Reverend John Gib and to Reverend John Hunter, as full of enquiries as ever, but now the subjects are 'illumination' and 'impulses' 'injected scriptures' and 'the declarative glory of God.' We feel it is time for our author to begin his second Octavo volume, for these are now 'letters of religion,' which should by rights be with their companions in Dr M'Crie's first volume.

The few glimpses we get of Wodrow's early activities as a minister show that he carried his admirable qualities of moderation, sincerity, and devotion to duty into that congenial station. His chief difficulty is with the 'wild people,' of whom there were many in his parish, and he applies for counsel to John Simson, ministering in the heart of the Cameronian stronghold, at Troqueer. He comes himself to the conclusion, after a few tactful advances, that 'a little forbearance, discretion, & visiting them now and then will have more weight with them than reasoning and arguments.'<sup>2</sup> Other glimpses show that he was very deferential to his patron Lord Pollock, whose chaplain he had been before his ordination, and at whose house he now lived till his manse was ready for occupation. He submits a list of elders for his approval, looks into Lady Pollock's complaint of delay in the answering of her

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<sup>1</sup> Pp. 284-5.

<sup>2</sup> P. 271.

letters, accepts the loan of the Tale of a Tub from her Ladyship, reports on the illnesses and deaths of his parishioners, gives titbits of news from his correspondence, and supervises the making and painting of his Lordship's coach.

Such are the main topics of Wodrow's first volume of letters, but these by no means exhaust their interest. The descriptions of coins, medals, and Roman stones, accounts of the Paisley witches, the Reformation of Manners, the activities of Parliament and Assembly, and innumerable hints and anecdotes in contemporary biography, history, and politics should make this as valuable a work of reference for the period as the previous volumes have proved.

But, apart from the interest of facts and events, there is always with Wodrow the interest of the revelation of the writer's personality. J. H. Millar with brilliant insight compares Wodrow with James Boswell and Lord Chancellor Campbell: 'They possessed the inquisitive mind, the percipient eye, and the fellow-feeling for all that is human. And their privilege consequently was to impart a perennial interest to everything which they chose to commit to paper.'<sup>1</sup>

Some may regret that Wodrow's preoccupation with religion did not leave him free to describe more the political and social scene, the human comedy. His flashes on Devonshire and the Queen, and the few vivid strokes with which he brings to life for us Hamilton of Wishaw and Crawford of Drumsoy (how dead and unknown they are in official biographies) are but sketches for scenes where we would fain have the whole drama. But we must not complain that Bunyan is not Fielding, when both are great human novelists. And there are compensations in comparisons with Boswell and, shall we say, Pepys.

It is amusing to read of Pepys's delight in his 'jackanapes

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<sup>1</sup> *Scottish prose of the seventeenth & eighteenth centuries*, Glasgow, 1912, p. 165.

coat with silver buttons ' and his 'serge and gilt leather hangings' (and his interest in other 'hangings'), his feverish midnight digging for the gold he had buried for safety, his terror of burglars when the next door chimney is swept at night, his eye for a handsome woman or a pretty housemaid, but there are other darker things, and pleasure is mixed with dismay at the strange reversal of values, at the unashamed self-exposure of the human animal. Boswell one would hardly change, for with all his follies and egotisms, his amorous boastings, his merry bibulous nights and maudlin melancholy mornings, one is always conscious of his warmth of affection and generosity of heart; and after all the coat he wears is the only coat he has, he is the same in public as in private. He is a loveable though not an admirable character.

Wodrow confesses no entertaining sins (if the spiritual or excellent man ever has any); he is most silent where Pepys in his diary and Boswell in his letters are most outspoken. Yet his eager active mind, his 'piercing reflections,' his sensitive registering of impressions and his power to put them immediately on paper before the fresh sensation is dulled, together with his unconscious self-revelation of a character, naïve, homely, unpolished, yet full of integrity, modesty, and sweetness, give his writings great appeal and charm and give the reader a pleasure which needs no apology.

Wodrow has also a just conception of the proper character of a letter, that it should be familiar, frank yet courteous. He is constantly demanding of his correspondents that they should omit flattery and write their thoughts as fully and freely as possible. In the very first letter he reminds Thomson that he was 'never for complements, for, if its etymology hold, *complementare* is but *complete mentiri*, but as our Scotch proverb is, for broad even down,' and to Stevenson, who had mentioned obli-

gations, he retorts 'let such acknowledgments be for ever banished from betwixt us, as not suiting to that freedom and intimacy I still desire to entertain with you . . . let epistolary converse be of a free and familiar strain that excludes all kind of suspicion one of another.'<sup>1</sup>

Of style in the sense of studied literary form Wodrow has none. His grammar and construction are faulty, he has no unity or consecutiveness, and few literary graces. The words tumble out rapidly and without order from his overflowing mind: 'You have these raptim, as they come in my head.' Yet such faults lean to virtue's side in a letter, and his idiosyncrasy of spelling, his homely proverbs and pithy sayings, his old-fashioned Scots words and grammar, bring the very voice and gestures of the man before us. He has also a simple, natural dignity of speech on occasion, as in his account of his brother's death, that can be moving and poignant. Of his exalted rhetorical style in moments of religious passion, it may be said that it is good of its kind, though the kind be not held good.<sup>2</sup>

In drawing to a close this short survey of these letters, one may remark on the evidence of the general esteem in which Wodrow was held by his contemporaries. He is a youth of nineteen when he begins his correspondence with Nicolson and Sibbald and gains the esteem of Lhuyd, three considerable friendships for a young man with no advantages of wealth or station, for librarian was but a minor office and Glasgow an unpretentious college. Though his tone towards these, his distinguished seniors, is deferential, they also treat him with the greatest respect and invite his co-operation in their various undertakings. Nicolson calls him publicly 'vir lectissimus' and 'my worthy

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<sup>1</sup> Pp. 2 and 122.

<sup>2</sup> There is a good example on pp. 136-7.

friend,' Sibbald in a letter urging him to study the Irish and Saxon languages bequeaths his mantle to him, 'for with the advantage of knowing them and your youth and vigour you may by God his blessing upon your studies farr surmont the imperfect essayes of your assured friend.' <sup>1</sup> Jameson, his teacher in History at Glasgow, when forced to go to Edinburgh on business, reckons the absence of his young friend the worst feature of his exile: 'I am now greatly longing to be home again and I can sincerely say that you are not the least attractive and loadstone that pulls me thereaway. These most pleasant and advantageous Noctes Glasguenses I have had with you shall be always by me justly reckoned the most golden hours of my converse with mankind.' <sup>2</sup> Other tributes here and there in the letters show that he impressed his fellows as a man of extraordinary ability. Besides his willing service, his inborn courteousness, and his eager intelligence, there were more forceful qualities in his striking personality—a fearlessness that came from the absolute sincerity of his search for truth, and an impetuosity that must have made contact with him a vital experience. His conversation was as engagingly frank and impulsive as his letters: 'You know by long experience,' he writes to Jameson, 'my rashness in proposing evrything that sweems in my noddle to a bosome freind, and as I am in converse soe you find me in writing.' <sup>3</sup>

For all the esteem and affection that he inspired Wodrow did not allow praise to raise his 'young blood' (though he knew the temptation) but held himself modestly throughout his life. In a book owned by him he has written a motto from Romans xii. 3. 'Μη ὑπερφρονειν παρ ὁ δει φρονειν αλλα φρονειν εις το σοφρονειν,' which has been

<sup>1</sup> April 24, 1702. Quarto ii. 20.

<sup>2</sup> April 28, 1702. Quarto ii. 21.

<sup>3</sup> P. 193.

translated 'not to be high minded above a right mind but to be of a mind to be sober minded.'<sup>1</sup> This modesty combined with high principles is, after all, one's final impression of Robert Wodrow. For him it is an ideal to aim at, for us it is his natural disposition.

L. W. SHARP.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY,  
EDINBURGH.

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<sup>1</sup> Written on the title-page of *Histoire naturelle et morale des Iles Antilles de l'Amérique*, presented by Wodrow to Edinburgh University Library. The translation, by E. H. Gifford, is taken from *The Holy Bible . . . Ed. by F. C. Cook, New Testament*, vol. iii., London, 1881, p. 206.



## TREATMENT OF TEXT

My aim in editing this first Octavo volume of Wodrow's Letters has been to give a faithful and accurate yet a readable text. I have preserved all the original spellings (such as the peculiar 'wordle' for 'world') and all the archaic grammar and vocabulary (such as 'thir' for 'these,' 'on' for 'one'), but I have added some paragraph divisions (there are hardly any in the MS.), altered and added to the punctuation (Wodrow has such efforts as 'I am noe wayes, against it'), changed some capitals (for example 'may Be Blessed of god') and have expanded most of the abbreviations (as 'aal' for 'animal' or 'mal' for 'material'). I have left some obvious suspensions (such as 'D.' for 'Duke' and 'K.' for 'King'), and where there is a possible doubt, or where the suspension is uncommon (as 'P.P.' for 'Pretended Prince' or 'C.' for 'Christ'), I have put the expanded part in square brackets.

Abbreviations by contraction present some pitfalls for the editor, for example, 'consion' might stand equally well for 'consideration' or 'condescension,' and some special difficulties should now be mentioned:

$\overline{qt}$ ,  $\overline{qh}$ ,  $\overline{qn}$ ,  $\overline{qr}$ =*quhat* (what); *quhich* (which); *quhen* (when); *quher*[*e*] (where).

In mediæval and sixteenth-century Scots there are the usual contracted forms for *quhat*, *quhich*, etc., but in the seventeenth century the modern spellings *what*, *which*, etc., were ousting the old forms, and a corresponding change was made in the contractions, which became *w<sup>t</sup>*, *w<sup>h</sup>*, etc. There are very few of these words written in full in the early letters, and in view of the archaic quality of much



of Wodrow's vocabulary, I decided to expand the abbreviations literally into the old forms *quhat*, *quhich*, etc. But in the later letters Wodrow sometimes writes these words in full, and always with the modern spelling. It is probable, therefore, that the archaism is merely in the contraction. In any case a useful distinction is made, and the reader will know from this explanation that, for example, *quhen* represents *qn* and that the form *when* is so written in full in the MS.

*yr*=1. *ther*[*e*]. 2. *thir*.

1. Wodrow spells the expanded word usually *ther* but sometimes *there*. I have as a rule expanded to his commoner form *ther*.
2. I expand to *thir* (which occurs several times in full) when the word intended is the demonstrative plural.

*yn*=1. *then* adv. 2. *then* (than) conj.

Wodrow invariably spells both the adverb and conjunction *then*, and I have expanded it so in both cases.

*urlyty*=*universality* (university).

I can only expand this as *universality*, a word peculiar to Wodrow in this sense, yet a reasonable enough form.

*parle*=?particle, *particulare*.

The earlier examples are substantives, and I have expanded these as *particle* according to the ordinary rules of contraction. But later it is used as an adjective, and as one can hardly use 'particle' in an adjectival sense, I have concluded that it is probably always a contraction for *particulare*, though Wodrow sometimes spells this *particular*, and it is unusual in a contraction to omit the strong sound *r* and include the weak final *e*. Readers will understand, therefore,

that the spelling *particle* represents a manuscript form *parle* and ought perhaps to be written *particulare*.

*you*=your.

*a*=I.

*the*=that.

These forms occur several times ; they may be merely slips of the pen, or they may be phonetic renderings of careless colloquial speech. I have as a rule altered them to the usual forms, but have given the MS. form in the margin.

In conclusion, I apologise for errors in judgment, and can only plead I have not wittingly concealed any doubt or difficulty in the text.



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Aldis . . . Aldis (H. G.), *A list of books printed in Scotland before 1700*. Edinburgh, 1904.
- Analecta* . . . Wodrow (R.), *Analecta : or, materials for a history of remarkable providences*. [Maitland Club.] 4 vols. Edinburgh, 1842-48.
- Analecta Scotica* *Analecta Scotica : collections illustrative of the civil, ecclesiastical, and literary history of Scotland*. [Ed. by J. Maidment.] 2 series. Edinburgh, 1834, 1837.
- Darien Bibliography*. Scott (J.), *A bibliography of printed documents and books relating to the Scottish Company, commonly called the Darien Company*. [Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, vi.] Edinburgh, 1906.
- Darien Shipping Papers*. *Papers relating to the ships and voyages of the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, 1696-1707*. Ed. by G. P. Insh. [Scottish History Society.] Edinburgh, 1924.
- Darien Papers* . *The Darien Papers*. (Ed. by J. H. Burton.) [Bannatyne Club.] Edinburgh, 1849.
- Fasti* . . . Scott (Hew), *Fasti ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*. New edition. 7 vols. Edinburgh, 1915-28.
- Full and exact collection*. *A full and exact collection of all the . . . addresses, memorials . . . relating to the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies*. [?Edinburgh], 1700.
- Grant . . . Grant (Sir A.), *The Story of the University of Edinburgh*. 2 vols. London, 1884.
- Grueber . . . Grueber (H. A.), *Handbook of the coins of Great Britain and Ireland in the British Museum*. London, 1899.
- Leyden, *Album*. *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae MDLXXV-MDCCCLXXV*. Hagae Comitum, 1875.

- Lhuyd . . . Lhuyd (E.), *E.L.* . . . *lithophylacii Britannici ichnographia* . . . *Ed. altera.* Oxonii, 1760.
- Munimenta* . . . *Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis.* [Maitland Club.] 4 vols. Glasgow, 1854.
- Nouvelles* . . . *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres.* Amsterdam.
- Perfect list* . . . *A perfect list of the several persons residenters in Scotland, who have subscribed as adventurers in the joynt-stock of the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies.* Edinburgh, 1696, repr. Glasgow, 1827.
- Plomer . . . Plomer (H. R.), *A dictionary of the printers and booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1668 to 1725.* [Bibliographical Society.] London, 1922.
- Precognitions* . . . *Precognitions against witches in the west taken at Paisley, 19, 20, and 21 dayes of Aprill (and at Glasgow, April 22), 1699.* (MS. In Justiciary Warrants, Register House, Edinburgh.)
- Retours* . . . *Inquisitionum ad Capellam Domini Regis retornatarum . . . abbreviatio.* 3 vols. [London], 1811-16.
- Smith . . . Smith (R. W. I.), *English-speaking students of Medicine at the University of Leyden.* Edinburgh, 1932.
- Utrecht, *Album.* *Album studiosorum Academiae Rheno-Traiectinae MDCXXXVI-MDCCCLXXXVI* Ultraiecti, 1886.
- Wafer . . . Wafer (L.), *A new voyage and description of the Isthmus of America.* London, 1699.

## WODROW CORRESPONDENCE

### I. For Mr GEORGE THOMSONE at Paris <sup>1</sup>

Glasgou, Dec. 6, 1698.

D. C.,

I received yours <sup>2</sup> of the 9 of March from Leyden for quhich by this I give you many thanks. Your brother was soe kind as to give himself the trouble to bring it to Pollock and I had the unhappiness to be from home that day. He was soe good as to call afterward, but still I had the ill fortune to misse him. Without acquaintance with him I had noe hopes of having the opportunity of giving you a return; this hindred me from writing all summer, being unwilling to trouble you by post. Quhen I left Pollock and came to reside heer, one day very accidentally I had the happiness to fal in acquaintance with your brother, who did me the kindness as to offer to get this conveyed to you. This, Sir, is the cause of my long silence; & I hope you will have me excused, and if this be not troublesome you shall be troubled with moe of this sort. There is no collour of reason why I should not doe all in my pouer to obtean the benifite of a line now and then from you as laizoure and opportunity serve, who are in a capacity to

<sup>1</sup> He matriculated in the 3rd class of Mr. J. Boyd at Glasgow University in April 1695. *Munimenta*, iii. 157. Studied afterwards at Utrecht, Leyden, and Paris; M.D. Rheims, April 28, 1699; afterwards returned to Glasgow; acted as one of the assessors at the first examination for M.D. in Glasgow in Sept. 1703. *Munimenta*, ii. 376. Smith (R. W. I.), *English Students at Leyden*.

<sup>2</sup> Not in Wodrow MSS. Quarto Letters i. But there is a very interesting letter from Thomson to Wodrow from Utrecht, April 2, 1698, Q. i. 37, praising the Medical School at Paris compared with the schools of Utrecht and Leyden. The answer to this letter, May 13, 1699, is in Q. i. 51.

give accounts of rarities &c. in soe fine a city and among such curiouse people as you are nou among. I acknouledg ther is litle, I may say nothing almost on my side that can invite you to give yourself this trouble, for quhat can I tell you of heer that you knou not already, but old freindship and intimacy that has been betwixt us make me soe bold as to begg the favour of a line from you as oft as your laizour & opportunity permitt, and you shall have in return such things as this cold northern climate produces. D. C., you knou I was never for complements, for, if the etymology hold, *complementare* is but *complete mentiri*, but as our Scotch proverb is, for broad even down.<sup>1</sup> Therfor you most not look soe much to my words as the earnestness of my desire.

As to affairs heer all things look dismall like the crope is this country has late in all places, and consequently bad, soe that of necessity the meal flouer &c. most be dear. The meal is at 18 sh. per peck, & goand in fear of greater. But to leave this melancholy subject—your old comrad Mr Findlasone<sup>2</sup> has passed his tryalls and there are some thoughts of calling him to this place either to supply Mr Christys<sup>3</sup> room, who is nou entered to his Masters joy, or to fill the Blackfreir Church quhich is to be rebuilded this Spring. As to your old comrad J. Kennedy,<sup>4</sup> the Laird of Baroufeild<sup>5</sup> has chosen him for his gardener & I hope our comrad shall be happy in that place. As to any other particulars you desire to be informed in as to comrads or acquaintances heer, upon information from you I shall to my pouer endeavour to satisfy you.

D. C., I intreat you may doe me the favour as to satisfy

<sup>1</sup> i.e. 'for downright frankness.' I have not traced the proverb in which the phrase occurs.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Finlayson, ordained Minister of Kilmarnock, May 11, 1699. *Fasti*, iii. 106. Several letters from him to Alex. Wodrow, brother of R. W., are in Quarto i.

<sup>3</sup> John Christie, Minister of the Wynd or St. Andrew's Parish, Glasgow. *Fasti*, iii. 432. The date of his death is not given there.

<sup>4</sup> John Kennedy matriculated with Thomson in 1695. *Munimenta*, iii. 157.

<sup>5</sup> John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, who was entered heir to John W. of Barrowfield, March 10, 1693. *Retours*.

my curiosity as far as you can and your laizour permitts in answering the following queries quhich are in noe order but only as they came in my head.—Quhat is the way of fixing quicksilver upon the back of looking glasses? Quhat is the way of making fine taliduces quher with they cast off soe fine pictures? Quhat is the opinion of the learnd with you upon the thing we call heer the dead chack,<sup>1</sup> that they say is heard about the beds of dying persons, as also your opinion touching the thing we call elf shooting, quherof many beasts are said to dye; your opinion whither ther be such a beast as a cockatrice that is said to be generate from a cocks egg, that kills with a look, of quhich we had one, as I hear, in this toun in summer to be shouen for money<sup>2</sup>; your opinion as to the Wandring Jeu<sup>3</sup> of quhom very credible authors write, as Camerarius in his Diss. Hist.<sup>4</sup>; your opinion as to the Turkish Spy<sup>5</sup> who pretends to have lived at Paris & is generall thought heer to be counterfeit at Londone; as also concerning the second sight, whither any have it or from quence? And this brings me in mind of a passage in *La physique*<sup>6</sup> &c. quher ther is ane account that seems very strange of on James Aymer<sup>7</sup> that discovred a murderer by the means of a divining rode, and followed him by [the] same means 45 leages on land and 30 on sea; the forsaid author gives account hou mettals, mineralls &c. are discovered by this means. The book is very curiouse and to be had at &c.—This I name in case you have not heard of the book. Pray let me hear hou the book is esteemed and if that be but a fable about Aymer. Let me knou if you hear of any advances as to the finding

<sup>1</sup> 'Some sort of speeder or other insect.' Thomson's answer.

<sup>2</sup> 'A fable.' 'The one the juggler shows is a fluke or some like fish dried and set in a monstrous shape.' Thomson.

<sup>3</sup> 'A fable.' Thomson.

<sup>4</sup> Not traced.

<sup>5</sup> There were many editions of *The Turkish Spy* at Paris, Amsterdam, and London. It is now held to have been the work of the 'translator,' G. P. Marana. 'Counterfit at London by some Societie there.' Thomson.

<sup>6</sup> *La physique occulte, ou traité de la baguette divinatoire. Par M. Le Lorrain de Vallemont.* Amsterdam (and Paris), 1693.

<sup>7</sup> 'A cheat, exposed by the Duke of Orleans.' Thomson.



out of the perpetuum mobile, or shortning teloscopes, for quhich last, I heer, ther is a way lately found out at Paris, or for shortning or making portable weatherglasses. Let me knou if ther be any Latine or Greek authors coming out or come for the use of the Duke of Burgundy or his bretheren as came out in usum Delphini. Let me have ane account of learned men <sup>1</sup> with you who are esteemed in evry science as far as you hear, as also of the most curiouse of your neu books that have come out latly, also the manner of teaching in universityes in France, and particularly the manner of ther libraryes and ther laues if they use any.<sup>2</sup> This I am the more curiouse of because the masters have intrusted me with the library heer.<sup>3</sup> Let me have ane account of the nature of that society Messrs du Port Royall, and quhat books they have published. I would willingly have ther Latine gramer quhich I hear much commended. Pray inquire about those things that at the Reformation wer said to be taken out of the High Church, as manuscripts, calices, cupps &c. &c. by the Roman Catholics and caried to Paris and are said to be in the hands of a Society of Scots Jesuits or Franciscans.<sup>4</sup>

D. C., I knou you will be as curiouse about these particulars as I could wish, and in discourse with learned persons you may be dropping some of them, of quhich I hope per nixt to get account; anything quherin I can

<sup>1</sup> Thomson gives a list. Of Duverny, whom he had for Anatomy, he says, 'Certainly the best anatomist now alive. I had (with near 30 more of our country men) a cours with him this winter, where for 3 months we wer present at preparations and demonstrations from 8 in the morning till 6 at night. We had more than 20 human subjects.'

<sup>2</sup> 'The laws of Universities and bibliothecs are much the same as in Scotland.' Thomson.

<sup>3</sup> Wodrow succeeded John Simson as Librarian, for whom he acted as Quaestor as early as January 1699. The first entry in the Quaestor's Book in which he is called Bibliothecarius is dated January 27, 1700. He resigned on his being ordained to Eastwood in October 1703. (Information from Dr. W. L. Cunningham, Librarian of Glasgow University, who sent me extracts from the Quaestor's Book, Glasgow University Archives, vol. 12.)

<sup>4</sup> They were taken by Archbishop Beaton to Paris and deposited partly with the Carthusians there and partly with the Scots College. *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, Preface, p. i.

serve you heer shall be willingly done by me. I have sevrall other queryes to trouble you with, but must reserve them to another occasion. Soe wishing the Lord may be near you with his supporting & preserving presence, I rest,

R. W.

## II. For Mr MATHEU SIMSONE<sup>1</sup> at Leyden

Jan. 14, 1699.

D. C., I would have written to you long ere nou if I had had any distinct thing from my brothers letters to you. Nou I have taken this occasion to give you accompt of Margret Lairds<sup>2</sup> case, quhich I belive he is scarce in case to dou. I had occasion to see heer twice since you left this place. The most remarkable circumstance in her case, in my opinion, & that may be most demonstrative that she is noe imposture and that ther is somquhat preternatural in case, is her extraordinary weight & heaviness.<sup>3</sup> I sau her once in one of her sensible fitts into quhich she was cast upon the touch of a woman she dilated. In this fit she was throun to the ground notwithstanding two very able country men that wer holding her. In lifting her (tho she had nothing to hold by) I was on of 5— Craighens, Mr Brisbane,<sup>3</sup> & the forsaid men the rest—I indeed scarce ever lifted a greater weight; the other 4

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Minister of Pencaitland. *Fasti*, i. 386.

<sup>2</sup> M. Simson in a letter to Alex. Wodrow, Quarto i. 42, had asked for particulars of her case. She is mentioned in Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, 1861, p. 194; and in Metcalfe, *History of the County of Renfrew*, Paisley, 1905, p. 333. A full account is to be read in MSS. in the Register House, viz. in Privy Council Decrees, July 12, 1648, Justiciary Court Records, March 27, 1699, and especially in a paper among the Justiciary Warrants: *Precognitions against witches in the west taken at Paisley, 19, 20 and 21 dayes of Apryll* (and at Glasgow, April 22) 1699. There is a copy of Nos. 70-91 of these *Precognitions* among the Wodrow MSS., Folio, vol. 28, no. 73 in the Church of Scotland Library. Wodrow himself is not among the witnesses to the inquiry. In Laing MSS., ii. 89, in Edinburgh University Library, there is an *Information for His Majesties Advocat against Jean Widrow and others, 1699*, which deals with the above case.

<sup>3</sup> James Brisbane, Minister of Kilmacolm. *Fasti*, iii. 212.

declared the same.<sup>1</sup> Sevrall times I have seen her in the forsaid sort of fit that Mr McAlay<sup>2</sup> & I wer not able to lift her. Hou this can be physically solved treuly I knou not.

For the different sort of her fitts I need not enlarge on them, since you have seen many of them. I only name some I did not hear of till after you left her. I have seen he[r] neck swelled from her breast to her chin soe it æqualled her chin all round except about ane inch nixt her chin quher ther was a gau, as we termed, as if it had [been] bound ther with somquhat. She oft compleand of violent pains in her sides, breast, belly &c. as if she had been stobbed with a sword. She has many extraordinary risings in her belly, and great noises there. She attributes all done to her in her dead fitts to her tormentors, even sevrall things she does her self. Particularly once on her seing of Crooked Patison,<sup>3</sup> her legg turning like his, (as you I suppose have seen) I gave her a staffe with quhich she walked like him, but within a litle, struck her self on the head with it, and had this expression 'Filthy thieves quhat gars you strick my head.' She, if I may say soe, redoubling the stroak, I put in my hand betwixt her head and it, upon quhich she offred to bring the stroak on the other side of her head, quhich I again prevented by interposing my hand. In October those she accused wer all let out, on quhich for 14 dayes she gote neither meat nor drink over her throat, and yet remained full in her body. Upon the Advocats<sup>4</sup> line to the Sherrife to imprison them and mentean them on the Treasurys expenses, they wer laid up, upon quhich she was almost free for sometime, but I hear nou is much troubled by others, and tells they are making her pictour, & compleans of stitches, & is troubled much with vomiting and boaking.

But enough of this melancholy subject.—The masters

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Brown, Minister of Paisley (*Precognitions* 66), gives the like evidence: '3 or four could not hold her tho using ther outmost power.' This witness mentions Mr. Brisbane and Mr. McAlay but not Wodrow.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Macaulay, Minister of Inchinnan. *Fasti*, iii. 144.

<sup>3</sup> John Pattieson in Gills, one of her alleged tormentors.

<sup>4</sup> Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees.

heer have formed and agreed to geve some laues for the library of quhich take the most considerable as follou.<sup>1</sup> For the books to the library I referr you to my brothers letter.<sup>2</sup> I desire you may buy for my self Placet de la foi divine at 14 sts.,<sup>3</sup> La bête transformé en machine,<sup>4</sup> Fleuryes methode d'étudies at 6 stiv.,<sup>5</sup> Moni Critique de la Coutomes & creance at 1 gilder,<sup>6</sup> and Henrici Christiani Henninii de accentibus Ultraject, '84 8vo at 10 or 12 stivers.<sup>7</sup> I desire you may get me the prices of the following book. . . . I desire to knou quhat is become of that polyglote Bible<sup>8</sup> the plan quherof is in Nouveles de republique des letters,<sup>9</sup> quhich pleases me extreamly weel. I hope you will not be displeased at this last trouble I have given you about the getting those 8 books priced, since it shall for ought I knou be the last of this kind you shall be troubled with, & if I ever come ther I shall be will[ing] to be at as much pains for you.

### III. For Mr MATH. SIMSON at London

D. C.,

May 8, '99.

My last to you was Jan. 14. Since yours of Feb. 22<sup>10</sup> to your father I have not heard from you [which] to me

<sup>1</sup> He has not copied this. These laws are mentioned, but not printed, in *Munimenta*, iii. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Not found. But Simson's answer to A. Wodrow is in Quarto i. 54.

<sup>3</sup> La Placette (Jean). *Traité de la foi divine*. Amsterdam, 1697.

<sup>4</sup> *La bête transformé en machine divisée en deux dissertations, prononcées à Amsterdam par J. Darmanson dans ses Conférences philosophiques*. 12<sup>mo</sup>. No name of printer, 1684. (In *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, 1684, i. 19.)

<sup>5</sup> Fleury (Abbé Claude). *Traité du choix et de la méthode des études*. Paris, 1686, etc.

<sup>6</sup> *Histoire critique de la créance et des coutûmes des nations du Levant*. Publiée par le Sr. de Moni. [Pseud. of Richard Simon.] Francfort, 1684, (and 1693, etc.).

<sup>7</sup> Henninius (H. C.). H. C. H. 'Ελληνισμος ὀρθῶδος, seu Graecam linguam non esse pronunciandam secundum accentus, dissertatio, etc. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1684.

<sup>8</sup> The announcement of this proposed Bible is in *Nouvelles*, etc., 1684, ii. p. 295, and 1685, p. 69. I cannot find that this Bible was ever published.

<sup>9</sup> See note 4. Wodrow's French is rather peculiar.

<sup>10</sup> Not in Quarto i.

was a litle strange; however I shall leave of flyting till we meet. My brother has given you a pretty full account of private affaires heer. I only add, that Mr Ja. Wallace <sup>1</sup> is passing befor the Presbytery of Pasley with a desing, as some think, for Fouldoun, quhich Mr Park <sup>2</sup> has slighted. Mr Robt. Macalay was married last week at Pollock to Mrs Burnet.<sup>3</sup> As to the bussiness of the witches, the two lasses mentioned in my last continou ut ante with litle variation of fitts I hear of. The[r] was a commission ishued out for ther tryall by 3 lords of the Justiciary at this place on the <sup>4</sup> inst., but this day I hear its countermaunded or adjourned even after the indictments wer given to 3 heer—Mrs Bell (Mr J. B.s mother),<sup>5</sup> Mrs Rae<sup>6</sup> in the Saltmerket, and on Janet Gentlemant <sup>7</sup>; Mary Morison<sup>8</sup> for the 3d (and if guilty I wish it wer the last) time; 3 in Govean; in Inshanen Janet Reid<sup>9</sup> & sevrall others. The Advocat is not at home as you knou. Whither this other some other hidden reason be the cause of this delay I shall not determine.

I have been looking over the Gazets <sup>10</sup> and find the one

<sup>1</sup> In the Theological Class at Glasgow with Wodrow, 1697. *Munimenta*, iii. 245. He may be Wodrow's correspondent, who went with Lord Ross to Pusey in 1699, presumably as tutor.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Park accepted the call to Fouldon. *Fasti*, ii. 48.

<sup>3</sup> The name of his wife is not given in *Fasti*, iii. 144 or iv. 325.

<sup>4</sup> The date is blurred. There was a diet of the Justice Court appointed to be held on the 3rd Wednesday of May, 1699. Justiciary Court Records MSS., March 27, 1699.

<sup>5</sup> Margaret Duncan, relict of the deceast John Bell, Merchant in Glasgow. *Precog.* 91. She was a midwife.

<sup>6</sup> Marion Ure, the wife of George Rae, merchant in Glasgow. *Precog.* 91.

<sup>7</sup> Spouse to George Craighead, late 'beddal' in Glasgow. *Precog.* 91. Of these three alleged tormentors of Margaret Murdoch of Govan, William Scot, cooper in Glasgow, witnesses that when he was ill 'all three appeard in the chalmer wher I lay betwixt the hours of two and three in the morning in the likeness of a sowe, ane calf and ane ape, and danded befor me in the rounge befor my bed, I being wakeing and verie sensible of their being present, and then they all three evanished away.' *Precog.* 91.

<sup>8</sup> Wife of Francis Duncan, skipper in Greenock. See her petition in Privy Council Decrees MS., Nov. 29, 1698. She was one of the 'tormentors' of M. Laird. *Precog.* 16, etc.

<sup>9</sup> There is mention of Annabell Reid, spouse to John Steuart in Inchinnan, but not of Janet Reid. *Precog.* 1.

<sup>10</sup> *The London Gazette*.

half & more wanting of these that are not yet bound particularly the whole year '97. Pray with the first occasion send word if you know quher that year is, for I cannot but think you have laid them by somequher. I would have sent up a catologue of the rest that are wanting, but wait ane answer from you about this. I desire you may buy for the library these follouing: Philosophicall Transactions, begin at Sept. '98 as far as are come out; Occasional Paper,<sup>1</sup> begin at number 11 as far as are come out; Athenian Mercury,<sup>2</sup> begin at vol. 18 as far as are come out; Du Pine<sup>3</sup> from the 18 century as far as are come out; Lock and Stillingfleets Letters (you [know] we have the 2nd letter of Locks and 2nd answer of Stillingfleets: any other that are published, buy); as also Le Clerks additions to Hammond on the Neu Testament translated into English; Nichols Conference pt. 4<sup>4</sup>; the History of the works of the learned, beginning Jan. '98<sup>5</sup> as far as are come out; Potters Greek antiquities vol. 2nd; Whistouns Vindication of his theory from the exceptions of Mr Hills<sup>6</sup>; any other papers we have not on that controversy between Boyle & Bentley—the last we have on that heed is ane answer to a late pamphlet (quhich we have) [called] ane Essay on criticall & curiouse learning, Oxon. Aug. 6 '98;<sup>7</sup> as also the Method to Science solidly demonstrated by J. S.<sup>7</sup> the answerer to Lock. Pray let me know if ther be any hopes of a 2d. edition of Stillingfleets

<sup>1</sup> By Richard Willis. I can only find that he published 10 Papers.

<sup>2</sup> *The Athenian Gazette; or Casuistical Mercury*, vols. 1-19. Lond., 1691-96.

<sup>3</sup> Dupin (L. E.). *The history of the ecclesiastical writers of the first sixteen and part of the 17th centuries*. Lond., 1693—. The 13th-15th centuries were announced for review in *The History of the Works of the Learned*, January 1699, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> Nichols (W.). *A Conference with a theist*. 4 pts. Lond., 1696-99.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the book meant is *A vindication of the New theory of the earth from the exceptions of Mr. Keill and others; with an historical preface*, etc. [By W. Whitson.] Lond., 1698. 'Hills' must be an error for 'Keill.'

<sup>6</sup> The date given is that of the superscription: it was published, Lond., 1698.

<sup>7</sup> *The Method to Science*. By J. S. [? John Sergeant.] Lond., 1696. *Solid Philosophy asserted, against the fancies of the ideists; or the Method to Science farther illustrated*. By J. S. Lond., 1697.

Origines Sacrae out of his papers, as also the nature of that desing I see proposed in the Gazets, Catologus universalis librorum in omni facultate linguaue insignium.<sup>1</sup> The proposalls are to be had at most booksellers. Buy also a dozen of small lents, scales or object glasses for the fine microscopes, as also Comber against Clerkson or the Scholasticall history of lyturgies.<sup>2</sup>

#### IV. For Mr WILLIAM NICHOLSONE, Archdeacon of Carlisle <sup>3</sup>

Reverend and Learned Sir,

I have taken the occasion of the bearer, Mr Topham,<sup>4</sup> to performe the promise I made to you quhen at Glasgou, by sending with him some of the fossiles I spoke to you of. They wer gote within 4 miles of this place on the brink of a little rivulet. All of them wer about 8 or 10 feet belou the surface of the ground. I have sent you on of each sort I have yet digged up. But I design shortly to spend some more time then I have yet done in a more acurate search and doubt not but I shall find sevrall other species quhich, if thir be in any measure acceptable, I shall not faile to send you. N. 1. You have 3 shells lying in ther beds of marle; ther are abundance of these in the forsaide place and some of them in the sides of stones in the channel of the rivulet (big shells). N. 2. Mo shells of a finer contexture with a peice of semi-pelucide thine matter quhich at first was almost flexible like softned horn. N. 3. Petrified peices resemling the back bones of fishes or roots of some plants, of different sizes. N. 4. Some peices that I know not weel quhat to make of. You see that \* the peices are

MS. 'the'


<sup>1</sup> Published by John Hartley, 1699-1701.

<sup>2</sup> Comber (T.). *A scholastical history of the primitive and general use of liturgies. . . . Together with an answer to Mr. D. Clarkson's discourse concerning liturgies.* Lond., 1690.

<sup>3</sup> This is Wodrow's first letter to Nicolson. Nicolson had visited Glasgow in early summer and Wodrow had shown him hospitality, in return for which Nicolson wrote a letter of thanks on June 19, with a gift of 'a small Saxon book.' Quarto i. 55. The answer to this, dated August 26, 1699, is in Q. i. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Gulielmus Topham, *Anglus*, was a student at Glasgow in 1699. *Munimenta*, iii. 166. He probably graduated there.

segments of a circle. I found of this matter half a circle (the rivulet had consumed the rest) of it. The diameter would have been about 8 or 10 inches. In with them you have a peice of the bed all thir lye in. N. 5 was whole in the ground but I could not get it out without it breaking. I found sevrall of this kind both smaller and bigger. N. 6 I got in long strata 4 or 5 inch & of a red collour somtimes. N. 7 I got some bigger and on about 2 inches long with ane impression like the biggest, but one of the inclosed of on end and one of another sort on the other.<sup>1</sup> Reverend Sir, it would be a special obligation on me to hear your thought on each of these, particularly on N. 3, 4, 6, & 7, and upon the  $\pi\omega\sigma$  of petrefaction. If these tend any waye to the satisfying you and augment the number of your kinds of fossiles, I think all my pains in gathering them fully recompensed, if not pray receive them as tokens [of] the entire respect I bear for you and as specimens of quhat you should have if the place afforded.

I have latly received accompt from Neuport Glasgou, about 18 miles from this, there have been descovred there by the falling down of some earth a great deal of old coins and other things that have [been] hid there. I have received noe clear account of them yet, and only one of the coines quhich (according to my small insight in to that study) seems not to be very antient. Perhaps I may goe shortly to the place; however I am promised some of them. I am informed they are of different mettalls, some of pure silver, some of tine or other mixed matter; some in the formes of this , some like Indian nose rings, &c. I shall give you a fuller accompt of them & shall, if it be possible, send you one at least of evry kind.<sup>2</sup>

We have not that Saxon Cronicle<sup>3</sup> in the Library, neither that other peice about them Mr Whittingdale<sup>4</sup> speaks of

<sup>1</sup> Nicolson's identifications of these are given in his answer, Quarto i. 56.

<sup>2</sup> I have not traced a reference elsewhere to the discovery of the hoard.

<sup>3</sup> See *infra*, p. 24 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Christopher Whittingdale, a student at Glasgow in 1696. *Munimenta*, iii. 159. He probably graduated there. In Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* he is called 'Clerk, of Carlisle.'



as neuly come out at Oxford. If you will doe the Universality<sup>1</sup> the kindness to send them down they will be very acceptable, & your name set down in futuram rei memoriam. —But I need not use such motives with you for Virtus est sibi ipsi præmium. Reverend Sir, a line from you would be extreemly acceptable to me. Any service you have in this country I would be glade to have the honnour to be employed in it. The bearer being in hast, this is all at present from, Sir, your very humble servant, R. W.

July 3, '99.

### V. For Mr PATRICK SMITH<sup>2</sup>

#### *Queries for Caledonia Nova*

1. Quhat longitude & latitude Neu Edinburgh lyes in ; quhat distance from Panama, Porto Bello, Cartagena, Jamaica and other adjacent places of note.

2. Quhat time of the year the raines in Caledonia begin ; hou long they last ; quhat are the ordinary antecedents of ther coming.

3. Quhat is the nature of the country, if mountanouse ; if ther be good hopes of mettales in the hills and of quhat kind ; if ther be found or hoped for any minerals or medicinall boles ; by quhat sings the inhabitants, Spaniards or our country men conjectour a mine to be in a place ; quhether the ground be barren quher the mines are ; if the Spaniards or any other use the virgula divinatoria or anything like it in discovry of mines, and with quhat success ; if ther be any ætnas in the isthmus ; in the valeyes quhat kind of earth you have, clay, sand or chalk &c. ; if there be any washing or medicinall earths fallen yet upon.

<sup>1</sup> Wodrow usually writes *Urility*, *i.e.* Universality.

<sup>2</sup> He went to New Caledonia as surgeon's mate on the *Rising Sun*. See *infra*, p. 18. He was at Glasgow in 1693. *Munimenta*, iii. 153. There is a copy of these Queries in Wodrow MSS., Folio, vol. 28, in the Church of Scotland Library, with this heading: 'Queries sent by me with Patrick Smith, Surgeon, when going to Caledonia. To quhich I was informed he drew up 10 or 12 sheets, as answers. But it never came to hand.'

4. As to the natives: quhat is ther disposition and genius, if sagaciouse or dull; if they have any knouledge of one God quhom they look upon as superiour to the rest, or have they any notion of two, good & ill; of the Flood; of their or their forfathers coming from any other part of the country, & if they have this, from quhat art; if they have any thing like writing among them, or any inscriptions or sculpture on stones, hyreglyphicks &c.; a short accompt of their customes, in burialls, mariages &c.; their religiouse worship, particularly if they have any thing like sacrificing and its rites, or if they have any solemn stated washing of themselves, or any rites that have a consonancy with the Jeues, that may strenthen Mr Eliott opinion<sup>1</sup>; if they have any tradition of any strangers coming among them, before the Spaniards, or of any come to any of their neighbours; a particular accompt of these moon eyed inhabitants<sup>2</sup> that are said to be all overgrouen with a white doun, to have their eyes of a crescent form; quhat ar their parents; if their children be of the same kind; if they be fully as sagaciouse and reasonable as their fellou natives; quhat opinion the rest of the natives have of them; if besides these ther be any considerable difference in the collour of any of the natives or between them quhen younger and older; if they be tauny quhen first born; if they have any setled part of time they allou for Divine Worship, & their religious ceremonies; quhat are their meats and drinks, hou prepared and made ready; hou long doe they live for ordinary; quhat deseases they are most troubled with, & quhat remedies they themselves use; if there has been observed any agreement between their language and our Irish or Highlands, or between the customes of both, as Wafer observes; if their language

<sup>1</sup> *The learned conjectures of Reverend Mr. John Eliot touching the Americans, . . . written to Mr. Thorowgood. Printed in T. Thorowgood's Jewes in America, or, probabilities, that those Indians are judaical, etc. Lond., 1660. Eliot advances the view that the Americans 'were Ebrewes of Eber, who was of the line of Sem.'*

<sup>2</sup> Many of these queries are based on Wafer (L.). *A new voyage and description of the Isthmus of America. Lond., 1699. For this particular query see p. 136.*

have any agreement with the Indians on either hand, or any Europeans.

5. As to their animals, ane accompt of these you hear of or see that we have not in Europ, or any of our kinds that are there with any specialityes, in particular ane accompt of the pecary, if it has its navel in its back, if it soe soon putrifies if its navel be not cut off (as Wafer tells us), quhen killed.<sup>1</sup>

6. As to their volatiles, whither birds or insects, ane accompt of quhat you observe singular in them; their wayes of taking them if any distinct from ours.

7. As to their rivers and fish, if ther be any rivers that overflou their banks at stated times and enrich the adjacent valeys, like Nile, Niger or Indus; ane accompt of their fishes, quhat of our kinds are there, and of others you observe different; their way of taking them; if any reach the South Sea.

8. As to their vegetables quhat of our kinds you have ther, and ane accompt of the distinct species from ours, whither in treas or herbs, as you observe, particularly of the machenile aple trea that is said to poyson not only by eating, but even in some measure by its smell & shade<sup>2</sup>; ane accompt of the size, situation, fruite &c. of these we have not; of the plantain, if the female bear not if it be not near the male; of the cocoe and its uses; if any treas ther be fit for building of ships; whither, as some relate, in the passage of the isthmus from Nombre de Dios to Panama ther be a whole wood-full of sensitive treas, of quhich as soon as touched the leaves and branches move with a ratling noise, and wind themselves into a winding figure.

9. If there be any weatherglasses among you, let me knou to quhat height the mercury is elevated.

10. To observe the age of the moon at spring tydes, to quhat height the tyde floues; any irregularityes, as to the time of flux and reflux; if ther be any fountains that have a flux and reflux at stated times, or any other

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<sup>1</sup> Wafer, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Wafer, p. 90.

singularitys as to heat or cold, a transmuting or petrifying verteu, &c.

11. The way of the gathering and cleanging the gold that is taken out of the rivers ; in quhat quantity and of quhat purity is it.

12. If the natives use to poyson darts and arrowes ; with quhat, and quhat may be antidotes against them.

13. If at any time of the year ther be any frost, snou or hail ; to quhat thickness does the ice come & in quhat time.

14. If the Indians have any form of goverment ; if they have, whither it be monarchicall or not ; if it be, quhither successive or elective ; if they have any thing like a succession in blood in their preists office ; of the form of their houses and their materials, houshold stuffe &c. ; their custome in war & concluding peace ; of their temples and idoles.

15. If the ground with you has been tryed with European grain as wheat, corn, pease, & with quhat successe ; if it bears tobacco, suggar & indigo, with the manner of planting these and cultivating them.

16. Ane accompt of the most memorable passages of your voyage ; ane accompt of the case and state of our countrymen in Caledonia ; your forts, your city, or cityes, the way of your provision, the disposition of the Indians to you & a hint of the state of the Spaniards ; your commerce with them, quhat you give & receive ; quhatever, if our places wer exchanged, you would desire to knou.

D. C., you have these raptim as they came in my head. I hope you will endeavour to satisfy them, quhen the Lord has brought you safe to Caledonia, as laizour & opportunity allow. This with a specimen of the country's product viz. minerals, oar or dust or any other curiosities, will be a lasting obligation on me & all freinds heer. Soe, committing you to the care of him whose presence makes it as safe on the great deep as on the dry land, who preserves man & beast, I rest, D. C., your affectionate freind & humble servant, R. W.

Glasgow, August 5, '99.

Vid. infra [No. xxxv].

VI. For Mr. G. THOMSONE at Leyden <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I received yours Rotterdam May 13, and also that from Leyden June 15. N. S. with the Methode latine from Mr Thomson. I would have write to you long befor this time had I not these 6 weeks almost waited for the bearer Mr Smith <sup>2</sup> his coming over. I was extreemly weel satisfied with your answer to mine of Dec. 6. only I cannot soe fully conceive hou (as to James Aymer) a thing so weel attested as that seems to be in the book I mentioned, soe capable of disproving, and by ane author soe nice in other matters & curiouse, should be a cheat. As to the amalga on the backs of glasses, the thing I am most desirouse to knou is hou they fix it on the glasse. Let [me] knou from you the price of these 10 vols. of the Catolouge of the Kings Library at Paris,<sup>3</sup> and, if you have seen them, quhat is their methode, if they goe on ord: alph: or according to the nature of the books; if they give only the bare title of the books, quhich if they only doe, I think 65000 might be conteaned in on or two good large folios.

As to your last, I am very sorry to hear you have soe bad information about our Indian and African Company. Because I believe you may be curiouse to hear hou it goes, I shall be the [more] particular on this head. I belive you may have heard that in March or April last ther were 3 ships sent to them from this kingdome with provisions and

<sup>1</sup> The letter of May 13 is in Quarto i. 51, but no letter of the date June 15 is preserved. This present letter is answered, November 8, 1699, in Q. i. 64.

<sup>2</sup> John Smith, to whom some of the subsequent letters are addressed. He was a student in the 4th class at Glasgow, 1693 (*Munimenta* iii. 153), and must have graduated there soon afterwards.

<sup>3</sup> In his letter of May 13, Thomson said: 'They are just now printing a catalogue of the King's Bibliothec which consists of 50,000 printed volumes and 15,000 manuscripts. Ther is ten big volumes already printed.' But on being questioned again by Wodrow he admits that he has not seen the catalogues but goes only by report of the Keeper. For this project to publish the catalogue drawn up by Nicolas Clément, which was abandoned, see *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Auteurs*, Tom. i., p. vii.

300 men.<sup>1</sup> We had advice about 20 days since by way England that these wer near Caledonia & I doubt not but by the midle or end of May they may have been there. Beside we have aboundance of accompts that they are weel supplied in provisions from the English plantations, who have encouragement to it by the good returns they get for their effects from Caledonia, and this swayes more with them then prohibitions and proclamations on the other hand, soe that your fears of their want of provisions are not weel grounded.<sup>2</sup> As to the Spaniards, treuly heer we are not soe much afraied of them, if Monsieur have not his hand in the plott. Houever the Spaniards are soe sloe that I would fain hope that our last recruits may reach Caledonia befor any harm be from that hand, and then I hope (with Gods blessing) they will be able, as we say, to hold their oun; houever, least you be apt to suspect that I represent the best side only to you, we have our oun fears of the French, and quhich is worse then this, we have some accompts of a plotte that has been in Caledonia, to betray their best ship the St. Andreu & the fort to the French. Two of the Councill, Captain Montgomery [and] Jolly, wer engaged in this villany.<sup>3</sup> These two are come over to England and, as some say, Montgommery is come doun to Edinburgh; quhatever be [the truth] of it, there is such a edge upon peaples spirits on this occasion, that upon nottice he was at Edinburgh last week, the mob gote together, and mistaking a French man for the said persone, have left him for dead. We hear ther are sevrall hanged &c. at Caledonia upon the accompt of the said desing.

The 23 current, The Rising Son, James Gibsone, Captain, & Walter Grahame, first lieutennant, loosed from

<sup>1</sup> Two ships and 300 men. *Darien Papers*, p. 129. These ships, the *Olive Branch* and the *Hopefull Binning*, sailed from Leith on May 12. *Ibid.* p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> In the light of subsequent events Wodrow's optimism is pathetic. The Scot in Holland was better informed or less blind than the Scot at home. When this was written the Scots colonists had already abandoned Caledonia.

<sup>3</sup> For this plot or scare see *Darien Papers*, pp. 142, 139, 188-90.

Greenock with 3 others<sup>1</sup> for Caledonia having 1800 sholdiers on board, [and] 4 ministers—Mr Alexr. Sheilds, Mr Francis Borland, Mrs Daglish & Stobo,<sup>2</sup> to begin the Presbtry of New Edinburgh. Patrick Smith<sup>3</sup> our comrad is gone surgens mate to the Rising Sun, but is to continue at Caledonia. Mr Ja. Main<sup>4</sup> is gone as a merchant adventurer. I remember noe moe of our acquaintances gone with them. They are gone, I am sure, with the good wishes of all treu Scots men.

Our church I spoke of in my last is going on apace & will be a very pretty building. We have the prospect of a good harvest, only thir 3 last day have been strong winds, quhich have shaken some of the ripest corns. The Lady Castlmilk<sup>5</sup> dyed last week with too many presumptions of being harmed by the witches. The woman in Kilmacomb, of quhom in my last, & the girle in Govane are both recovred and in perfect health.<sup>6</sup> I have no other thing I remember of as to occurenyes heer.

I give you many thanks for buying me the Messrs. du Port Royalls Latine gramaire.<sup>7</sup> I desire you may give me accompt to quhom to pay in the mony for it heer & I shall doe upon a line from you. If you have not bought another I desire you may not doe unlesse you get it for a guilder

<sup>1</sup> *Darien Papers*, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Author of *A hind let loose*; Minister of Glassford, *Fasti*, iii. 254; Alexander Dalgleish, *Fasti*, vii. 662; Archibald Stobo, *Fasti*, vii. 665. Of these Shields and Dalgleish died on the expedition. 'Mrs.' is written for 'Messrs.'

<sup>3</sup> To whom the Queries for Caledonia Nova were addressed. See *supra*, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> He is not in the *Perfect list* of adventurers published by the heirs of A. Anderson, Edin., 1696.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Margaret Crawford, wife of Sir William Stuart of Castlemilk. I have not found a reference to this elsewhere, but in *Information . . . against Jean Widrow and others*, Laing MSS., ii. 89, Sir William Stuart of Castlemilk is shown to have threatened Elspeth Wood, one of the accused, with burning, and it would be in accordance with the spirit of the times to attribute a death in the family soon afterwards to the influence of this witch or another.

<sup>6</sup> Margaret Laird and Margaret Murdoch.

<sup>7</sup> *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre facilement la langue Latine*. [By A. Arnauld, C. Lancelot, etc.] 8<sup>e</sup> éd., Paris, 1681; 9<sup>e</sup> éd., Paris, 1696.

or therabouts, because it is not to my self. I desire you may buy ther their large Greek grammer; I have its compend already intituled *Nouvel methode pour apprendre la langue grecque abrégé a Paris, '92*.<sup>1</sup> If you can, get it at ane auction or otherwise for two or 3 guilders. Any other litle late peice in Latine or French on natural philosophy, mathematicks that you think I would be curiouse of, that you get easy at ane auction, buy it for me and send over with any sure hand & I shall pay its price to quhom you desire. I belive I shall scarce see you in Holland, being for ought I yet knou for some time to keep the Library hear. I desire any phylosophical or phylologicall litle theses, or pamphlets, or catolougues of books, or auctions that are late, within these 2 or 3 years, you may send over with any occasion you have to this place.

Pray give my brothers and my service to Mr Davidstone. Mr John Smith<sup>2</sup> the bearer & Mr Chau<sup>3</sup> are coming to Utrecht & will see you at Leyden, I believe, in January if not before. John Kennedy gives his humble respects to you. Receive with this a short description of Darien<sup>4</sup> quher our country men are settled, quhich I thought you might be desirouse to see. Any other pamphlet relating to this that I can get I shall endeavour to send you. I rest your very &c.,

R. W.

Gl[asgow], Agust 30, '99.

<sup>1</sup> *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre facilement la langue Grecque*. [By the Messieurs de Port Royal.] Nouv. éd., Paris, 1682; 9<sup>e</sup> éd., Paris, 1696. The abridgment had the same title with the addition, *Nouv. éd. . . réduite en abrégé*. Paris, 1692.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, p. 16 n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Shaw. A letter from him to A. Wodrow is in Quarto i. 67. In his answer to this Thomson writes: 'We have about 20 Scotsmen, all very studious, so that there was never a parcel of better students at Leyden. . . . I could not persuade Mr. Smith and Mr. Shaw to stay heer. Ther is scarce any thing worth ther while to be had at Utrecht in respect of this place, but I suppose they will not stay long there.'

<sup>4</sup> *A short account from, and description of, the Isthmus of Darien*. Edin., 1699. *Darien Bibliography*, No. 62.



VII. For Mr JOHN SIMSONE at Utrecht <sup>1</sup>

D. C., Notwithstanding your long silence quhich perhaps might searr some from writing, yet I have taken this occasion to give you the trouble of this; the trouble I say, for one would be apt to suspect your long silence might proceed from a fear of being answered. I need not insist in giving you any accompt of affaires heer, because I know your brother<sup>2</sup> will not fail to doe this, who is a far better hand for it than I.

All our talk is about our Indian & African Company. Capt. Mcay,<sup>3</sup> on of the counselours, is come to Edinburgh by the way of England from Caledonia, but his neuse are kept soe close that aboundance of surmises are raised in peaple. The ships that are a going to Caledonia are retarded these 3 weeks with contrary winds. Our harvest is going on apace, but ther is much damage done to the riper corns by high winds these 8 or 10 dayes. The Library is increasing as much as thir dear years and scarsity of money will permitte. Ther is some prospect of getting in that 500 merks last laid out on the presses, the most part of the masters apearng forward enough for the Colledge's refounding of it. Our books you bought this time twel-moneth are not yet come to our hands; the skipper not having taken care to report them, they wer seised upon. We have write to the managers of the Customes about them & got ane order to loose them. Our books your brother bought at London are not as yet come to hand.<sup>4</sup> This is a litle discouraging and makes the masters somquhat averse from sending abroad for books. You remember that ther were 7 gild. 3 sts. or therabout not laid out of the money you gote by the last bill. I hope you will help Mr Smith to get these books he has in comission, and if

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Professor of Theology at Glasgow and a protagonist in a famous dispute with James Webster. There is no answer to this letter in Quarto i. His name is not in the *Utrecht Album*.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew Simson, afterwards Minister of Pencaitland. See Letters II. and III.

<sup>3</sup> Daniel Mackay, one of the original Council appointed in July 1698. *Darien Papers*, p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> There is a list of books from Holland in a letter from J. and M. Simson of Feb.-March 1699, Quarto i. 50; and a list of books sent from London in a letter from M. Simson, June 1699, Q. i. 54.

you have not already bought books with that money you will expend it with him.

# VIII. For Sir ROBT. SIBBALD, Doctour in Medicine <sup>1</sup>

Honoured Sir,

I received yours by Mr Sutherland <sup>2</sup> whom I heartily wish I could have better enterteined both upon your recommendation and his own worth. I count my self happy that I have any acquaintance of soe learned and curiouse a gentleman. Receive inclosed the copy of the inscriptions that you desire.<sup>3</sup> I have not as yet (having been much out of town since I received yours) fallen upon a persone that would undertake to drau the figures that are on them, houeever I shall doe all in my pouer to have it done. My thoughts on them will be but very usless to you that are soe weel seen in this sort of learning, but any thing that occurs to me or that I have heard others observe on them I shall give you accompt quhen I send you in their draught. I am noe good judge of the age of manuscripts but our Fordoun seems to be written about the beginning 15 or midle of the 14 century.<sup>4</sup> The title of the Indian Bible is Mamusse wunneetupanamatamwe up-Biblum God naneeswe nukkon testament kah wonk wusku testament ne quosh-kinnumuk nashpe Wittinneumoh Christ noh asoowesit John Eliot. Ca[m]bridge 1663. All I observe in this is that their 'kah' quhich is 'and' resembles the Greek και. We have Eliots Indian gramer also. I shall say nothing nou about Calderwood <sup>5</sup> and the manuscript history in verse <sup>6</sup> because I am much straitned in time, Mr Sutherland

<sup>1</sup> This answers Sibbald's letter of August 29, 1699, Quarto i. 58. Sibbald replies on November 11, Q. i. 59. Both of these letters of Sibbald are printed in *Analecta Scotica*, ii. 133.

<sup>2</sup> James Sutherland, Professor of Botany at Edinburgh University.

<sup>3</sup> Sibbald had asked for 'a copie of the inscription the Principal hath.' It is unfortunate that there is no enclosure.

<sup>4</sup> Skene, in the Preface to his edition of Fordun, Edin., 1871, vol. i. p. xxi., dates the Glasgow MS. 1478-96.

<sup>5</sup> Sibbald had asked for an account of Calderwood's refutation of Spottiswood in the large MS. of Calderwood in Glasgow University Library.

<sup>6</sup> There is no clue to what this MS. was. There is no MS. of Wyntoun at Glasgow. Sibbald writes: 'I take it to differ from Winton.'

being just going away and my father under a violent pain of the gravel, that has continoued 8 hours already with[out] any abatment, & is yet upon him. I shall not fail to send you in a parcell of these fossiles as soon as the louness of the rivulet permits them to be had. I desire you may doe me the favour to give me an accompt quher I shall direct my letters soe as they may find. Ane accompt of any neu books or discovrys you have latly heard of would be very much oblidging to, Sir, your very humble servant,

Glasgow, Sept. 8, '99.

R. W.

#### IX. For Dr SIBBALD <sup>1</sup>

Honoured Sir,

Being very much straitned in time yesterday by Mr Sutherlands being in hast and otherwayes, I sent you not these inscriptions, quich nou receive inclosed. I would gladly have your thoughts upon them, particularly the first and latter end of the 3rd about quich I am not as yet satisfied. Yesterday a freind of mine heer died, & this day I am taken up about her burial, else I would have troubled you longer then I have done. Your demands, Sir, are very acceptable to me, and if you will put any service in my hand that I can perform heer, it shall be done to the outmost of my pouer. Ane accompt per post or any other occasion of that peice you wer speaking of that classed the shells and fossils, and your own thoughts about their origine would be very acceptable to, Sir, your to his pouer,

R. W.

Sept. 9, '99.

#### X. For Mr ROBERT STEUART at Utrecht <sup>2</sup>

D. C., I have taken the occasion of the comming of Mr Smith and Mr Shau to begg the favour of a line from

<sup>1</sup> This is answered by Sibbald's letter of November 11, Quarto i. 59, which is printed in *Analecta Scotica*, ii. 133-4.

<sup>2</sup> No answer found. A nephew of the Lord Advocate. He was afterwards Regent and the first Professor of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh. Grant, ii. 348. For later correspondence with Wodrow see Wodrow Soc. *Correspondence*, vol. i. pp. 17-20.

you nou and then as laizour and opportunity permitte. If once I kneu it to be acceptable, I shall not fail to give you ane accompt of affairs heer as far as they come to my ears. Our ships for Caledonia are not as yet sailed. Mr Mcay, on of the Counselours of Caledonia, is come over & gives accompt that our country men are all in good health, and that from December to May only one dyed ther. As to the ship he was to have brought over and the de-seigned plott, ther is litle thing but silence quhich causes some thoughts of heart heer. Our markets are falling apace and the harvest almost over. Pray give my service to Mr James Steuart,<sup>1</sup> & James Maxwell<sup>2</sup> and tell him that his aunt Bessy Maxwell dyed heer on the 8 instant of a flux, on the 9 shee was transported to Pollock, and on the 11 buried at Eastwood. All freinds heer are in good health, & earnestly expecting to hear of your safe arivall. It would be a special favour to me to have ane accompt of the state of religion and learning in Holland from you—quhat sort of philosophy is regnant in the Universalits &c.; as also a character of Le Clerck, quhat is thought of him by the learned with you, in quhat station & of quhat nation he is, of quhat are his writings &c.; if Deism has gote any considerable footing in the provinces; the state, numbers & customes of the Jeues. Ane accompt of these and of any advances made in learning, neu inventions, any curiouse late books, particularly of Du Hamels Hist. acad. scientiarum,<sup>3</sup> as time and laizour allowes, would be a neu obligation added to many you have laid on me already, quhich shall never be forgotten by, D. C., your very much oblidged and humble servant,

R. W.

Sept. 15, '99.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot identify him certainly among so many of that name. He is not in *Album Studiosorum Academiae Rheno-Traiectinae*, 1886.

<sup>2</sup> Second Laird of Blawarthill. There is an account of him in Fraser (Sir W.), *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok*, Edin., 1863, vol. i. pp. 432-3. His studies abroad are mentioned there, but he is not in *Album Studiosorum Academiae Rheno-Traiectinae*, 1886.

<sup>3</sup> Du Hamel (J. B.). *Regiae Scientiarum Academiae historia*. Parisiis, 1698.

XI. For Mr Archdeacon NICHOLSON, at Salkeld near Penrith in Cumberland, by North-Allerton <sup>1</sup>

Reverend and Learned Sir,

I received your letters and the oblidging present of books to the Library, for quhich I, in the name of the masters of the Universality, return you hearty thanks.<sup>2</sup> I for my part shall take care to have your name inserted among the benefactours of the Library. I cannot but begg your pardon for being soe long in returning you deserved thanks for you[r] kind letter to me & present to the Library. The reason in part of this omission was my oft being out of toun in the time of our vacance, & in part I deferred this till I hoped to be in case to give you some farther accompt and some specimina of these Saxon coins I spoke of. But things not succeeding as I could heartily have wished, I could deferre noe longer my writting to you. As to the coins, I have as yet gote none of them for my self, but the Principle<sup>3</sup> has gote 5 or 6 for the Library quhich Mr Sutherland has att present to take the inscriptions of. I hope ere this time he has given you a better accompt of them then I am in case to doe. I assure you, Sir, that any of them I can fall upon that are doubles to quhat we have already, shall be sent to you. As to the formed stones, I have fallen upon noe different kinds. Only I have some of these you name *Entrochus interior rotulis prominulis*,<sup>4</sup> hollou in the midle quite throu like a peice of pipe. I am much oblidged to you for the names you have given me, I not having seen that book of Mr Lhuyd<sup>5</sup> or any that classed them. As

<sup>1</sup> This answers letters of August 26 and 28, Quarto i. 56-57. It is answered, Q. i. 60.

<sup>2</sup> This donation is recorded in the Donation Book and is printed in *Munimenta*, iii. 445, as follows: 'Mr. William Nicholson, Archdeacon of Carlile, gave: Chronicon Saxonicum ex MSS. codicibus primum edidit ac Latinum fecit E. Gibsone, 4to Oxoniae, 1692; Heptateuchus, Liber Job, Evangelium Nicodemi, Anglo Saxonice, nunc primum edidit e MSS. codicibus Eduardus Thwaites, 4to Oxoniae, 1698.'

<sup>3</sup> Mr. William Dunlop, Principal of Glasgow University.

<sup>4</sup> Lhuyd (1760), No. 1136.

<sup>5</sup> Lhuyd (E.). E. L. . . . *Lithophylacii Britannici ichnographia*. Lond., 1699.

to his hypothesis, it seems pretty enough, but if I mistake not may be lyable to its own inconveniencies. As to Mr Wodwards hypothesis,<sup>1</sup> I joyn with the sentiment you told me you wer of that he has rather raised our desires then satisfied our hopes, at least by that quhich we have ; we shall hope the best (& that justly from soe great a man) of that quhich is to come. I am very desirouse to hear if we may expect his large theory,<sup>1</sup> in quhich he promises to doe such things, & in my humble opinion he will doe much if he answer the objections that appear at first veu to them that read quhat he has already given us.

I have a prospect of getting some moe Roman inscriptions on stone for our Library, of quhich I shall, quhen they come to my hand, give you ane accompt. Ther is one already come to my hand, but is miserably broken. The remainders of the inscription are as folloues . . . on quhich I begg your thoughts quhen your laizour alloues.<sup>2</sup> Among our MSS. we have on quhich I forgote ill to let you see quhen heer, that is D: Calderwoods Ecclesticall History of Scotland, in 6 vols. in folio.<sup>3</sup> Ther is a compend of it printed, but it is but very ill done. I belive ther is noe other compleat copy extant but this one. Reverend Sir, if I could be any way servicable to furthering the desing I hear you are upon of your Historicall Library, I would count it a happiness to be employed in it by you, it being a

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<sup>1</sup> Woodward (J.). *An essay towards a natural history of the earth. . . . With an account of the . . . Deluge.* Lond., 1695. His 'large theory' is a proposed revision of the above. It is mentioned as his 'larger work' in W. Nicolson's letter to Wootton printed in *Letters . . . to and from W. Nicolson.* Lond., 1809, i. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Nicolson's reply helps to identify this inscription: 'Your Roman inscription proves that Lollius Urbicus was sometime near the place where this monument was found, and may be some help towards the determining the grand controversy (which has so long been bandy'd betwixt the antiquaries of both kingdoms) who were the founders and restorers of the two famous walls.' It is figured in *Monumenta Romani Imperii . . . in Academia Glasguensi*, pl. 8, and Macdonald, *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, 3rd. ed., 1934, p. 405. In this letter Nicolson sends to Wodrow some notes, 'Valla varia ad mentem Camdeni aliorumque.' Quarto i. 60.

<sup>3</sup> See *infra*, p. 39 n. 4.

desing none I knou of has fallen on since Baleus,<sup>1</sup> quich I doubt not but you have. I have a great mind to attean somquhat of the Saxon language, that I may be in some better case than I am at present to use the Chronicle & Heptateuch, & particularly for the better understanding our Highlands. I begg your directions in this study. I have noe grammer or dictionary, neither have I seen any. I would gladly have your thoughts of the best in this kind that I may procure them. Ane accompt of any neu books, discoveryes or advances in learning you see or have account of would be a superadded tye to those you have already laid me under, quich shall never be forgotten by, Sir, your very much oblidged & very humble servant, R. W.

Sept. 28, '99.

## XII. For Mr Archdeacon NICOLSON <sup>2</sup>

Reverend and Learned Sir,

I received your of the 9 current on the 19. I cannot but give you hearty thanks for your communicating to me your learned notes on the different Roman Walls,<sup>3</sup> quich as it has been usfull to you will be much more to me, that am soe unskilled & need soe much help in these matters, & I shall still look upon it and such like as one of the greatest advantages of having acquaintance and correspondence with such a learned and withall such a communicative person as you are. Our Principle is at present abroad, but 'as soon as he returns I shall not fail to give your respects to him and shall endeavour to procure either from himself by a line ane accompt of quhat Scots coines he has, or at lest get ane accompt of them from him and transmitt it to you. As to quhat you desire that I may compare the MSS. of Calderwood and the print, you may assure yourself that your desires to me are the strickest

<sup>1</sup> Bale (J.). *Scriptorum illustrium Majoris Britanniae . . . catalogus*. Basiliæ, 1557-59.

<sup>2</sup> An answer to Quarto i. 60. Answered Q. i. 65.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, p. 25 n. 2.

bonds, and as soon as a litle task that is put in my hand of renewing and mending our catalouges is over, I shall doe it and give you ane accompt quherin the printed peice is most deficient. Receive with this *Calendarium lunæ perpetuum*<sup>1</sup> &c. done by one of our professours of philosophy heer, Mr John Lau, quhich if it can do you any service I have my end, if not, pardon the ill choice of the mean, the end was good. Being at present a litle straitned by the going off of this occasion, entreating the continuance of your correspondence as oft as time & laizour permitte, I begg leave to subscribe, Reverend Sir, yours to the outmost of my pouer,

R. W.

Oct. 23, '99.

### XIII. For Sir ROB. SIBBALD<sup>2</sup>

Honoured Sir,

This comes to your hands to perform the promise I made to you quhen heer, to send in a specimen of these fossiles I spoke to you of. I gave you ane accompt of the nature of the ground quher they are found, soe I need add nothing as to that. You have some of the most part of the species I ever mett with, and quhen any neu species occur to me I shall transmitt them to you. I observe that, as narrowly as I could try, these of them that are in the same deepth in the earth are of very different specificall weight. Quhat this may say against Mr Wodwards hypothesis I leave to you to determine. I would have sent them to you much sooner but I wanted a safe hand. It would be a renewed obligation put on me if you would let me hear by post your thoughts on the different numbers I with this send you, and on their origine, with your opinion of the cause or causes of petrification or rather petrification. Ther is just nou come to my hands a large clear Roman inscription with very curiouse sculpture about it, but as yet

<sup>1</sup> Published at Glasgow, 1699. Aldis 3860.

<sup>2</sup> Sibbald's answer of November 11, Quarto i. 59, is printed in *Analecta Scotica*, ii. 133-4.



I can give you but ane imperfect accompt of it, and so I deferr it to ane other occasion.<sup>1</sup> A line from you with ane accompt of any discovrys or advances in learning &c. would be very acceptable to me. I trouble you noe further but begg leave to subscribe my self, Honoured Sir, yours to the outmost of my pouer,

R. W.

Oct. 28, '99.

Pray give my respects to the learnd and curiouse Mr Sutherland.

#### XIV. For Mr JAMES WALLACE quhen going for London

Nov. 17, 1699.<sup>2</sup>

D. C.,

Upon your generouse & kind undertaking of the trouble of the inclosed catolouge of books, I have nou given you it. I think it will not be ill you drop to Smith or Welford<sup>3</sup> that they are to a Publick Library, & many of them, if easy, may be bought. I desire he may give the prices, if he can, even of these of them he has noe copies of, and let them be all in English money, & of books unbound; at lest be at the trouble to mark these that are bound, and these he has not, and all that are not marked I will take for granted he has & that unbound. As to the books befor, you may have their prices at A. Bells<sup>4</sup> or any quher because they are all almost published this and the last year. I hope you will give me accompt of the prices of these marked thus X by post as soon as you can. For the rest you may send down with J. Good or any Glasgou merchant. I desire you may, as occasion serves, enquire at book sellers, ministers or others about the following things, and send me an accompt per post or otherwise:—

<sup>1</sup> Not copied and not found. Probably one of the stones now in the Hunterian Museum.

<sup>2</sup> The answer of December 26, 1699, Quarto iii. 19, is printed in *Analecta Scotica*, ii. 357.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Smith was in partnership with Benjamin Walford. Plomer, pp. 276, 298.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Bell. Plomer, p. 28.

whither ther be any hopes of Basnage *Histoire de l'église* <sup>1</sup> being translated in to English (it favours our presbyterian goverment much); if ther be any about to answer Mr Jamison, Dr Rule or Mr Forresters peices <sup>2</sup>; who are the authors of the *History of the Works of the Learned* <sup>3</sup>; quhat station Grabe at Oxford, the author of *Specilegium Patrum*, &c., is, & quhat is thought of the book <sup>4</sup>; if his edition of Ireneus <sup>5</sup> be come out with its price, or quhen it may be expected; if Wells Geographicall mapps, antient and modern, <sup>6</sup> are in much accompt, with their price; if the Abridgment of the Philosophicall Transactions <sup>7</sup> promised [in] *History [of the] Workes of the Learned*, June, be come out, or quhen we may expect it & by quhom it is done; quhat is thought of *Catologus universalis librorum* &c. & who is its author <sup>8</sup>; ane accompt of the Theosophical Society <sup>9</sup> quhat is thought of them, with the names of the leading persons among them; quhat is become of Geo. Keith and his party <sup>10</sup>; if ther be any hope of Mr Crosse (*Pasletensis*) <sup>11</sup> his book called *Ars Tæghmica* on the

<sup>1</sup> Basnage de Beauval (J.). *Histoire de l'église*. Rotterdam, 1699.

<sup>2</sup> William Jamieson, the blind Professor of History at Glasgow; Gilbert Rule, Principal of the University of Edinburgh; Thomas Forrester, Principal of St. Mary's or New College, St. Andrews.

<sup>3</sup> Wallace does not know all the authors, but names George Ridpath as one.

<sup>4</sup> Grabe (J. E.). *Spicilegium SS. Patrum*. 2 vols. Oxoniæ, 1698-99. For an account of him see *D. N. B.*

<sup>5</sup> Published at Oxford in 1702. It was announced in *The History of the Works of the Learned*, Lond., 1699, pp. 122, 188.

<sup>6</sup> Wells (E.), D.D. *A new set of mapps both of ancient and present geography*. Oxford, 1702. It was advertised in *H. of W. of L.*, p. 188, March, 1699. It was to be issued in parts.

<sup>7</sup> *The Philosophical Transactions . . . to the end of the year 1700, abridged . . . by J. Lowthorp*. 3 vols. Lond., 1705.

<sup>8</sup> Wallace does not know the author. It is usually credited to the publisher, John Hartley.

<sup>9</sup> In his letter of March 21, 1700, Quarto i. 80, Wallace says 'They were a composition of Deists & Philadelphians.'

<sup>10</sup> For an account of him see *D. N. B.* Wallace reports that Keith 'is long broke off from the Quakers & has received the sacrament of the Church of England.' Quarto i. 75.

<sup>11</sup> Wallace says that there is no hope of it, but there is such a book: Cross (Walter), *The taghmical art*, Lond., 1698.

Hebreu accents, of quhich A. Bell can give you accompt for he printed a specimen of it ; if the 2nd Spira <sup>1</sup> be ane imposture ; who is the author of the Turkish Spy ; if Mr Smith and Walford have printed any catologes of their books since the '95 quhich I have—if they have send it me with the first sure hand. I desire you may buy Dr Arbuthnets Reflections on Mr Wodwards Hypothesis <sup>2</sup> and Dan. Clasenii Theologia Gentilis ex fonte Scripturarum orta 8vo, Francof., 1684.<sup>3</sup> This last may be had at S. Smith, and send with the first sure hand to me.

At auctions or 2nd hand shopes, or otherwise, if you can fall on any of the underwritten books, by them at these prices. R. Maimonides More Nevochim <sup>4</sup> at 01—10—00 ; Diog. Laert. de vitis philosophorum Græc. Lat. Genev., 1615 at 01—04—00 ; Shottii Cursus mathematicus <sup>5</sup> at 02—08—00 ; Wallis Grammatica Anglicana <sup>6</sup> at 16 or 18 pence, Scots money all. I am yours, &c., R. W.

#### XV. For Mr Archdeacon NICHOLSONE <sup>7</sup>

Glasgow, Dec. 21, '99.

Reverend and Learned Sir,

Yesterday Mr Whittingdale let me see yours to him of the 7 current, much of quhich related to me. I acknouledge I have been much out of my deuty in not getting these notes about Calderwood ready befor this time, yet want not some kind of excuse. I have been since my last soe

<sup>1</sup> *A true Second Spira . . . being an impartial account of . . . Mr. Halford*, etc. Lond., 1697. Wallace says he was an impostor, Quarto i. 80. There is also a book called *The Second Spira*, etc. Lond., 1693. But Wodrow refers probably to the more recent book.

<sup>2</sup> Arbuthnott (J.). *An examination of Mr. Woodward's account of the Deluge*. Lond., 1697.

<sup>3</sup> Clasen (D.). *D. Clasenii Theologia Gentilis*. Francofurti, 1684.

<sup>4</sup> Maimonides (M.). *More nevochim, sive doctor perplexorum, nunc . . . in linguam Latinam . . . conversus a J. Buxtorfio, fil.* Basilæ, 1629.

<sup>5</sup> Schott (G.). *P. G. S. . . . Cursus mathematicus*. Herbipdi, 1661.

<sup>6</sup> Wallis (J.). *Grammatica linguæ Anglicanæ*. Oxon., 1653.

<sup>7</sup> Answered January 13, 1700, Quarto i. 66. Whittingdale's letter is not in Q. i., but this letter answers some of the questions in Nicolson's letter, Q. i. 65.

taken up in catolouging the books heer that have been bought this while and fitting my accounts with the Faculty,<sup>1</sup> that I have gote noe time almost to my self. I doubt not but this may be a kind of excuse with you. I resolve nou to fall to the comparing the two Calderwoods at any spare time I can get, for my bussiness with the masters as yet and till the beginning of the nixt moneth is not over. I shall make all the hast that possibly I can in drauing up these notes. You desire only that I should give you ane account of the omissions in each book or chapter nou; the printed Calderwood has noe divisions but a continued tract of history only distinguished by the years, and our MSS. wants these for the most part, soe that, without reading the 2 peices, I am a litle difficulted hou to get ane exact accompt of the difference of the two peices. The first vol. of our MSS. conteans nothing almost that is in the print, unlesse it be about 80 or 100 pages, quhich in the print is conteaned from page 14-30. I desire you may give me ane accompt quhat methode I shall take and quhat things you desire most to be satisfied in, and I shall endeavour to satisfie you as soon as possible. I give you heer in terminis the inscription after the title-page of the 1. vol. of our MSSs: 'This work comprehended in — pages is collected out of Mr Knox his history and his memorials gathered for the continuation of his history, out of Mr James Melvil his observations, Mr John David-sone his diarie, the Acts of the Generall Assemblies & Acts of Parliament, and out of sevrall proclamations and scrolls of diverse, and comprehendeth ane historie from the beginning of the reinge of K. James the 5 to the death of K. James the 6th, but is contracted and digested in a better order in a work of 3 volumes bound in parchment and comprehended in 2013 pages, out of quhich work contracted is extracted another contracted in lesser bounds, but wanting nothing in substance and comprehended in — pages, quhich the author desireth only to be com-

<sup>1</sup> As Quaestor, an office which usually went with that of Librarian. Wodrow's certificate, when the accounts were passed, is dated January 27, 1700. See *supra*, p. 4 n. 3.

municated to others, and this, with the other contracted in 3 vols., to serve only for defense of the thrid and preservation of the story in case it be lost.' This, I suppose, will not be altogether usless to you, soe I have given you the trouble of it. I shall take care to get all the nottice I can about that Will. Scott <sup>1</sup> Petrie <sup>2</sup> speaks of, quhom I take not to be Calderwood as far as I yet have compared them.

The curiouse Mr Ed. Lhuyd <sup>3</sup> has been heer this day and is gone to Ireland by the way of Kintyre. He tels me he wrote to you from Bathgate, soe I need say noe more of him only he will be at Oxford at July, laden with curiouse rarities. I have gote another Roman stone to the Library,<sup>4</sup> the copy of quhich you shall have per nixt. I hope to hear from you as soon as laizour from your task permitts. I would gladly knou quhen we may expect our Scots Historicall Library. This, and if time allou, directions for attean[ing] somquhat of the Saxon, with ane accompt of neu books or discoveries will extreemly oblige yours to the outmost of his pouer,

R. W.

## XVI. Queries and things to be done in the Western Highlands <sup>5</sup>

1. Ane interpretation of the nouns in Mr Ray's Dictionary trilingue,<sup>6</sup> with the addition of the verbs and adjectives in our ordinary vocables.

2. A catologue of touns, castles, villages, mountains,

<sup>1</sup> Scott (William). *An apologeticall narration*. It was printed in 1846 for the Wodrow Society. Scott was Minister of Cupar. *Fasti*, v. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie (Alex.). *A compendious history of the Catholic Church*. Hague, 1662.

<sup>3</sup> Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and author of *Archæologia Britannica*. Oxford, 1707.

<sup>4</sup> See *infra*, Letter XXV.

<sup>5</sup> This set of queries is very fully answered by the Rev. John Fraser in Quarto ii. 2, printed in *Analecta Scotica*, i. 117-20. The 'elf arroues' were flint arrow heads.

<sup>6</sup> Ray (J.). *Dictionariolum trilingue . . . nominibus Anglicis, Latinis, Græcis, ordine παραλληλως dispositis*. Lond., 1675, etc.

vales, loches & rivers within 10 or 20 miles (of the person) with an interpretation of much of these names as are indoubitably inteligible; and queries about the origine of others.

3. Some accompt of the barrous or artificial mounts, of monumtental stones, whither these inscribed with letters or other carving, or these placed in a circular order, or vast stones placed on the topes of others pitched in the ground.

4. Ane accompt of the amulets and charmes &c. viz. adder-stones, toad-stones, cock-knee-stones, snail-stones, mole-stones, *leag*,<sup>1</sup> elf arroues, and the like, with any other relations that fall under this head. It were to be wished that one might have as many of them as easily can be procured.

5. Any coin, fibula or other old brasse, silver &c. utensile; small stones of any peculiar figure (whither natural or artificial) would be procured.

6. The peculiar games and customes observed on set dayes throughout the year, or any other fashions peculiar to the Highlanders. (Mr Edw. Lhuyd has 3 sheets of the customes and rites of the Highlands quhich he procured from some correspondent in Scotland.)

7. A catologue of the Highland poets of note and of all other writers of quhat sort soever in the Scottish-Irish, quhen they flourished, quhat they writte, hou large their works, with the three or 4 initiall and finall words, and quher their works may be seen at presentt.

8. A catologue of Christian names purly Irish, both ancient and modern, with a mark of distinction to those still in use.

. . . . .

A catalogue of the touns, villages, castles, mountains, valleys, rivers, brooks and lochs in Cluidsdale. To be left at Mr Walter Thomas at Bernards Lond.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, p. 68 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> ? MS. not clear.

XVII. For Mr JAMES PATERSON at Mistress Patersones in the Tailzours land in the Cougate <sup>1</sup>

Sir, I received yours of the 12 current from Mr Lhuyd. I am sorry Dr Sibbald and Mr Lhuyd are soe far deceived in giving you such undeserved character of me. I assure you, Sir, my progresse in Natural History is not worth the naming, far lesse the commending, and raising a desire in you of acquaintance & corresponding with me. I knou these learned gentlmen, from the pleasure they find in the study of Natural History, are much given to the cherishing any faint desires they meet in any towards this very considerable part of learning, and are ready rather to magnify then diminish them. I cannot indeed deny that my inclinations still led me to this, but the want of opportunities for making experiments, of learned persons to guide me in them, and time to make observations, & most of all a head for making any progresse in this study, has hindred my making any proficiency in it; soe that I wonder much that these learned persons have been soe far deceived. I heartily wish I were in case for communicating discoveries with you, but things almost I meet with at any spare houre for observation are discoveries to me, I knou so litle already. Since then I knou that the advantage will redound to me and the disadvantage to you, & since you have been soe kind as to offer to correspond with me, I heartily accept of your offer, only expect not to find such proficiency in Natural History as these gentlmen have been pleased to represent. Any thing I can give you in heer shall be done to the outmost of my pouer.

Mr Lhuyd is gone from this place this morning for

<sup>1</sup> Probably the James Paterson who graduated at Edinburgh in 1697. He is referred to by Wodrow as a scholar of James Sutherland. *Infra*, p. 87. He was made Keeper of the College Museum at Edinburgh ('to oversee and take care of the rarities in the said College') by appointment of May 5, 1699. [*Town Council Records*.] He went to England as tutor in 1702, but his health declined, he gave up his studies and died in January 1705. See Quarto ii. 7-9 and Q. iii. 73.

Campbltoun. He came by Bathgate Hills and was soe extreamly kind as to bring me a specimen of the fossiles there, viz. several kinds of Entrochi, a peice of the Fungites and Fasciculus tubulorum & a peice of his Lythostrocion (not so fine as that in his Lythophylacium by far) or Basaltes minor variegatus; this with a peice of a Pinna marina is all the kinds he gote. These, all but the first, are strangers about this place, quher I find scarse any other kinds but Dr Sibbald had from me, to quhich I refeir you; and once a Modiolus, some Glossopatræ and Cornua Hammonis, quhich are but litle. Of any that are found near this place that you desire, you may if you please have a specimen. I would gladly hear if you meet with any impressions of plants on coal or the slate above it; quhat fossiles you meet with and quhat depth, and if in lime stone (all I find heer are in a soft bleu till) with a specimen of all the sorts you can spare any of, with the names of them. This with ane accompt of your latest neuse, neu books, discoveries in nature and art and the continouance of your correspondence by post as oft as laizour permitts, will extreamly oblidge, Sir, your affectionat freind and humble servant,

R. W.

Glasgou, December 21, '99.

My service to D. Sibbald & Sutherland. Direct for me at my chamber in the College.

#### XVIII. For Mr JAMES WALLACE <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I am very much concerned that I have not heard from you since you left this place, & the more because you wer pleased to promise to write as soon as you were arived—all my hope is that it has miscaried by post, tho this be but a slender twigg to hang on, because for ordinary the post is secure enough. Houever I would fain hope the best. I have taken the freedom as to recomend Mr Jo. Main <sup>2</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> This seems to have crossed with Wallace's letter of December 26, 1699. It is answered on March 21, 1700, Quarto i. 75.

<sup>2</sup> There was a John Main, a student of theology at Glasgow in 1692, in the same class as A. Wodrow, R. Macaulay and George Park, Wodrow's brother and 'comrades.' *Munimenta*, iii. 241.



bearer to you. He is an intimate comrad of mine and has feu or noe acquaintances at London. I hope you will doe him any kindness you can. He is far above my recommendation, soe I say noe more of him. All comrads heer are well. My brother, Mr Paislay, Mr Love<sup>1</sup> give their service, and as I am, soe they are impatient to hear of your safe arivall at London. I can give you noe neuse about our Caledonia bussiness, but peaples spirits are in a great fermentation about it. Mr M<sup>c</sup>ai is gone with a litle veshell & 2 more are shortly to follou. We are all impatient to hear of Capt. Gibsons arivall at Caledonia.<sup>2</sup>

I entreat you may send down the prices of the books I marked to you, and answers to the queries, as soon as conveniency allowes, if (as I hope they are) they be not on their way by this time. None of your books but Boyle at 01—06—00 are gone of, but I am puting them in a 2nd time to the auction. This with my service to all acquaintance with you, particularly Mr Foster,<sup>3</sup> is all at presentt from your affectionate comrade and servant,

R. WODROW.

Jan. 3, 1700.

#### XIX. For Mr JA. PATERSON<sup>4</sup>

Sir, I received your of Janry. 11. current. As to quhat Dr Sibbald desires, I can give but a lame accompt. Mr Lhyud was heer but one night. He told me of noe neu discoveries he made on the Roman Wall. He was a night

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Wodrow; Robert Paisley, ordained to Stewarton in 1704. *Fasti*, iii. 126; William Love, educated at Glasgow and Edinburgh; M.A. of Edin., 1703. *Fasti*, iii. 382.

<sup>2</sup> He sailed in the *Speedy Return* in November 1699. *Darien Papers*, p. 263. Captain Gibson in the *Rising Sun* was already in Caledonia Bay on December 23. *Darien Papers*, p. 291.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps John Foster or Forrester who was in the 4th class at Glasgow in 1694, and a student of theology there in 1699, in the same class as Robert Paisley and William Love. *Munimenta*, iii. 156, 247.

<sup>4</sup> Answers Paterson's letter of January 11, Quarto i. 71. This is answered by Paterson on March 5, Quarto i. 77.

with Castlcary,<sup>1</sup> who gave him two Roman fibulæ, and another night with Mr Charles Maitland<sup>2</sup> and got the inscription at Calder quhich you have in Dalrymples Cambden.<sup>3</sup> Of the MSS. at Castlecary he spoke not. I would gladly heer per nixt quhat that MSS. is ; perhapps I may get a sight of it if once I kneu hou to ask for it.<sup>4</sup> Mr Lhyud said to me he would write to me from Cambltoun and inclose a line to the Doctor, but since he left this place I heard noe more of him. I cannot at presentt satisfy your desire of some specimina of our fossils heer, having noe doubles by me at presentt, but if once the weather wer settled, I desing to goe a stone picking, and you shall have quhat species I can ; but for their references to Mr Lhyud's Catolouge I will not promise, not having the book by me. I long very much for the accompt of the fossiles you have by you at presentt, and I begg it as soon as other bussiness permitts. Since my last, ther is come to my hand a peice of a curiosity (part of quhich I have sent you by the bearer). You see its petrified or perhaps incrustated mosse. The place quher its thus changed is about 7 or 8 miles from this. My author tells me he tryed sevrall sorts of vegitable under this petrifiing drope, quhich comes out of the face of a rock in a wood, and none were affected by it but this and another kind of mosse, quhich he says petrifies in 3 weeks or a moneth. Quhat truth is in thir circumstances I determine not, but if once the summer were come (if the Lord wiH) I desing to visite the place my self. In the mean time your thoughts on petrifying springs and petrification would be very acceptable to me, as also I would begg the favour of a copy of ane inscription

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Baillie of Castlecary. Sibbald calls him ' a learned gentleman well seen in the antiquities.' *Stirlingshire* (reprint, 1892), p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Brother german to the Earl of Lauderdale. He presented the Lollius Urbicus stone to the Library.

<sup>3</sup> This is a distance slab of the Second Legion. The reference is to *A second edition of Camden's Description of Scotland*. [By Sir James Dalrymple.] Edin., 1695, pp. 98-99. It is described also by Macdonald (1934), p. 369, no. 5.

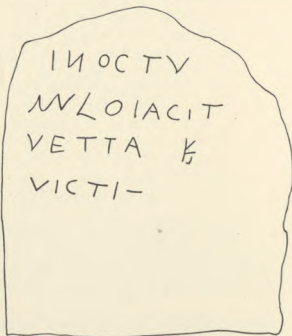
<sup>4</sup> Paterson had said that Sibbald wanted to know if Lhuyd saw a MS. there. Quarto i. 70.

Mr Lhyud let me see, and told me you wer with him at the place : I mind only this of it : *In hoc tumulo jacet.*<sup>1</sup> Be pleased to give it me as near its natural barbarity as you can with ane accompt of its circumstances and the conjectours of the learnd about it. You see quhat pains you have brought on your self by such a troublesome correspondent as you will find, Sir, your affectionate freind and humble servant,

R. W.

Jan. 26, 1700.

<sup>1</sup> Paterson gives a sketch of it (of which I give a tracing) in his letter of March 5, 1700, 'as near the copy Mr. Lhuyds companion took for me as I can do it. The country people call'd it the Catstane and the little village next it also.' Mr. Lhuyd 'thinks it may possibly be Roman. . . . Mr. L. has oft seen a circle of stones with a large stone in the middle but here we



have nothing in the middle—the stone with our inscription stands upright in the circumference of a circle compos'd of somewhat lesser stones lying flat. They are all rude and unpolish'd.' (Quarto i. 77.) Particulars from a letter by Lhuyd descriptive of the Catstane are given in *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vi. 189, but the above is an important contribution to our knowledge of the condition of the Catstane in 1700. See also *Royal Commission of Ancient and Historical Monuments . . . of Scotland*, 10th Report, Midlothian and West Lothian, Edin., 1929, No. 130.

PS.—I have taken the boldness to recommend to you the bearer Mr Alexr. Dunlop<sup>1</sup> son to our Principle. He is an intimate comrad of mine and I hope he will not be the worse treated by you on this score. He will be curiouse to see your collection of rarities, soe I hope quhen your conveniency allowes you will grant him this favour. Pray give my service to Dr Sibbald and Mr Sutherland, and let me hear from you as oft and as soon as conveniency allowes.

R. W.

XX. For Mr Archdeacon NICHOLSON<sup>2</sup>

Reverend and Learned Sir,

I received yours of Novem. 30 on Jan. 11 by a carier with your very acceptable present of the 3rd part of your Historicall Library, the reading of quhich makes me long to see your peice of the same nature for Scotland; as also your by post of Jan. 13.<sup>3</sup> I am much affected to hear that the state of your health is soe bruckle and you are indisposed soe much as you tell me, the learnd wordle being by this deprived of that time you use to soe much advantage. I come nou to give you what you are pleased to require of me, a kind of imperfect collation of the two Calderwoods.<sup>4</sup> My throng of bussiness at this time has made it much more overly than you might have had it in the time of our vacance. But rather then not obey

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Professor of Greek at Glasgow.

<sup>2</sup> The answer to this of February 29, 1700, is in Quarto i. 73.

<sup>3</sup> Wodrow errs in the dates. Nicolson wrote on November 20 (Quarto i. 65) and January 19 (Q. i. 66).

<sup>4</sup> The original MS. of the first and fullest, but imperfect, form of the History to 1586 (all that survives), and of a second contracted, but still very full and complete form to 1625, belonged to the family of Calderwood of Polton and was presented to the British Museum by Thomas Calderwood of Polton in 1765. The Glasgow MS. is a composite form copied from the three volumes of the largest MS., and as much of the second MS. as was necessary to complete the History. This copy was made in 1692 at the expense of the University of Glasgow. The Wodrow Society edition is printed from the second MS. Wodrow's description in this letter is printed pretty fully, but not always verbatim, in Nicolson's *Scottish Historical Library*, 1702, pp. 197-203. The printed edition with which the MS. is compared is *The true history of the Church of Scotland, from the beginning of the Reformation, unto the end of the reign of King James VI.* . . . Written by . . . Mr. David Calderwood, n. p., 1678.

your comands and desires quhich to me are all on, I have given it you imperfect as it is.

Our MSS. as I told you is in 6 vols. in folio, the first quherof 'comprehends ane Introduction and the History from the beginning of K. James the 5th his reing 1513 to Queen Mary her mariage with the Lord Darnley 1565.'

The preface in the print as you see is the Dutch editors. Instead of this our MSS. begins with a large Introduction, consisting of about 20 sheets or more, quher our author accounts for the time quhen, and the persons by whom this island was first planted, and brings doun our Scottish history from that time to K. James the 5. Then he insists on our warrs with forraing potentates—Romans, Danes, Saxons, English, Irish & French, both inward and outward. In the nixt place he comes to speak of our antient honorary titles, & on this head he cites a 'MSS. sent from Colme Kill to Mr G. Buchanan, the copy quherof his servitour and writter John Reid kepted.' Out of this he cites a passage importing that ann. 1061 a parliament at Forfar appointed sirnames to be taken from lands and posessions, and created earles, barrons or lords, and knights. After this, our author comes to give accompt quhen Christianity was planted heer and brings doun the ecclesiastick history of these times to K. James the 4th his death. The print you see has nothing of this. After this our author gives us the History of K. James the 5th from an. 1514 to 1542, from page 49-132. Heer in his accompt of Mr Pat. Hamiltoun, our Scottish protomartyr, he cites a treatise of the said Mr Patrick's 'quhich on John Frith translated out of Latin with the title of Patrick's Places, because it was comone places of Divinity,' as he sayes in his preface, quhich our author inserts. Heer also he gives us a transcript of 'the sentence pronounced against Mr Patrick Hamiltoun, as also of the Congratulatory Letter of the Doctors of Lovain to the Archbishop of St. Andreus and Doctors of Scotland commending them for the death of the said Mr Patrick. Our author goes on to give accompt of all that any way opposed the then established religion as Alexr. Alesius, Mr John Fife, Dr Mcabeus comonly called Mcalpie, who wer

forced to flee to Germany and were famed for their learning at Leipswick. The first was in great accompt with Luther and Melancton, & came over to England and fell in with the Lord Cromwell, who introduced him into the Convocation 1537, quher he oposed the then current doctrine of the Sacraments. Among these that [were] forced to leave this kingdome he reacons Buchanan. He gives us a copy of verses of the Earl of Glencairn against the hypocrisy of the Freirs, quhich are smart abundantly. He gives accompt of two brethren, James & Mr John Wedderburns. The first wrote many comedies and tragedies, as John the Baptist, Dyonysius the Tyrrant in the Scottish tongue, quherin he nipped the papists. Mr John was forced to flee to Germany quher 'he translated many of Luthers dytmments and the psalms of David into Scottish meeter, and turned many obscene songs and rymes into godly hymns.'

From p. 132 to 252 we have the history under Cardinall Beaton anno 1542, and Governour Hamiltoun from 1543-1554. Heer we have a very large accompt of Mr George Wishart his doctrine, his dispute with one John Lauder before the Cardinall and Bishops ad longum, of his execution & the slaughter of the Cardinall. Heer he begins to give accompt of Mr Knox & particularly his dispute at large with the subprior and Arbuckle. Heer he gives a large accompt of the martyrdome of Adam Wallace, with his defences and debates with his accusers.

Our author comes nixt to give our history under the Queen Regent, from ann. '54—her death 1560, from p. 253-571. Heer he gives a large accompt of the 'contentions of the English congregation at Francfort, of Mr Knox his being called to that place & the using the English Service Book,' of which he gives an abstract. 'Some of this,' he sayes he takes out of a book intituled 'A breife discovery of the troubles of Mr Knox for opposing the English Service Book in the year 1554.' Nixt he gives Knox his appellation from the sentence of the clergy and his supplication to the nobility, estates, and community of Scotland 1558, quhich we have at the end of Knox Chronicle. Heer he gives sevrall letters of bonds &c. from the Nobility & others

to the Queen, Knox &c., quhich I find not in Knox and doubt if they are elsquher extant. You see the history of all this time is conteaned in 13 pages of the print, soe I have been the longer on it.

The author then gives our history under Queen Mary from an. '60-'65, from p. 571-902, quhich ends this volume. Heer he gives the Confession of faith made July 17, 1560, with a preface quhich the print wants. But to make up this, the MSS. wants the marginall scriptures you find in the print, otherwise they exactly agree. Under this year we have the accompt of our first Assembly, and our MSS. is large in his accompts of the Assemblies afterward, of which I say nothing.

Under the year '61 we have the Books of Discipline at large from p. 629-700, quhich under the year '60 in the print are compendized p. 24-29. In this part ther are a great many curiouse letters as one from Queen Mary to the Councill of Trent &c., conferences between the Queen & Knox, remonstrances of the Lords & others, debates about the Books of Discipline, Church rental and benifices and other curiouse enough subjects neither in the print Calderwood or Knox, with severall touches at State affairs.

The 2nd vol. 'comprehends the history from 1565, quhen Queen Mary married the Lord Darnly, to the accusation of the Earl of Mortoun for treason Dec. 1580' conteaning 614 pages. Under the year '66 ther is a large accompt of David Rizio's præctises and end, and sevrall particulars relating to Bothuel and the then king. Under this year in the print p. 40 we have a citation out of Knox; hou it comes in I see not—I find it not in the MSS. In the first vol. p. 717 our author transcribes the preface to Knox his 4th book, but our MSS. has nothing like the words in the print: 'Mr Knox in his 4th book which he penned this year in May.'

In the year '67 ther are many curiouse things relating to State affairs, the kings murder, Bothwells marriage, the coronation of K. James with the Queens letters of procura-tion for that effect, Bothwells flight, and a large accompt of the parliament hold in Dec. this year, quher the author

observes that the Acts of this parliament were printed this year as also 1575, but the 19 and twentyth Acts afterwards wer omitted, quherfor he set them down. The first is 'anent the retention of our Sovraing Lords mothers person,' the other 'anent the keeping the kings mother in the house and fortalice of Lochlevin.' Upon this I consulted the Acts of Parliament and find these, comonly called the Black Letter Acts, printed this year have these two Acts (and as I am informed they have severall other that the after impressions want). But these 1597 want them, as also our best impression Edin. 1681 want them. The authour observes that 'Buchanan wrote this year his peice De jure regni & in the year 1579 dedicated it to the then young king.' Our author heer censures Cambden for saying in his Annalls 'that the Queen and Comissioners made light accompt of the letters, contracts, Acts of Parliament and Buchanans Discovery and Detection,' and subjoyns a defence of that book out of a letter written by one in London to his freind and then printed with this title: 'The copy of a letter from on in London to his freind concerning the credite of the late published Detection of the doings of Lady Mary of Scotland.'

Under the year '69 our author gives us a copie of a declaration of one Nicolas Houard, called Paris, a French man, about the murder of the Kings father, at quhich he was presentt with the Lord Bothwell, given of his own free will at St. Andreus Agust 9, '69, quherin the Queen and Bothwell are made guilty.

Under the year '70, our MSS. gives a large accompt of the 'corruptions of the Convention Jan. 2nd at Leith of superintendents, comissioners from touns &c.' and their truckling over to the Regents party with 'the articles and formes of letters concerning provision of persons to benefices and speciall promotions then agreed on'—in sevrall sheets from 305-336.

Under the year '71 ther is a large accompt of the opposition made by many to the incoming of the Tulchan Bishops, of Mr Knox his death, last words and testament. An. '74. Mr John Davison, Regent in St. Andreus, is summoned



befor the Lord Regent and Council to answer for a book writ by him against the appointing of on minister to 4 kirks intituled 'A dialogue between a clerk and a courtier,' ane answer to quhich was written by on Mr John Rutherford. Both of them made a great noise before the Assembly and Councill, and Mr Davison was banished for his book. After this we have a pretty large accompt of Mr Andrew Melvill, famed both at home and abroad. Most of his works we have in our Library in a large folio & for any thing I yet knou by his oun hand.<sup>1</sup>

Our MSS. from this year to the end is very large in his accompts of the Assemblies. You see the print is wholly taken up about them and yet is but lame, and has some reflections I find not in our MSS. Our author is shorter on thir years than on these following.

Vol. 3 'comprehends the History of the Church and State of Scotland from Jan. 1581 to July 1586 quhen Queen Mary wrote her letter to Babbingtoun quhich was seised.' Under '81 we have much relating to State affairs as also the Confession of Faith subscribed by the King this year. Our author gives us also a 'Confession of Faith drauen up in Aprile by the Archbishops & Bishops to be presented to their inferiours.' Under the Assembly this year our MSS. gives us ane accompt of the Book of Discipline its being ordered to be registrated, and gives only the title of it, quheras in the print you have it at lenth. Under the year '82 our author cites a MSS. History of Mr James Carmichael. Under the [year] '83 we have at large the K. of France his instructions sent to Scotland with his ambassador La Mott Fenelon; under the year '84 our MSS. represents Mr Pat. Adamson, Archbishop of St. Andreus, as a very wicked person, & gives account of many things laid to his charge and proven against him, quhich the print wants, and gives ad longum the Articles quhich he gave to the French Church at London and other learned men in other parts, and his misrepresentation of the Discipline of the Church of Scotland, and referrs for a

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<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, p. 60 n. 4.

further accompt of him to a poem of R. Sempill intituled The Legend of the lymmers lyfe. Mr Andrew Melvill wrote an accompt of the State of the Church of Scotland to the Church of Geneva and Zurich in answer to the said peice of Mr P. Adamson, quhich in our MSS. is inserted at large. Under this year are inserted many letters, disputes and other originall papers of quhich there is little or noe accompt in the print. Under the year '86 we have a list of all the presbitries in Scotland and the names of the parishes respective conteaned in them, as also of a letter from Queen Mary to Babingtoun done out of ciphers about her conspiracy to kill Queen Elizabeth, and her establishing popry in Brittain, with many other nottices of that princess her evil desings.

Vol. 4 'comprehends the History of the Church and State from July 1586 to Jan. 1596.' Under '86 and '87 there are many particulars touching the tryall and execution of Queen Mary worth the notticing in our MSS. Under '87 I find the learned Sr. Du Bartas comes over to K. James and goes with him to the Universality of St. Andreues, and hears some publick lessons of Mr And. Melvill & Mr P. Adamson & gives a large character to the first. The same year the coining of our old Achesons are discharged, because counterfeit in England and other parts. Heer also we have Sixtus the 5 his Declaration freing the subjects of Queen Elizabeth from their alleidgance. Under the year '88 we have a Representation made by the Assembly to the King giving an acurate accompt of the state of popery in this land at that time. Under the year '89 we have a very considerable number of letters to the King of Spain [and] Duke of Parma by the Earl of Huntly and others relating to the Spanish invasion. They are translated out of ciphers the key of quhich is inserted. Under the year '90 there are Reflections on Doctor Bancroft his sermon at Pauls Crosse in London, with a defence of Knox against his Reflections, and the Assemblies letter to Queen Elizabeth about that sermon, as also the Transactions about the Kings mariage at large. Under the year '92 many letters from the Jesuits in Scotland to their

brethren in Italy, France and Spain relative to our affairs are inserted. In this volume the author insists much on civil affaires & in most of his accompts of the Assemblies refers to the Registers quhich we have heer. The print in this decennium is pretty large in its accompts of things and yet omitts many notticable things.

The 5 vol. comprehends the History of Church and State from Jan. 1596—Jan. 1607. After the accompt of our Assembly this year our author subjoins 'heer end all the sincere Assemblies Generall of the Kirk of Scotland enjoying the liberty of the gospell under the free goverment of Christ.' Heer also ad longum we have 'the neu and constant platt of planting all the Kirks of Scotland penned (by Mr David Lindsay one of the Octavians) to be presentted to the King and Esteats in anno 1596.' Under the year 1600 sevrall papers are inserted about the Earl of Gouries Conspiracy and particularly ad longum a discovery of it printed by the Kings special direction, conteaning some sheets of paper. The most of our MSS. under 1605 and 1606 is taken up in papers pro and con about the imprisoned ministers at Blackness attainted of high treason, and about the erecting of bishops, quher we have the tenour of their presentations inserted and animadversions on it, as also 'The Protestation given in to the parliament against this erection, with reasons why bishops should not be set up in Scotland,' quhich take up 9 or 10 sheets, though litle or nothing of these are in the print. In this decennium the print is pretty particular as to Church affaires, but mank with respect to the civil affaires conteaned in our MSS. and omitts many things that in my humble opinion might have been inserted.

The 6 and last vol. brings doun our History from 1607 to K. James his death 1625. I cannot without to far troubling you give you any extract of these years, only our MSS. conteans a vast collection of letters pro & con about setting up episcopall goverment in this kingdome, Proclamations, Conferences and Disquisitions on this head. I find among others a Discourse of our authors of some sheets of paper intituled 'The nature and quality of diocesian synod

described an. 1610 by Mr David Calderwood.' It was he also that wrote 'The Nullity of the Perth Assembly,' quhich made a great busle at that time. He is much engaged in the affairs of this volume. These, with the accompts of Assemblies, Synods & Civil affaires take up this volume, quhich ends with K. James his death, to quhich he subjoins a passage out of the book of one Egilsham, physitian in ordinaire to the said King, intituled 'The Forunner of reveng on the Duke of Buckingham' to prove it was by poison. These Acts, Articles &c. at the end of the print are in our MSS. in their respective years.

Upon the whole the print seems to be a more exact compend of the MSS. after the year 1580 then I have had it representted, tho, as I befor intimated, it seems to me to be lame in many things. I dare not be positive whither it has been done by Calderwood himself, tho this particular makes it to me seem somquhat probable, that in our MSS. sevrall times quhen the author comes to give ane accompt of the Assemblies, he referrs to the Register, and then we have some leaves left blank, yet, in these places the print has the abstract of these places. Nou none had better access to the Registers then our author, and others would have scarce taken the pains. I have it told me by some knouing persons that have been in Holland, that about the year 1677 some Scotch ministers going in to a book-sellers shope at Amsterdam found the MSS. we have nou in print in that shop, & finding it a History of Scottish affairs, bought it up. Upon reading it, some that had seen Calderwoods large papers concluded it to be a compend of him, & thinking the large history then lost, printed it as we nou have it.<sup>1</sup>

As to your conjectour that the MSS. Petry cites under the name of Historicall narrations may be some copy of Calderwood, I can scarce agree to it. I have compared it with many of these places he cites out of that narration and find many passages in them I cannot light on in our

<sup>1</sup> See the authentic account of the finding and printing of the abridged MS. of Calderwood in the Wodrow Society edition of Calderwood's *History*, viii. pp. 5-10.

MSS. Besides it seems by quhat Petry sayes of it not to be purly historicall but to be full of reflections on the history of the times. You see many of Petrys citations are reflections on the Assemblies procedure, comparisons of Assemblies &c. : and the citations (Petry, p. 492) 'out of the 3rd course of visitations § 18, quher on the margine it is said presbyteriall goverment is better then episcopall'; and (page 517 at the title) 'the first course of episcopacy and the first occasions of altering ecclesiasticall goverment' make me to suspect that much of this book was criticall if not polemicall. As to quhat you say that Petry never cites Calderwood, Mr Petry being minister at the Hague and Calderwoods compend not then printed & the large on soe rare, it seems not improbable that he never sau it.

We have in the Library the very same copy of the Registers of the Generall Assemblies from their beginning to 1616 that the author of the preface to the Fundamentall Charter of Presbitry<sup>1</sup> takes soe much pains to prove a genuin transcript, as also a MSS. of Knox History quhich you sau quhen heer. I will take the liberty to give you my crude thoughts on this author, and the more because I find such a needless busle made about disproving our printed Knox by the said Preface to the Foundamentall Charter, as if the stresse of the contraversy between him and these he is pleased to terme the defenders of the good old cause depended on the authority of this book. That Mr Knox, comonly called the Reformer, wrote a history seems to be plain from the follouing passage in Calderwoods MSS., vol 2. p. 399, quher in giving accompt of the Assembly, Nov. 1572 Sess. 3, hath these words: 'Richard Bannatyne servitur to umquhill Mr Knox presentted the supplication follouing: Unto your Wisdoms &c. I your servitur R. Bannatyn, servant to your umquhill most dearest brother, Mr Knox, of worthy memorie, that quheras its not unknowen to your Wisdoms that he left to the Kirk and Toun of Edinburgh his History conteaning in effect the beginning and progresse of Christs true religion nou of

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<sup>1</sup> John Sage.

Gods great mercy established in this realme, quherin he hath continoued and perfectly ended at the year of God 1564, soe that of things done by him sensyne nothing be him is put in that form and order as he hath done the former, yet not the lesse, ther are certain scrolls, papers and minuts of things left to me by him to use at my pleasure, quherof one part wer written by his ound hand and subscribed and another be me at his command, quhich if collected and gathered together would make sufficient declaration of the principell things that have occurred since the ending of his former History at the year forsaid, & soe should serve for stufte and matter to ane of understanding & ability in that kind of exercise that would apply themselves to make a History even to the day of his death. After this narration, becaus he kneu the order of the scrolls tacked together better then others, and could not on his oun expense and coast spend his time in putting them in order and putt them in the Register, beggs that the Assembly may give him some reasonable pension. The Assembly acceptes his offer and requests the Kirk of Edinburgh to provide and appoint some learned men to support and put the said History that is nou in scrolls and papers into good form with the aid of the said Richard, and alloues the said Richard the summ of 40 pounds to be payed out of the crope 1572.'

Soe far our MSS. The Assemblies Act as forsaid is in our MSS. Register. In our MSS. Knox you remember (& if I mistake not extracted it) that befor the book, in the same hand with the MSS., ther are these words: 'Mr Jo. Knox a.d. 1581'; and in our MSS. Calderwood I find on Mr John Knox moderator of the Synod of Merce, an. 1586. Nou it seems not improbable that our MSS. was his transcribing (and perhaps he might be one of the revisers of it). Our MSS. ends with the 4th book in the print and with the date name[d] in the above written petition of Bannatyn, and wants the 5 book, quhich, till I get further light on this head, Ile suppose to be collected out of the papers of Mr Knox above mentioned—& by this means we may suppose the first 4 books to be writte by

the Reformer, and a solution is thus easily given to the exceptions of the above named preface. As to his demonstration out of Spotswoods History p. 267 from the citation out of Foxes Monument, it is in our MSS., and its probable it might be put in by the revisers or the Merce Mr Knox in his transcribing it, the first edition of Fox being befor the [year] 1581. As for the exception from Beza's Epistles and the citation out of Buchanan, the[y] fall at first veu by being out of the 5th Book. As for his exception page 306 (4to edit.) & 286 from the oft printing of the Books of Discipline and the bringing in some Kings of France after Knox his death, they are with as great ease removed, not being in our MSS. and soe added after the year 1581 with the 5 Book. As for the last exception against the change of the inscription of a letter to the bishops of England, it might for ought I see be ane escape of the printer or transcriber, but besides its out of the 5 Book & soe I have nothing to say concerning it.

All this is only conjecture—hou its founded, I leave you to determine—only I thought it might not be altogether unacceptable to you to goe as far in my accompt of this author to you as my authority seems to lead me. If thir imperfect & throu want of time indigested notes can doe you any service I have my desing, if not, pray pardon the trouble of them given you by, Sir, your very much oblidged and very humble servant,

R. W.

Feb. 13, 1700.

#### Postscript

Reverend & Learned Sir,

The inclosed I designed to have sent you by post, but hearing of the bearer Mr Nilson, I have sent it by him. I hope the lenth of the inclosed will apologize for my not giving you the copy of the inscription you desire, quhich for want of time I most yet put of till my nixt. I belive I need scarce tell you that the two common editions of

Knox in folio & 4to<sup>1</sup> are done by Mr David Buchanan, who writes *De anima*, and the long preface before them is his ; the common, I say, because I hear just now that ther is ane edition of that book in 8vo long befor any of these, without Knox name at it. This I have not seen but expect it to be sent me shortly & then you shall have ane accompt of it. We have ane English translation of Buchanans History in the Library in MSS. done by one John Reid, quhom I as yet (for I have not gote it throughly examined) suppose to be the same that in a citation of the inclosed is termed servitur and writter to Mr George Buchanan, quhich makes it not a white the lesse valuable.<sup>2</sup>

I have sent you with the bearer some petrified or rather incrustated fogg, quhich was lately sent me from the place quher it is thus transformed, quhich is about 8 miles from this place. The person that sent it me sayes he has tryed sevrall vegetables under the lapidescent drope quhich comes out of the face of a rock, but none wer affected with it but this and another kind of mosse, quhich he sayes petrifies in 3 weeks or a moneth. Quhat truth is in these by personall experiment I have not tryed, but if once the vacance wer come I desing to visite the place. I am, Sir, yours to the outmost of my pouer,

Feb. 17, 1700.

R. WODROW.

### XXI. For Mr JOHN SMITH at Leyden<sup>3</sup>

D. C., I received yours with the books. Hou these wer my brother will give you accompt at large. I received

<sup>1</sup> These are the 2<sup>o</sup> edition printed at London in 1644, and the 4<sup>o</sup> edition printed at Edinburgh in the same year, both edited by D. Buchanan. For the 8<sup>o</sup> edition printed in London by Vautrollier, see *infra*, p. 72 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> This is a version of Buchanan's *Historia* 'translated into the Scottishe tungue by John Read.' It has never been published. For a description of it see *George Buchanan: Glasgow Quatercentenary Studies*. Glasgow, 1907, p. 517.

<sup>3</sup> No answer is preserved in the Quarto MSS., but there are several letters there from Smith to A. Wodrow and Professor Wodrow.



Le Clerc on Incredulity<sup>1</sup> and Tessiers Eloges des Scavans<sup>2</sup> & 2 vols. of the *Histoire des ouvrages de Scavans*,<sup>3</sup> tho you write of 3. I gotte Aprile, May and Juin '98 and '99. I desire you may buy all of them for the year '99 and this year '700 as far as are come out, excepting Aprile, May and June 1699, quhich I have received already from you. I hope you will take a care to get the catalogues, priced or not price[d], back again from Leers.<sup>4</sup> I desire you may get my comission answered as much as you can at Leyden or Rotterdam in buying any of the forsaid books you can light on at these prices, as also Henningii Witten Diarium Biographicum 4to 1688.<sup>5</sup> Pray endeavour to get Sulpitius Severus cum notiis Hornii printed Leyd. 1664 in 8vo,<sup>6</sup> and Georgii Horni Orbis imperans cum notis Hartnaccii 12mo 1677.<sup>7</sup> Their is also a peice termed Basnage sur la conscience<sup>8</sup> that I wish you would get—all the[se] at any reasonable price. I hope you will get all the books in the comission I sent over with you that you can. Give my service to Mr Tomson, & tell I write to him within a litle with R. Luke.<sup>9</sup> This with my service to Mr Chau<sup>10</sup> is all at present from your own R. W.

Feb. 19, 1700.

<sup>1</sup> Le Clerc (Jean). *A treatise of the causes of incredulity*. Lond., 1697.

<sup>2</sup> *Les éloges des hommes scavans, tirez de l'Histoire de M. de Thou. Avec des additions . . . par A. Teissier*. Utrecht, 1696.

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire des ouvrages des scavans, par Monsr. B\*\*\*\** [H. Basnage de Beauval.] Rotterdam, 1687—.

<sup>4</sup> R. Leers was a bookseller in Rotterdam who published *Histoire des ouvrages des scavans*.

<sup>5</sup> Witte (H.). *Diarium biographicum*. Gedani, 1688. A second volume was published at Riga in 1691.

<sup>6</sup> Severus (S.). *S. Severi opera omnia, cum . . . commentariis accurate G. Hornio*. Ed. secunda. Lugd. Bat., 1654. Wodrow's date is an error.

<sup>7</sup> This edition is not known. It is probably an error for the same writer's *Historia ecclesiastica et politica cum annotationibus Hartnacci*, Lipsiae, noticed in *Journal des Scavans* for 1677.

<sup>8</sup> Basnage (J.). *Traité de la conscience*. Amsterdam, 1696.

<sup>9</sup> R. Luke is not in the Albums of Leyden, Utrecht or Glasgow.

<sup>10</sup> Henry Shaw was in the class of John Tran at Glasgow in 1693. *Munimenta*, iii. 153. He is not in the Albums of Utrecht or Leyden. He wrote to Alexander Wodrow from Leyden on January 23, 1700. Quarto i. 67.

XXII. For Mr JAMES WALLACE at London <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I received yours of Decemb. 26 and wrote to you by Mr Jo. Main. In yours you wer pleased to give the hopes of another by the nixt post. This I have been ever till this day expecting but I never gote any thing. Because you use to keep your word (in this kind of matter) it affects me the more and makes me suspect you are not weel, or at least have altogether forgotten your freinds in thir colder climates since you began to breath London air. All that hinders me from drauing these harsh conclusions is that its possible your promised letter may have been miscaried, and you by this time almost at as hard thought of me. Upon all I resolved to break silence and give you the trouble of this line. I earnestly entreat that you may as soon as you can after the receipt of this let me hear from you, if it be possible against this day fortnight, because then I have the occasion of a merchant coming up to London with quhom (if I receive ane accompt of my comission you got from me against that time) I will trouble you further.

I shall take a care to doe you[r] bussiness with Mr Wilson <sup>2</sup> to quhom I have spoken about it. I desire you may lay out the 30 shillings for the books just nou to be named, and quhatever more they come to I shall count with you afterward. I desire you may buy the Philosophicall Transactions beginning at the moneth of June 1699 as far as they are come out, as also the late peice of Bishop Burnet on the 39 Articles of the Church of England <sup>3</sup> with any reflections on it or peices anent it that are come out, as also the 2nd volume of Dupine on the Canon of the Scripture, <sup>4</sup> if come out. I desire likewise you may buy

<sup>1</sup> Answered February 19. Quarto i. 75.

<sup>2</sup> John Wilson, Bookbinder in Glasgow, to whom Wallace had asked Wodrow to pay the money received for his books sold at auction. See Plomer, p. 318.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet (G.). *An exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*. Lond., 1699.

<sup>4</sup> Dupin (L. E.). *A compleat history of the canon and writers of the books of the Old and New Testament. . . . Done into English*. 2 vols. Lond., 1699-1700.

all the peices anent our plantation in Caledonia pro or con, except Defence of the Setlment said to be written by S. Johnstoun,<sup>1</sup> and the Answer to Harris quhich was brunt.<sup>2</sup> These we have heer. These are all for the Library, quhich being a publick good, I knou you will be the more carefull anent them. I desire you may buy for me Cumberlands Essay for recovery of the Jewish weights and measures 8vo Lond. 1686,<sup>3</sup> with these you have in write by you. All these (if this come not too late) I wish you could with your oun send by John Good. If he be gone, I will order the merchant I spok of to call at you for them. All except Cumberland I desire you may send in sheets (and it too if you cannot easily get it otherwise) if you conveniently can.

All heer is pretty calm about Caledonia, of quhich and the Assembly I desing to write at more lenth with the said merchant. In the mean time I desire all the particulars you safely can give me anent it. None of your books are gone of since I wrote you by Mr Main. I am your affectionate comrad and humble servant,

R. W.

Feb. 19, 1700.

Give my service to all acquaintance with you.

### XXIII. For Mr JAMES WALLACE <sup>4</sup>

D. C., I received yours of Ma. 5 current quhich refreshes me very much. I had writ to you by the last post had I not been out of toun that day. I doubt not but you have by this time the lamentable accompt of our Principalls death.

<sup>1</sup> *A defence of the Scots settlement at Darien*. Edin., 1699. *Darien Bibliography*, 67. According to a MS. note in the Librarian's copy of the Catalogue of the New College Library, Edin., 1868, the author is Archibald Foyer. *Ibid.* Halkett and Laing (new ed.) attributes it to Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun. W. C. Mackenzie in *Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun*, p. 314, assigns it to Lord Belhaven.

<sup>2</sup> *An enquiry into the causes of the miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien. Or an answer to a libel entituled A defence of the Scots abdicating Darien*. Glasgow, 1700. *Darien Bibliography*, 104.

<sup>3</sup> Cumberland (R.). *An essay towards the recovery of the Jewish measures and weights*. Lond., 1686.

<sup>4</sup> Answered, March 21, 1700. Quarto i. 80.

That affects us all mightily, and the more because (some of us least) see none remaining that fills up his bonnet, none so universally qualified for such a station as he. He dyed on the 8 of this moneth. Wer it not that I supposed that you have had all the particulars by other hands, I would insist more larg[e]ly on the circumstances but I break of this very melancholy subject.

As to our Caledonian affair, all is tollerably queit again latly. Their sailed a ship from Dundy to them laden with provision, and I hear 2 more from Ireland, and ther is one shortly to sail out of Clyde.<sup>1</sup> Soe that, if the Lord doe not blou upon means used, I hope they shall not again desert for want of provision. Upon our hearing of His Majestys desing to goe to Holland our National Adresse is sent up;<sup>2</sup> of the successe of quhich I desire ane accompt per nixt.

We have a very pleasant Spring here, only these 2 days have been a litle cold.

I perceive your accompts of our G[eneral] Assemblies proceedings have been very unfavourable. For my part I see noe reason but they may easily be justified in all that they have done as to that unreasonable and unseasonable debate about the word Caledonia, quhich I belive has been misrepresented to you. For my oun part I think they caried very reasonably in it. The Act was to receive the civil sanction of the Council and it was representted to the Assembly that if the said word had been inserted it might have bred ill blood among the Councill. Besides, as you see in the Edinburgh Gazet, they have inserted ane equivalent term *the Colony in America*. Besides they found the word only urged by some headstrong passionat men, without pretending any reason but asserting the kingdomes right to the place, quheras the Assembly's bussiness was not to assert it at that time, and

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<sup>1</sup> The *Margaret* of Dundee sailed from Dundee on March 9. *Darien Papers*, pp. 264, 286, 294, 308. The *Susanna* of Bristol sailed from Belfast on May 10. The *Providence* of Leith sailed from the Clyde soon after June 13. *Darien Papers*, 294.

<sup>2</sup> This is printed in *A full and exact collection*, pp. 105-107.

the pleasing of them. The Assembly tomorrow wrote to Mr Sheilds in Caledonia and termed it soe in the body of the letter, but that was not to passe under the cognizance of the Council as the other. I knou noe other thing but this in the Assemblies procedure could give ground to your wish, quhich quhen maters are in their light, I belive you will not persist in.<sup>1</sup>

If you be not out of toun befor this reach you I desire you may doe the Colledge the favour of buying the follouing books:—Doringtons Travels,<sup>2</sup> Reflections on learning,<sup>3</sup> Lysters Voyage to France,<sup>4</sup> and Catologus universalis 2 vols., & the book you speak of Free thoughts concerning a future state,<sup>5</sup> with a book I find in the Hist. of the Works of the Learned for Jan. intituled Ane accompt of Mr Locks religion out of his own Works in his own Words.<sup>6</sup>

I hear Mr Bell representted as very dear with his books. I wish you may get all of them as reasonably as you may, and in sheets. These, with the former quhich I hope by this time are bought, I wish you may send down with John Good, if he come down before the said merchant, that is before the midle of May. If he be not to come down before that time, I hope you will advertish me & I will send up word to that merchant to call for them at Mr Bells shope, quher you will leave them. But I am hopfull John Good will be down before that time and they with him. As to the money, upon your letter of advice I shall pay it and the exchange quhen or quher you advise me. I wish you may let me hear from you quhat you have done about

<sup>1</sup> Wallace's wish was 'that it had not sitten a day to an end.' See *The Principal Acts of the General Assembly*, 1700, and *Edinburgh Gazette*, February 23 to February 26, 1700.

<sup>2</sup> Dorington (T.). *An account of a journey through some provinces of Germany in 1698*. Lond., 1699.

<sup>3</sup> [Baker (T.).] *Reflections upon learning*. Lond., 1700.

<sup>4</sup> Lister (M.). *A journey to Paris in the year 1698*. Lond., 1690.

<sup>5</sup> *Free thoughts in defence of a future state . . . against the nominal Deists*. [? by Robert Day.] Lond., 1700.

<sup>6</sup> *An account of Mr Lock's religion, out of his own writings, and in his own words, etc.* [By J. Milner.] Lond., 1700.

these things and the answer to the rest of my queries and your neuse as soon as you can. I am, your affectionate freind and humble servant,

R. W.

Ma. 18, 1700.

XXIV. For Mr GEORGE THOMSON at Leyden <sup>1</sup>

V. D. C., I received yours of the 8 of Nov. last by Mr Luke, for quhich I heartily thank you. I am very much oblidge'd to your kind brother the bearer, who advertished me of his coming to you, and gave me the opportunity of this line. I cannot but wonder at your suspicion of somquhat under my literae majusculae, quhich, as far as I remember, wer the same that I nou use, quhich you say you suppose belong not to you. But [I] assure you that to me you are a Very Dear Comrad—to me the import of the letters—, and ther is noe mystery or complement but real truth and (least you forrget our old Scots stile) stark love and kindness. Quhen I have defended myself I come nixt to attack you and to suspect you for your Capital letters V.R.V., quhich are above me. But to passe all this I assure you, quatever be the import of them, your letter was very acceptable to me & you cannot oblige me more then to give me the happiness of hearing frequently from you, since I cannot as yet have the happiness of discoursing with you.

I come nou to give you some account of our Caledonia bussiness. I told you before of the Rising Suns leaving this kingdome with the other ships.<sup>2</sup> We nou have the comfortable accompt of their safe arivall at Caledonia, and our country mens setling again. They mett with a very sad providence in the blouing up of Captain Jamisons ship, quherin all their provisions wer.<sup>3</sup> But after their arivall ther, the[y] having noe mind to leave it again, and finding themselves streatned for want, they sent out all their ships

<sup>1</sup> Answered May 26, 1700. Quarto i. 127.

<sup>2</sup> It reached Caledonia on November 30. *Darien Papers*, p. 198, n.

<sup>3</sup> The *Olive Branch* (Captain William Jameson) blew up through the cooper setting fire to the brandy with a candle. *Darien Papers*, pp. 160, 214-15.

a cruising, who after hearing of the sad usage Capt. Pinckertoun has mett with in Cartagena,<sup>1</sup> resolved to attacke and make reprisal of all the Spanish ships they can meet with, &, quhich to me is a hair of hope, our people hear, wiser by dear bought experience, are very carefull to send up suplies to them. Capt. Mcay sailed about a moneth after the Rising Sun left this nation with 300 good Highland marts and bisket &c. proportionally, and I hope is by this time in Neu Edinburgh Port.<sup>2</sup> About a moneth since a ship laden with provisions sailed out of Dundee for Caledonia, and 2 more out of Ireland, as I hear, and one shortly is to sail out of Clyd, and we just nou hear that 2 ships are arived at Caledonia with provisions from some of the neibouring plantations<sup>3</sup>; and letters from some considerable merchant in Neu England ar come to London offering to provide them in provisions, providing we heare continou to answer their credite as punctually as we have hitherto done. To turn the chase, the desing wants not its oun discouragment at home from divisions among the Councelours and the seeming coldrifness of higher pouters. We have been making all efforts to have a parliament, that effectuall means may be fallen on to give this noble desing its wished for success, and for this end ane adresse is gone up to the king with 2 noblemen, 2 barrons and 2 burgesses, desiring the parliament may sit at its appointed time in May, with 21000 subscribers, the success of quhich we are longing to hear. We are to have a nationall fast this day 8

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<sup>1</sup> Captain Pinkerton's ship *Dolphin* struck a rock and was forced to run ashore at Carthage. The ship was seized and the men made prisoners and many were sent to Spain. An Address of complaint was made to the King on December 4, 1699, by the Council-General of the Company of Scotland, followed by a Petition to the High Commissioner and the Estates of Parliament on May 16, 1700. *A full and exact collection*, pp. 92, 121-23. They were released towards the end of 1700. Insh (G. P.), *The Company of Scotland*, 1932, p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Speedy Return* which sailed in November 1699. *Darien Papers*, pp. 263, 289-90. Mackay was drowned on this voyage. Insh, *The Company of Scotland*, p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> This report is mentioned in the *Edinburgh Gazette* for June 13 to June 17, 1700.

days,<sup>1</sup> on of the causes of quhich is the state of our colony in America.

I insist noe longer on this, but referr you to your brother who will give you the accompt of all things at large. I doubt not but you by this time have had the lamentable accompt of our Principalls death. He dyed on the 8 of this moneth.

I hope you will not forgett these litle things I troubled you about in my last. I have only one thing to add—if you can fall on Bocharts *Geographia sacra viz. his Phaleg and Canaan* printed in 4to at Franckfort,<sup>2</sup> at ane auction or at 2nd hand, I would gladly have it. Give 3 guilders for it before you want it. I belive you may fall on it much cheaper. I would have given you[r] brother the money for the French Latine grammar but I kneu not the exchange, and soe I shall deferr till I account with you for all my troublsome comissions at meeting, quhich I am made to hope to expect once this Summer. John Kennedy was latly married to his old acquaintance Jean Shields. Soe wishing us a happy and comfortable meeting, and entreating to hear from you as oft as occasion servs, I remain, your affectionate comrad and humble servant,

March 21, 1700.

R. W.

## XXV. For Mr Archdeacon NICOLSON <sup>3</sup>

Reverend and Learned Sir,

I received yours of Feb. 29 by post, as also that of Ma. 14 by Mr Topham, with your rich present of formed stones, quhich by far exceeds all the obligations you are pleased to think your self under to me, and puts me under

<sup>1</sup> This refers to the First National Address, presented March 25, 1700. Printed in *A full and exact collection*, pp. 105-107. The *Act anent a Solemn National Fast and Humiliation* is printed in *The Principal Acts for February 14, 1700*, no. v. The Fast was sanctioned by the Privy Council for March 28.

<sup>2</sup> Bochart (S.). *Geographiae sacrae pars prior. Phaleg*, etc. (And *Pars altera: Chanaan*, etc.) Francofurti, 1674 (and 1681).

<sup>3</sup> Answered September 9, 1700. Quarto i. 97.



such as I shal never be able to repay. I have laid by some feu formed stones and other things to return you by Mr Topham in part of the debt I shall never be able to clear. I am extreemly satisfied with the hopes you have given me of the happiness of seing you at your Alcluid. I entreat you may give me nottice a litle befor you come that I may not have the unhappiness of being out of this place quhen you come. You will misse two great men out of this place quhen you come—Dr Brisban,<sup>1</sup> dyed some moneths agoe, and Mr Dunlope our late Principall, who to the great losse of the Universality, Church and Kingdome dyed heer on the 8 instant. He was a person far above any caracter I give of him, and in losing him we have lost one of the greatest antiquaries this nation ever produced.

To leave this melancholy theme, ther is one of the meanest of your freinds heer who resolves to entertean you the best way he can. You may expect to meet with ane old Scottish monument lately gotten to our Library intituled Cronica de Melros inhoata per abbatem de Dun-drannan ab an. 735 et continuata per varios ad annum domini 1270 : ab autographo.<sup>2</sup> Item Diarium Arnaldi de Blare capellani Villielmi Valacii militis gubernatoris regni Scotiæ sive historia de rebus gestis Vallacii in epitomen redacta.<sup>3</sup>

As to that MSS. of Mr Melvils<sup>4</sup> I find ther is a mistake

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Brisbane, M.D., Utrecht, and a former Rector of Glasgow University. Smith, *English Students at Leyden*.

<sup>2</sup> The Glasgow MS. was a copy from the Cottonian MS.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the *Relationes quædam Arnaldi Blair*, a copy of which Wodrow presented to W. Nicolson. *Scottish Historical Library*, p. 248† n.k. It was printed in the collection *De gestis . . . Gulielmi Vallæ . . . collectanea varia*, Edin., 1705.

<sup>4</sup> Wodrow's account of this Melville MS. is confusing. In his MS. *Life of Melville*, p. III, Wodrow wrote : ' I have seen also in the Library of the College of Glasgow a large folio entitled *Praelectiones in epistolam ad Romanos* in small writ said to be writ by Mr Melvile.' Quoted by M'Crie, *Life of Melville*, ii. 513. M'Crie says that it is lost, but in the Glasgow University Catalogue of MSS. there is an entry : Blair (James). *Harmonia Evangelica. Epitome . . . A. Melvini in epistolam ad Romanos*. In the same Library there is also : Melville (A.). *Analysis in epistolam ad Hebræos*. There seems no doubt that Andrew Melville the Reformer is the author intended.

amongst us about it. Its one who was Professour at St. Andreus an : 1614-1618 quhich cannot compete to Mr Andreu. Of the Remonstrance you suppose he might have left,<sup>1</sup> I can find nothing of it [in] our historians. Our MSS. Calderwood has nothing of it, only a large accompt of his debate with the King Councill, and the occasions of his withdrawing to England. As to that passage of Buchanan observed by the author of the Fundamentall Charter,<sup>2</sup> I have consulted Calderwood as narrowly as I could and find nothing like this in Buchanan. The forcing and unnatural means that Mr Sage uses, the detorting of the phrazes and expressions of our Reformers, quhich, if I understand them at all, will rather prove too much that quhat they are brought for, viz. that England [was] subjected to the rites of Scotland ; but as I take them, they have noe respect to the submission of one Church to the rites of the other. This I say, with the ardour and fervency among the leading men in this kingdome both in Church and State against quhat they thought to be relicts of popish superstition, and the totall silence of all our historians and contraversists of this submission of the Scots to the rites and ceremonies of England, these I think make it clear that Buchanan, who was not over criticall and cautious in quhat he wrote, quatever his sentiments wer about Church government, meant only in that passage a conjunction with the English in the sentiments and customs comone to the opposers of popery at that time, and heer the letter from the Assembly Dec. 1566 to the prelates and pastors of England is worthy of observation on this head.<sup>3</sup> Had our Church ever subscribed such a submission as Mr Sage would make us belive from Buchanan, could they ever [have] had the confidence to have writ such a pointed and netling letter as this was ? Or if they had

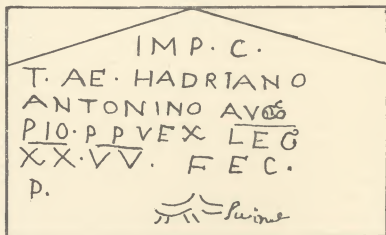
<sup>1</sup> Nicolson thought he might have drawn up something of a Remonstrance upon his withdrawing to England in 1584.

<sup>2</sup> [Sage (J.).] *The Fundamental Charter of Presbytery*, 1695, pp. 87-88. Buchanan, *Historia*, Edin. 1587, Lib. 19, F. 232 v. : ' Scoti, ante aliquot annos Anglorum auxiliis e servitute Gallica liberati, religionis cultui et ritibus cum Anglis communibus subscripserunt.'

<sup>3</sup> Printed in Calderwood's *History* [Wodrow Society], vol. ii. pp. 332-35.

been masters of soe much impudence, would these in England that stickled so much about the ceremonies [have] had soe much folly as not to have up raided the Assembly not only with levity but perfidy? These and other things quhich might be brought to sheu the unreasonableness of this inference from Bucanan made Mr Jamson passe over this in his answer to Mr Sage.

The Roman inscription I promised in my last take as folloues <sup>1</sup>



Ther litle heer difficult unless it be the line above LEG quhich I took to be a certain sing of numerall letters. Let me knou if you ordinarily meet with a line above any letters that are not numeral, espicially in Roman inscriptions. I hope per nixt to give you hint of some coins I have and expect accompt of. Waiting for your commands, I begg leave to subscribe my self, your very much oblidged and very humble servant,

R. W.

March 29, 1700.

Directs about contractions.

PS.—I hope within 2 or 3 weeks to return you your box with some things that seem a litle curiouse to some here, tho perhaps they may be comone with you, by the

<sup>1</sup> See Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 387, no. 13, and pl. lxxvii. 2.

means of kind Mr Topham. I hope you will be soe kind as to give me their names and your thoughts on them.

# XXVI. For Mr JAMES WALLACE <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I received yours of the 21 of March last by the last post. I wrote to you on the 18 and enlarged my comission, quhich I hope came to your hand with Mr Pasleys befor you left London. I am very much oblidge to you for your buying of these books for me. The ship they come in, for ought I knou, is not come to Leith yet. I am at losse quhat to think that book is you term Burnets Reflections at 00 01 00 Engl. I wrote Burnets peice on the Articles of the Church of England, but I think this price is to lou for it. Houever ther is noe great matter, the price of your book is but small. Houever if you have not bought Burnets peice on the Articles of the Church of England, pray cause Mr Bell pack it up in sheets and give it Archbald Edmiston, a Glasgou merchant of his acquaintance at presentt in London, & he will bring [it] and quhat else are unsent me. Your Roman antiquitys are long since sold at your price 5 shs.

You tell me the Theosophicall Society were composed of Philadelphians. My nixt query is whither they be distineck from Quaker or quhat they are. I desire ane accompt of Mr Gouge,<sup>2</sup> whoes congregation spend their Sabaths soe merrily, as also of the divisions among the dissenters, of their rise and progress, at as great lenth as you conveniently can.

The office of Kings Historiagrapher is not annexed to the Principall of Glasgou, but was procured the late excellent Mr Dunlop by Mr Carstairs, & for any thing I can learn was not in being befor.<sup>3</sup> I heartily wish some fitt person

<sup>1</sup> Answered May 30, 1700. Quarto i. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Of Gouge, Wallace wrote as follows in his letter of March 21, Quarto i. 80: 'There is a congregation here that belonged to Mr Gouge, of quhom no doubt you have heard, that since his death do meet every Lords day, where masters of families, their wives, children, and servants have all a vote as to their management, & preach promiscuously by turns.'

<sup>3</sup> See an article on this office in *The Scotsman*, January 28, 1893. Through the kindness of Mr McInnes of the Register House I am able to append a

had it. As to Mr Ridpath,<sup>1</sup> I doubt nothing of his qualifications for it, but I belive his presentt station is more profitable, the sellary for that place being but 50 pound.

My brother and Mr Pasley give their service to you. Our Synod sits at Air tomorrou. Mr Alexr. Meraken a very hopfull probationer here was buried this day. We hear litle who is to be Principle. Mr David Blare,<sup>2</sup> Mr David Williamson,<sup>3</sup> Mr J. Bannantyn,<sup>4</sup> Mr Robt. Wilie,<sup>5</sup> Mr J. Tran<sup>6</sup> are named for it among the generality. The first is thought fittest and, if he will, fairest for it, but they have, unlesse they be of extraordinary qualifications, a considerable disadvantage that succeed Mr Dunlop. I wish the Lord may send on that may in some measure make up our great losse. I am in hast, yours as before,

Glasgou, Ap. 1 [1700].

R. W.

#### XXVII. For Mr JAMES PATERSON<sup>7</sup>

Sir, I received yours with your kind present by Mr Dunlop, but that sad and surprising stroak of his excellent fathers death, together with the want of occasions to send you quhat comes with this, has till nou hindered me from

list of commissions to this office taken from the Paper Register of the Great Seal:—Dec. 16, 1682, Mr. James Fall (on the death of Wm. Turner, Doctor of Theology); Sept. 20, 1686, Christopher Irving; Jan. 31, 1693, Mr. Wm. Dunlop; Oct. 5, 1704, Mr. David Crawford of Drumsoy; May 12, 1708, Mr. David Sympsone; Aug. 6, 1763, Dr. Wm. Robertson. In a letter from J. Maclean to R. Wodrow, April 20, 1702 (Quarto ii. 6) Mr. Campbell is named as the King's Historiographer. This probably refers to the Hon. Archibald Campbell, later Bishop of Aberdeen. But I have found no other evidence that he held this office.

<sup>1</sup> George Ridpath. See *D. N. B.* Ridpath's correspondence with Robert Wodrow is printed, with a memoir of Ridpath, in *Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club*, i. 355-414. This present collection adds two letters, CXLV. and CXLVI.

<sup>2</sup> Minister of the Old Kirk, Edinburgh. *Fasti*, i. 71.

<sup>3</sup> Minister of St. Cuthbert's or West Kirk, Edinburgh. *Fasti*, i. 96. See also *Wodrow Correspondence*, i. p. 444 and n.

<sup>4</sup> John Bannatyne, Minister of Lanark. *Fasti*, iii. 307.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Wylie, Minister of Hamilton. *Fasti*, iii. 260. There is a note on him in *Wodrow Correspondence*, i. p. 113.

<sup>6</sup> John Tran, Regent at Glasgow.

<sup>7</sup> Answered April 1700. Quarto i. 86.

returning my deserved thanks. I can give you noe help as to that you sent me, its nature or origine. I would gladly have your thoughts on it, and these of the learned with you. I heartily thank you likewise for the copy of your inscription<sup>1</sup> with the accompt thereof and of your fossiles, and shall still look upon this and the like as the very desirable fruits of corresponding with such a communicative person as you are.—Not on word from Mr Lhuyd since he left this place.

Most of these that you have with this are quhat I found a-mong some balast of a ship that came in (as I am told) from Barbadoes. They are said to be found about the Isle of Man also, but with quhat certainty I [do not] knou. They are somquhat strange to us here, and I hope they will not be altogether unacceptable to you. N. 1. A large peice and a small on of quhat I suppose may be quhat Boethius<sup>2</sup> describes and gives the figure Lib. 2. 2. cap. 146 under the name of *Astroitides vel Lapis stellaris undarum gyros referens*. N. 2. The same perhaps but the gyri a litle finer. N. 3. I take to be quhat the said author loco cit. terms 'quod exacte formatas stellulas refert.' N. 4. The same with the 3d, only the 3d is the outermost part and these quhat are in the inner part of the stone. You see they are full of stellulae, and that in quhatever part they are broken, and take a very fine polish and look very weel. Of this kind I meet with some almost of a spherical form & near a foot diameter. N. 5. A piece of mater somquhat of the nature of number 1, with a shell in it. I have sevrall of them with shells in them of many (and to me unknowen) kinds—bivalvs, conchilouse, and other kinds. N. 6. A species to me unknowen. I have of them in sevrall fascies, odd enough. These, as is forsaide, I found in the balast of the said ship. N. 7 are quhat I latly found on the banks of Clyde. I have on of them 4 inches almost [in] lenth and branched, whither they be petre-

<sup>1</sup> The inscription referred to was that of the Cat-Stone.

<sup>2</sup> Boot (Anselmus de). *Gemmarum et lapidum historia*. 3d ed. Lugd. Bat., 1647. Wodrow presented this to Glasgow Library on demitting his post of Librarian. *Munimenta*, iii. 447-8.

factions of sticks or imitations of them I determin not. I find them in a pretty hard clay. N. 8. A bit stick beginning to be incrustated with clay, in the same place, quhich may tend to the clearing of the former. I have some other things ready for you but deferr them to another occasion. Let me knou by the bearer, a carier that comes to Edinburgh weekly, if you have all safe, that I may knou if he may be trusted afterward.

Your thoughts upon these stones will be very acceptable, as also, if they be thought worthy the learned Dr Sibbald his observation, ane accompt of his thoughts of them will be very oblidging. I am here in thir kind of matter as one in a vast wilderness without a guide. None here concern themselvs about these trifles, soe I need your kind help the more. It would be very oblidging likewise if you will send me quhat of your fossiles or other natural curiosities you have more then one or two of a sort, as particularly of Lapis ichthyomorphos, Bufonites, Terebratulæ, Turbonites, Echinites, Asteria, chrystalls, spars, Selenites, talks, oars, Gamachites, or quhat else you can with conveniency spare.<sup>1</sup> I dare not promise you any suitable returns, but I assure you that quhat ever comes in my way here that is any wise curiouse, I shal not fail to comunicat with you. Being removed from all help of learned persons, and all things appearing strange to me, the thing I propose to my self is to have some specimina of as many kinds as I can, that these, with a book or two, may be as it wer guides to me in the feu observations I take. You see quhat a great deal of freedom and boldness I use with you, being confident it will not be taken ill, from yours to the outmost of his pouer,

R. W.

Ap. 2, 1700.

PS.—If Dr Sibbalds peice *De aquatilibus Scotiæ*<sup>2</sup> be to be sold by any of the booksellers with you, it would be a special obligation on me if you would buy it and send

<sup>1</sup> Paterson answers that he has no power to give away any specimens of the rarities in the College Museum until he consults the Principal.

<sup>2</sup> Paterson points out that this is still in MS. It is now in the National Library of Scotland.

west with the bearer or any other convenient hand, with the price, quhich per nixt I shall send in to you. I hope you will be as large as you can in your accompts of your observations or quhat else you send me. You should have had thir things better packed and in better order had not [I been] in a hurry by the hast of the carier. I[f] you have not laizour to write by him at lenth, I hope you will write as soon as you conveniently can by post.

R. W.

XXVIII. For Mr GEORGE THOMSON <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I wrote you about 3 weeks agoe by your brother, quhich I hope by this time reached you. I have noe neuse to add in this. It only comes to let you see that I misse noe occasion to trouble you with my scribles. Our Parliament is to sit the 14 of May and the Duke of Queensberry is to be Comissionar.<sup>2</sup> Our Spring is very promising here, only these two or three last dayes have been a litle stormy. Our cherry treas here 8 days since are breaking and the flourish fairly out. I hope you will give Mr Luke quhat books you have bought for me with the catologues, theses, pamphlets &c., if your brother or some sure hand come not of befor him. We have susteained great losses here in this Synod by the death of ministers, noe less than 8 being dead since the last synod, among quhom are our excellent Principall, Mr John Dickson,<sup>3</sup> Mr Andreu Falls.<sup>4</sup> I hope you will write to me as frequently as your throng of other bussiness and occasions permitt. Hoping for pardon of this trouble and quhat I have formerly given you, I begg leave to subscrib my self, D. C., yours to my pouer, while

Ap. 4, 1700.

R. W.

<sup>1</sup> Answered May 26, 1700. Quarto i. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Parliament met on May 24 and was adjourned on May 30 with nothing accomplished.

<sup>3</sup> Minister of Rutherglen. He died January 12, 1700. *Fasti*, iii. 487.

<sup>4</sup> Minister of Fenwick. He died July 5, 1699. *Fasti*, iii. 95.



XXIX. Memorandum for M. D. McNEIL quhen going to—<sup>1</sup>

1. To procure some keil if it be to be had, and give accompt by letter quher this and quhat ever else you send are found, with their names in English and Irish on the paper about them.

2. To procure me some pyrites—that yellou, shining, cubicall substance that is in sclates and their craigs, as large as you can, with some of the litle ones, and part of the slate and them in it, with ane accompt of the place quher you get them and their names as before.

3. To procure me some elf arrowes if you can, some adderstones, one at least if possible, also a peice of quhat is called in Irish leag.<sup>2</sup>

4. To procure me a toadstone, cockneestone, snailstone, as many of them as you can, one of each sort if possible.

5. As many of these beans or nutts that come floating on the sea from the West Indies, and are cast on the shore of the Highlands, the different species at least.

6. Any stone of ane odd form or shape, of a peculiar collour, weight or lightness, or that has any singularity in it. Of these you will find abundance at the sea shore, fallen doun braes, on the brink of rivers or burns, at loch sides, &c.

7. To procure me any old coins, old Roman fibulæ, pech pennies &c. I will give the weight of them in silver for them. Item, to get me the copy of any old inscriptions, either Irish, Scots or Latine.

8. To procure any ores of mettalls you can fall on.

9. Any cork or arcel of the scrufe of quhich is made corkie lit with quhich the people in the Highlands dy purple, with ane accompt quher its gotten.

<sup>1</sup> Daniel McNeil, afterwards Minister of Morven. *Fasti*, iv. 117. No answer found.

<sup>2</sup> 'leug-eig-an. s.f. 1. A precious stone, a jewel. 2. A small stone or pebble in great estimation among some Highlanders, who fancy the water in which it is dipped possessed of healing virtues and charms.' *Dictionarium Scoto-Celticum*. . . . Edin., 1828. 'leicc, leug. A precious stone. In the Highlands a large crystal of a figure somewhat oval, which priests kept to work charms by water poured upon it, at this day, is given to cattle against diseases.' Shaw (W.). *A Galic and English dictionary*. Lond., 1780.

11 [*sic*]. To procure me as many shells (2 of one kind) as you can, comone or rare, land, river or sea shells. Put all up in papers with their names, as far as you knou about them. Send me quhat ever kind you meet with except muscle, cockle, and oyster. In giving yourself this trouble you will very much oblidge your affectionate comrad & servant,

Ap. 8, 1700.

R. W.

hazel nuts of odd shape.

Animals, as chickens, with ane odd member, &c.

Icolmkill stones and inscriptions. Corall, christalls from Arran.<sup>1</sup>

### XXX. For Mr Archdeacon NICOLSONE <sup>2</sup>


Reverend and Learned Sir,

Your box comes again to your hands by kind Mr Topham. Its laden, I dare not say soe richly as I received it, but with such things as this cold climat produces. It comes not as any real return for soe valuable a present, but only as an indicium of quhat you should have if the place alloued. The first 6 numbers are quhat I fell upon amongst the balasse of a ship that (as I am informed) came from Barbadoes. They all being strangers here, I thought they would not be altogether unacceptable. I am informed that species like them are found in the Isle of Man, but quhat truth is in [that] perhaps you can inform me. N. 1, if I mistake it not, is quhat Boethius termes Astroitides sive Lapis stellaris quod exacte stellulas refert. N. 2. Two peices of the same kind, only the former is the upper part of the stone with the starrs formed at the top, thir out of the midst of one of them, and the douner part. N. 3 is perhaps quhat the said author [calls] Astroitides undarum gyros referens. N. 4. Perhaps of the same kind but a litle courser. N. 5 seems a litle to resemble quhat Greu in his Museum R.S. <sup>3</sup> termes Astrochites, only its not of that

<sup>1</sup> The Duchess of Hamilton had a necklace of Arran crystals. Martin, *Western Islands*, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> Answered September 9, 1700. Quarto i. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Grew (N.). *Museum Regalis Societatis; or a description of the natural and artificial rarities belonging to the Royal Society and preserved at Gresham College*. Lond., 1681.

 forme. N. 6 is quhat I find on many of the former and is perhaps a kind of fungus. N. 6 [*sic*] is quhat is unknown wholly to me. I have it branched, and in fascies united together. Quhat it comes nearest to is quhat Greu Tab. 18 names cats tail sponge, if it wer petrified. These are quhat I found among the said balasse, part of quhich was brought here to burn, as I am told, for lime, or plaster. N. 7 is quhat I fell on in great numbers and varieuse magnitudes in a hard clay on the banks of the River Cluyd within a mile of this place, beside a vitriolick spring. N. 8 is to me wholly unknown and quhat I found in a quarrie adjacent to this place. N. 9 I had sent me from Edinburgh. It was digged out of a reddish stone and, as I am told, seemed quhen whole to represent a fish. You have only the halfe of it thiknesse, another peice exactly like this being on the other side. Its unknown also. N. 10 is quhat I found in the stratum imediatly above our coal here and seems to have a mixture of shells in it.

Sir, your thoughts on all these with their names will be very acceptable, and that at as much lenth as your conveniency aloues. I am here in thir kind of matters like one in a thick and spaciously wood without a guide, & soe I stand much in need of your kind help. None here about concern themselves with such trifles as these! I am all alone in my lithoscopying and may weel make some feu observations, but in them all things are strange and all uncouth. Your directions to cary on this study would be very acceptable. Quhat I propose to myself is to procure as many species of things as I can, with their names, that these with a book or two, Boethius and Gesner, may be as guids to me. It would be inexpressibly oblidging to help on in this by sending with any of our cariers or otherwise, as many kinds of fossiles, formed stones, shells & other magnalia naturæ as you have plenty of, with an accompt of the books you think will be most usfull to me on this head. You see quhat boldness or rather impudence your kindness and oblidging presents have brought me too. My confort is I deal with a person that cherishes any faint desires he

finds any quher towards the knouledge of that very considerable part of learning, Natural History.

In your last present there is one kind *Echinus galeatus* that is mightily valued by our Highlanders under the name of cocknee stone. Its ordinary value with them is a cou, and they look upon it as a sovrain preservative against all charming, and ane infallible remedy for deseases in catell. Even the more gentlemanary sort will not be perswaded but it groues in the cocks knee (hence its name) & some of them are soe impudent as to pretend they have seen them taken out thence.

Begging the happiness of hearing from you as soon as and as oft as conveniently you can, with ane accompt quher the learned my have the happiness of your Scotch Historicall Library, I remain, your very much oblidged and humble servant,

R. W.

Ap. 13, 1700.

### XXXI. For Mr JA. PATERSON <sup>1</sup>

Sir, I have taken the occasion of the bearer that comes in with Mr Tran to give you the trouble of this line. Trouble, I may say, for there is litle or no occasion of the writing of it but only to let you see that I am very desirouse of your correspondence. That it may not come altogether empty, I have sent with it quhat I find in a quarry near by, of whin stone, quhat to make of it I knou not weel. If it be thought worth your consideration, pray give me your thoughts on it. I designed to send you some Entrochi and shells in, & impressions of shells upon limestone, but I supposed you might have plenty of them. I received you[r] last (for quhat I knou) with your Entrochi and Selenites. I have a Selenites rhomboidalis with some fogg inclosed in it quhich I had sent me by the learned & curiouse Archdeacon Nicholson.

I have latly fallen upon ane old edition of Knoxes History in 12o printed long befor our ordinary quartoes &

<sup>1</sup> Answered May 13, 1700. Quarto i. 88.

folios of D. Buchanans edition.<sup>1</sup> My copy wants the first 30 pages, and at the end from the beginning of the 4th Book. I would gladly [hear] from Dr Sibbald if he hath or has seen the edition. It wants at the beginning, as I said, soe I cannot tell the time of its printing, but I would gladly hear of a compleat coppie of this kind. It differs very considerably from our ordinary copies & may serve much to answer quhat Mr Sage has in his preface to the Charter of Presbitry on this head. If you have any thing to send west, the bearer is to stay in toun 8 or 10 days & will call quhen you appoint him. Give my humble respects to Dr Sibbald. If I come not in to Edinr. at the rising of [the] Universality (quhich I yet doubt of) I desing to give him the trouble of some doubts that occur to me upon reading the MSS. Chronicon Melrossense. I am, your affectionat freind & servant,

R. W.

May 10, 1700.

### XXXII. For Mr JOHN SMITH at London <sup>2</sup>

D. C., This comes heartily to welcome you to this isle and to congratulate your safe voyage. I have only a small comission to trouble you with, and perhaps it may be the last of this kind for a considerable while. I have met with a Greek Neu Testament printed at Oxford ex theatro Sheldoniano anno 1675 as far as I mind.<sup>3</sup> It is in a pretty large 8vo with the variæ lectiones at the foot of the page like notes. Pray try for it either in sheets or bound, neu or at 2d hand, in as many places as you can, and buy it at any price under 10 Ss. sterline. I am very desirouse of [it]. I belive for all this you may have it for 5, if not under. I desire you may likewise buy Nicolsons English

<sup>1</sup> This is the edition printed by T. Vautrollier in London in 1587, which was suppressed. All surviving copies lack all before p. 17 and after p. 560. Wodrow's copy has further imperfections.

<sup>2</sup> There are several letters from Smith to A. Wodrow but none to R. Wodrow in Quarto i.

<sup>3</sup> Της Καινης Διαθηκης ἀπαντα. *Novi Testamenti libri omnes. Accesserunt parallela Scripturæ loca, nec non variantes lectiones ex plus 100 MSS. codicibus, et antiquis versionibus collectæ.* Oxonii, 1675.

Historicall Library, the first and 2d part, in sheets. I have the 3d part already.<sup>1</sup> Befor you want them buy them bound. These are for my self. I desire you may buy for the Library the Philosophicall Transactions for the moneth of June 1699; then, beginning at the moneth of December 1699, buy as many after as are come out. These you buy stitched up. Likewise buy Bishop Burnets Comentary on the Articles of the Church of England and Catalogus Universalis librorum in quacunq[ue] facultate in 2 vols., Edwards Sermon on the intrinsicall nature of good and evil,<sup>2</sup> with Nath. Tailzour his late peice on the nature of faith, against the Deists.<sup>3</sup> I need use noe complements with you. I knou you will do your outmost for me much more for the Library. Give my service to Mr Shau & Mr Davidson. Wishing us a safe meeting, I am, your affectionat freind & comrad,

R. W.

May 22, 1700.

XXXIII. Memorandum for Mr JAMES MILNE quhen going for Inverlochy <sup>4</sup>

1. Be pleased to send me ane accompt of the Loch Nesse, as large as you can, its lenth and breadth, if any of the garison or gentlmen in the county have caused try its deepth, or knou that this was ever tryed by others. In short ane accompt of all its peculiaritys will be very acceptable.

2ly. Ane accompt of the mountain Meal-Fuorvouny that lyes 4 miles westward of the castle of Urquhart on the side of the said loch. Endeavour to get the signification of the

<sup>1</sup> It was presented to him by Nicolson. See *supra*, Letter XX.

<sup>2</sup> Edwards (John). *The eternal and intrinsick reasons of good and evil. A sermon*, etc. Lond., 1699.

<sup>3</sup> Taylor (N.). *A discourse of the nature and necessity of faith in Jesus Christ*. Lond., 1700.

<sup>4</sup> An answer to these Queries, not by Milne but by Donald McMarcus, was received by Wodrow on December 26, 1700, and is printed at the end of this letter from the original in Quarto i. 107. The queries are based on *Part of a letter wrote by Mr. James Fraser . . . to James Wallace . . . concerning the Lake Ness*, printed in *Phil. Trans.* xxi. No. 254 for July 1699.

said name of the mountain, for I suppose its Irish ; if it be 2 miles perpendicular above the surface of the loch ; if ther be a lock of fresh water on the tope of this hill ; its lenth & breadth ; if unfathomable in deepth ; if this lake be summer and winter equally full and never freezes ; if any fish in it.

3. Ane accompt of Beauly Firth ; the origine of its name Beauly ; if prodigiouse large oaks with roots &c. be found in the sand ; if in the cairns there have been found any urns and quhat was within them ; if any in the hands of any body ther about and if they be to be procured for money or otherwise ; if in the sands of the firth or water of Beauly at any considerable deepth ther be shells to be found, as 10 or 12 or more feet. If [soe] pray procure some of them.

4. If deu west from Beauly about 17 miles in a forrest called Affaruck there be a mountain called Glen-in-tea in the north side of quhich, under the shade of a slooping rock, ther be a loch called Lochan-wyn that is alwise covred with ice, summer and winter. If you can get nottice, try upon quhat side (north &c.) the rock stand ; try the deepth and breadth, & if the water if taken out freezes else quher.

5. If upon the nixt mountain north of this 4 called Scure-in-lappich <sup>1</sup> (& let me have the signification of this & the rest tho you should get noe more) ther be a heap of white stones like christall that will strick fire and have ane odd smell. If it be possible, procure me some of them. If in this mountain ther be shells tho 20 miles from the sea, as oisters, limpets &c., let me also have some of them.

6ly. If you can, let me have ane accompt of the pagan temples or buriall places that are in great plenty on the side of the river of Narden,<sup>2</sup> the form of them and the

<sup>1</sup> Some of the identifications are very difficult. Mealfuarvounie, Affric and Scur na Lapich are recognisable. Glen-in-tea is doubtful, but Lochan-wyn is Loch Uaine (the Green Loch) between Mam Sodhail and Carn Eige at the source of the river Fiadhaich. [Ordnance Survey 6" Map publ. 1875.] A similar account of the loch is given by Rev. John Fraser in *The Statistical Account*, vol. xx. (1798) pp. 404-5.

<sup>2</sup> This is Nairn.

stones about them, and if any letters on the stones; if any urns be found, mor about them; if, tho ther be noe letters, ther be any carving on them.

7ly. If you can procure me ane elf arrou, adderstone, cocknee stone, snailstone, quhat the Highlanders call leagh, one if you can of all these.

8ly. An accmpt of the games peculiar to the Highlanders, their cus[toms] observed on set dayes throughout the year, and of quhat ever fashions are peculiar to them; an accmpt of any poets of note that are or have been among them, if any thing like bards be in use among these of accmpt among them; if not, quhen this use greu obsolet; if any MSS. of any antiquity be among them and if procurable, or a good copy of them, for money.

9ly. To procure me some of that marble you spoke of, polished and unpolished, with an accmpt of its locus natalis, the depth of the vain, &c.

10ly. To procure some of these whitish shining stones that are in slates, both the largest and of lesser sizes.

11ly. Some of that chrystall-like stone, like quhat I let you see.

12ly. If you can, to procure a copy of the inscriptions at Icolmkill, with a specimen of the pretty collour'd stones that are near it.

13ly. As many different kinds of nutts from Orkney or that come a shore on the Western Isles, as you can, on or 2 of a sort.

14. Any stone of ane odd form or shape, of a peculiar collour, weight or lightness, or quhat in short has any singularity in it; of these you will find abundance on the shore, fallen doun braes, at the brink of waters, burns, loch sides, quarries &c.

15. To procure me any old coins, Roman fibulæ, urns &c., old inscriptions in Irish, Latine or Scotts. If the coins be of any age, I will still give double or more the weight in money for them.

16. To procure me the oars of any mettalls you can fall on.



In giving your self this trouble you will extreemly oblige your affectionate freind and servant,

June 5, 1700.

R. WODROW.

*Answers to Queries to Inverlochy*

Information of Meall fuar monny it being . . . distant from the old Castle of Urquhart towards the west. On that side there is a litle loch in top thereof but the deep, bredth, and length therof I cannot justly tell. ʒe ʒeas donaim meall fuar monny: that is to say the signification of the name meall fuar monny is a lump of cold mountain. Loch Ness of it selfe it is 18 miles in length from end to end be land and tuo miles in bredth. The river that descents from the said loch is six miles be land to the sea. The depthness of the said loch I know it not onely I know that any ordinaire ship may ride thereon. The loch and river of Naes neuer freeseth but contrarie wise in the coldest times in winter it smoks and reeks. Beauly is distant towards the west from Inverness six miles at the end of the salt water that comes in to Inverness. In Beauly an abbey ther. The name of Beauly in the Irish tongue is Manchoin ʒlancom. Manach signifies a gelded man or eunoch and because that there was a cluster of friers there it carries the name Manchoin. The river that descents to the sea at Beauly the name of it in Irish is called ʒbunn na manac, that is to say Friers river and the firth or ferry of Beauly is called ʒort na manac, that is the Friers ferry. In the said river are blacke shells or musles named horse musles. In som of them are pearles found. The said shells are bigg, full of meat, and noe use mad of. Som of the shells will be an span long and three inches bredth. As for the places it lies in in Laird Schloms<sup>1</sup> land. I have no acquaintance there, so if I might have for my travell and paines to go thither I would give true accompt of your desire. The natives of the land useth in time of their feasting their onely musick are bag pipes, or viores, or harps, specially the clarsach clarrac, the name of an harp. Their drinks at feasts is ʒʒe beacac that is aqua vite. They seeke no bed cloaths in most of their houses but the plaids which they have about them in the day time. They rowle themselves therein on strau, hadder or feirn, and so they take their rest. As for urns in carnes or such I did not heare tell there of, onely in the Breese of Suthrland ther was an urn found there, but the tennants of that place hurling or rolling stons out of the earn broke the urn in peeces.

ʒlibidil na ʒaciseilʒ, that is to say the Irish alphabet. There are but 17 letters in the Irish made use thereof, as thus :

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Chisholm's.

A B C D E F G H I L M N O P Q R S T U  
 A B C D E F G H I L M N O P R S T U

Of these 17 letters are five vowels, the rest are consonants.

Farewell till further acquaintance. I am a freind to the Irish language as being somewhat taught there in letter and language.

Domnall MacFharrair

բարձրակ ու չհասնելէ, that is to say Daniel McMarcus, Professor of the Irish etc.

Further description of Meall fuar Monny. It neuer drys neither winter nor summer and there are little truts in it, but whither it freeses or not I cannot tell.

XXXIV. FOR MR. J. PATERSON <sup>1</sup>

Sir, I received your last of May 13th by our bedellus with your present of fosils. The *Petunculites aotis* is a grate stranger here. Your number first [seems] to me to be a *Belemnites*, tho it have not its end soe conick as they ordinarily are, yet its and these of them here also are abundantly tapering, hard, and smoth, quhich I look upon as the characteristiks of *Belemnites*, only I find none here in joints, the convex in the concave, to a considerable lenth. Some of the *Belemnites* I find with the bed of the *Alveolus* in them but never any of the *Alveoli* themselves. Let me knou if you meet with any with the *Alveoli* in them, as Mr Lhuyd says in his *Lithophilacium* he has met with.

As to that calf in your Gazette brought forth at Greenock,<sup>2</sup> I can not well describe it to you, not being soe much seen in anatomy as this would require. It has 2 heads, and about the 4.vertebra they join into on neck—for the first 3 they are fairly distinct. The spina near the anus is turned almost to a spiral figure 6. The 2 broad bones in its hinder loins wer sticking to its 2 shoulders. It has 4 legs only. The fore leggs are natural; of the hinder, the

<sup>1</sup> Answered July 24, 1700. Quarto i. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Paterson had asked for particulars of the calf. There is a report of it in *The Edinburgh Gazette*, May 2 to May 6, 1700. See a similar account of it by Wodrow in Letter XXXVIII.

on is too short, & the other considerably longer then calfs use to be. It has 2 hearts, but as far as I could observe, nothing else double. It lived about a minute after it was calved. This is quhat occurred to me quhen I caused open it, & quhat was told me by the person from quhom I purchased it. I have caused stuff up its skin, & have the bones & the double heart dry.

There is another odd birth in the island of Butt—a lamb with 2 heads & 5 horns on each head. This I had from eye witnesses, but being illiterat and consequently unobserving, I could learn none of the other circumstances. I have likewise a white crou, taken out of a nest about 7 miles from this from among 3 ordinary black young ones. It corresponds in shape and evry thing to a young crou, only its a very pure white.

I have met with litle under ground, since my last, only some bitumen fossile, more of quhich I shortly expect and then, if you want this, I shal supply you with it. I am longing for ane accompt of your oun or your correspondents travells above or under ground, and for quhat specemina of fossile or formd stone you can spare. I hope to hear from you by post or Mr Dunlope as soon as conveniency allowes. Till then & ever belive me to be, yours to the outmost of my pouer,

R. WODROW.

June 8, 1700.

The bearer, if other occasion offer not, will stay in toun and convey any thing you have to spare to my hands.

XXXV. Queries for Caledonia for Mr Ro. GRAY  
quhen going one of the Ministers ther <sup>1</sup>

June 17, 1700.

13. To quhat is above add. Let me have ane accompt if all the rainy season ther be thunder and lightning mixed

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Robert Gray who, according to the article in *Fasti*, was licensed by the Presbytery of Hamilton, June 20, 1700, in prospect of a charge in New Jersey. He was ordained to the parish of Nesting and Lunnasting in 1703. *Fasti*, vii. 309. These Queries are supplementary to the Queries, *supra* No. V.

frequently with the rain, and a very untollerable stench, and particularly let me knou if this stench is in these places quher the ground is cleared of treas & cultivated, or only in the woods & uncultivated grounds.

14. Add to quhat is above if the successour be still the eldest son to the end. Add: Pray inquire if the rumors we had here of the pawaus prediction of our mens leaving the place, and of the time of their coming back, does in any measure hold;—as to the preists, if they continue in one family or doe the eldest of a family still officiat.

These I hope you will endeavour to satisfy as far as you have accesse by observation and converse. I doubt but you will have Wafer & Dampiers Vo[y]ages aboard. These you will read, and many of thir particulars that Waffer or Dampier speak of you need only confirm quhat they say, or tell me quherin they are mistaken. You knou that I am gathering a collection of naturall curiosities here, such particularly as may tend anyways to the clearing of Natural History, quherfor I entreat you may send over in a box directed for me as many of the things under-written as you can without to great trouble to your self procure, viz.

1. Oars of mettalls, whither gold or silver, if any yet be fallen on, as also a litle quantity of the gold dust found in the River of Darien.

2ly. Quhat ever odd animals, or parts of them, that are not to be had here, as serpents skin, the skins of other beasts or the feet of beasts, uncomon here, wings of their birds or some of the prettyest of their feathers, and particularly Indian croun, bracelet, beads, nose peices &c.; as quhat of their fishes or their parts as fins, scales, &c. But I am hopefull to receive some of the lesser sort whole.

3ly. Some of their plants & roots that are peculiar to the place—I care not tho they be dried; some of their fruits that are portable, as particularly their nutts, if ther be any, and all their different sorts; & [a] peice of as many of their different kinds of wood as you can, as cabbage trea, palmwod, coco, &c.; some of their flouers, tho dried; some cotton in its cod & a bitt of the branch, with ane

account of the trea ; a bou, arro, and dart, if you can procure them, and [some] of their houshold instruments.

4ly. Some of their money, for quhich I suppose they use shells.

5ly. Some of their shells of as many kinds as you can. Of these you will find abundance on the shore ; and particularly a young tortoise or peice of ane old tortoise shell with one of their eggs, if they will preserve.

6ly. Any stones you meet with on the shore, if any odd shape or figure, weight, lightness or collour uncomon here.

8ly. Send me over some of the Indian names that are not of a Spanish originall ; a specimen of the Indian language—if it has any affinity with Greek, Latine or Hebreu or any modern language ; with ane account of their games & peculiar customes and fashions.

I hope you will write from quhat ever place you touch at in your passage & with any ships you meet with. Your lines will [be] to none more acceptable then to me. And if you stay at any place or goe ashor, pray gather quhat shells, stones &c. you meet. All from America, but especially Caledonia, will be acceptable to me. And still send the names of quhat you sent, if you can procure them, in Indian and English. Trouble not your self with send[ing] more then one or two of a sort of things, except it be in shells, nutts or things that are plenty and portable.

### XXXVI. For Mr ALEXR. STEVENSON at Air <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I had yours as sone as I came to toun viz. on Wends-day from Mr Alstone,<sup>2</sup> with your kind present of granats

<sup>1</sup> In his Contents of Quarto i. under Q. i. 91, Wodrow calls him 'Mr Alexander Stevensone (since Advocat).' He was in the class of John Tran at Glasgow in 1697—*Munimenta*, iii. 163 ; and was admitted Advocate on July 29, 1707—R. Mylne's MS. Edin. Univ. La. iii. 528. He is there called 'son of Mr James, Chirurgion in Air.' James was the son of Alexander Stevenson, Minister of Dalmellington. *Fasti*, iii. 21.

<sup>2</sup> This cannot be Charles Alston, afterwards Professor of Botany at Edinburgh, for he did not graduate before 1701. *Munimenta*, iii. 173. It might be Thomas Alston, who was in the same class as A. Stevenson in 1697, or Robert Alston, who was in Tran's Class in 1698. *Munimenta*, iii. 163, 165.

&c. for quhich I by this return thanks. Some of these sea substances you speak of will be very acceptable to me. I hope you will inclose such of them as are tender in boxes. Send me still 2 of a sort, at least, if you have them in plenty and they be portable. Let me still have their comon name about them and their names of art too, if they be knouen. Neglect nothing for its being common, because I am wholly a stranger about the shore and evry thing will be acceptable. I have gote a very considerable addition to my collection from Edinr., but all of them almost are but single species. If once I had laizour to take a reveu of them you shall have a specimen. Quhat I have most of is shells, soe that I am very desirouse of an addition to them. I hope you will be in case to help me much here. Quhat I have are most forraing. All our oun kinds except muscle, oister, or cockle will be acceptable, and these too, if ther be any singularity in them.

Receive Grotius De jure belli; Thucidides we have not in Greek, & Xenophon is out. We have Herodian, Zozimus, Alianus, Appianus, & Herodotus, with quhom I should have begun. If you be very desirouse of Thucidides or Xenophon I belive I can shortly procure them for you. Per nixt let me knou quhich [of] them all you desire. If you be reading Greek, I humbly suppose you should intermix some of the Christian writers of the first 3 centuries, such as Theophilus, Justine Martyr, Ireneus (quhich is just a recovering in Greek and printing at Oxford), Athenagoras, Clemens Romanus, Barnabas, or Ignatius. I can furnish you with quhat of these you need. It will be very satisfying to me to have accompt of the flores & aureolæ of you[r] reading & studies. Quhat I meet with here, in philosophy, natural history &c. worth your knowledge shall be comunicated. I hope you will cause the cariers quhen they come here call at me. This with my humble respects to you[r] father is all you are to meet with at presentt from your affectionate comrad and servant,

Glasg., July 4, 1700.

R. WODROW.

XXXVII. For Mr JA. PATERSONE <sup>1</sup>

D. Comrad,

According to your desire I have given you the trouble of this by post. I came safe to this place on Teusday night. I long to hear quhat beccame of you in such a melancholy day, quhich I am afraid has spoiled your stone picking. We had noe more rain after we were 4 miles from you. I gote all my treasure safe to this place except the Echinus I had from you, quhich the carier crushed into attomes. You may be sure that affects me not a litle. I have gote nothing done since I came home, having been called out of toun, but I hope nixt week to send you, either by the carier or the Justice Clerks servant,<sup>2</sup> some small returne, tho extreemly short of the kindness I met with from you. I shall likewise send that MSS. of Sir Ja. Turners against Buchanan,<sup>3</sup> & the neu edition of Wallace Description of the Orkneys<sup>4</sup> to the surprizingly kind D. Sibbald, & a line & catologue to the oblidging Mr Sutherland, to quhom both I acknouledge greater obligations then I shall be ever able to repay.

For want of better matter I shall here divert you a litle with a thought or 2 that came into my head quhen taking a slight veu of the Hist. nat. & morale des Antilles.<sup>5</sup> My first is that quhat our author calls p. 187, Bonite, & describes it, & p. 189 gives the figure of it, is that fish we sau at Cramond, quhich I hope is nou in your hands. It has the same shape (& particularly the extraordinary rou of prickles going up its side) with my idea of your fish. Wer it not that I belive you may procure the book, I would send you his discription of it. He sayes indeed they are 2 feet in lenth, but this may be a young one. My nixt

<sup>1</sup> Answered July 24, 1700. Quarto i. 90.

<sup>2</sup> The Lord Justice Clerk was Sir John Maxwell of Pollock, Lord Rector of Glasgow University. There was some correspondence between him and Wodrow. See *infra* Letters, CXXXV-CXXXVII, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Buchanan revised*, now in the National Library of Scotland.

<sup>4</sup> Wallace (James). *An account of the islands of Orkney*. Lond., 1700.

<sup>5</sup> [Poincy (Louis de).] *Histoire naturelle et morale des Iles Antilles de l'Amérique*. . . . Dernière éd. Rotterdam, 1681. Wodrow presented a copy of this edition to Edinburgh University.

extravagancy shall be concerning your boat from Greenland, Lapland or rather the Straits of Davis. Its extreemly weel described by our author and from his figure of the oar, p. 209, I suspect the litle bone (as I suppose) in yours, that you thought might be his idol, this I fear must be degraded and made only the pin to fix his oar upon quhen he ceases to row, unless you make [it] serve for both, this kind of people being easy to please. Your last trouble at this time shall be whither your Coclia musica be of the kind our author describes, p. 232, with real musical notes upon its side. If yours have them I must accuse my self of grosse inadvertency, but I yet suspect that they may be but the addition of the too forward painter.

I begg the favour of frequent lines from you by post with the current neuse forraing and domestick, ane accompt of quhich at lenth will be acceptable in such a troubled juncture as this is. This, with your jurney to Libbertoun Well,<sup>1</sup> will add to the innumerable obligations already upon yours to the outmost of his pouer,

July 4, 1700.

R. WODROW.

### XXXVIII. For Mr Archdeacon NICOLSON <sup>2</sup>

Reverend and Learned Sir,

My last to you was by Mr Topham of Aprile 13 with some coraline substances. I have had noe accompt of him or it since. I had suspected it had been miscaried, if Mr Topham had not given marks of his oblidging care befor. I hope it is come to your hands with my former with the Roman inscription. Your freinds in this country

<sup>1</sup> Paterson had written on August 15: 'I went to Libberton a few days after you left me but misssd the greatest part of my design, for the wife, contrary to her promise, had begun to drain the well before I came, so that the rumbling (as she call'd it) was over; only I saw the oyl come streaming out like a thread, and sometimes like a pretty big cord, on the surface of the water, for she never makes it quite dry.' Quarto i. 93. This is St. Catherine's Well, or the Balm Well. Good (G.), *Liberton*, Edin., 1893, pp. 132-4. The last entry in Wodrow's MS., *List of Materials for a Natural History*, is 'Petroleum nostras Sibbaldus, or some of the oil that swims on the top of St. Catherine's Wells, Libbertoun.'

<sup>2</sup> Answered September 9, 1700. Quarto i. 97.



have been expecting the happiness of seeing you these 6 weeks ; we begin nou to entertean the fears that your more weighty affairs have deprived us of this pleasure for this season. If our fears be weel grounded and we at this losse, this comes to begg the favour of a line nou and then to make it up. I have been at Edinr. waiting on the learned Dr Sibbald & the curiouse Mr Sutherland, who have you kindly remembred.

Ther is litle worth your notticing passed here of late unlesse it be a monstrouse birth of a calf near this place. The calf I procured & caused dissect it. I am not soe far seen in anatomy as to give you any tollerable accompt of it & I get but litle help from any here. The monster has 2 heads, and about the 4th vertebra the[y] join into on neck, for the first 3 they are fairly distinct. The back bone towards the anus is turned almost to a spiral figure. The 2 broad bones on its hindermost loins wer sticking to its two shoulders. Its had four leggs only. The 2 fore ones are natural ; of the hindmost the one is to short & the other considerably longer than calves leggs use to be. It had 2 hearts, but nothing else that I could observe double. It lived about a minut after it was calved. This is quhat occurred to me quhen I caused open it, & quhat was told me by the person from [quhom] I purchased it. I have caused stufte up its skin and have the bones & 2 hearts dry. About 8 weeks since ther was ane odd birth in the isle of Bute—viz. a lamb with 2 heads & 5 horns on each head. This I had from ane eye witness, who, being illiterat & soe unobserving, could not satisfy me about its circumstances.

I have nou procured that old copy of Knoxes history I spoke of in my last but one, in a large 12mo. Its mank at the beginning and at the end having noe further then the beginning of the 4. Book. It seems probable it never had the 5. In all things it jumps with our MSS., particularly in these places challanged by the author of the Foundamentall Charter. It perfectly disagrees with the ordinary editions in all the passages of the first three books.

I would gladly knou quhat is become of the learned

D. Bernards papers at Oxford that related to Josephus, if any learned men ther have resumed his work, and if ever he printed any of Josephus as its said here he did.<sup>1</sup> This, with an accompt if I may yet entertein any hopes of seing you here this summer, is all at present from your very much oblidge & very humble servant,

July 4 [1700].

R. WODROW.

We are about to buy the MSSs. of the late learned Sir James Turner, author of *Pallas armata*, an accompt of quhich I hope to be in case to give you ere long. They will be worth the inserting in your Scots Hist. Library.

### XXXIX. For Doctour SIBBALD <sup>2</sup>

Honoured Sir,

This comes to give you hearty thanks for these kindness you we[r] pleased to favour me with quhen with you, & indeed this is the summ of quhat you may expect from me, for I am wholly out of case to make you any thing like a return. The grateful sense of them shall never goe out of my mind.

According to your desire I send with this Sir Ja. Turners *Buchanan Revised* (its written by his own hand) with 2 letters relating to the same head, but extreemly satyricall. The learned gentleman, as you knou, was hote and fiery in his temper, & soe but too much fitted (pardon the expression) for writing censures upon authors. I wish this humor of his, and the hardships he met with from men he was pleased to think of Buchanans principles, have not led him too far. The book is my own, so you m[ay] take your own laizour to peruse it. I would gladly have your sentiments on it quhen [you] shall be pleased to

<sup>1</sup> Part of Bernard's edition of Josephus was printed in 1687, and this with a further part was published at Oxford in 1700. The title-page reads *Flavii Josephi Antiquitatum Judaicarum libri quatuor priores et pars magna quinti*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Answered August 31. Quarto i. 96. This answer is printed in *Analecta Scotica*, ii. 134-6.

return it. Receive also Wallace Description of the Orkneys, the neu edition, quhich, quhen you have perused it, be pleased to give to Mr Paterson, who will send it to me. You are in best case of any I knou to give ane accompt of the differences between this and the former edition; this, with your reflections upon them, would be extreemly oblidging to me. I am shortly to take a copy of our Chron. Melross. for my oun use. A copy of Dr Jamisons<sup>1</sup> observations and your oun on it, with your collation of it with the printed copy, would be very usefull to me. I dare scarce be soe bold as to desire your oun papers west, tho if this could be done I should take a special care of them, and fall on measures for their secure conveyance to this place and back again. I have write to Mr Paterson to cause copy them at Edinr. if you cannot dispose them the former way, & he will give me accompt by post hou you and he have conserted.

I am not altogether hopless but if peace continue we may, through your kind assistance, have this valuable peice of our history printed, and fred from the interpolations it is larded with by the English editors.<sup>2</sup>

If I can be any way in case to serve you here I will still count it my great honnour and happiness to be imployed by you. Ile trouble you noe further at this time but beg leave to subscribe my self, Honoured Sir, your very much oblidged and very humble servant,

[July 8, 1700.]

R. WODROW.

#### XL. For Mr JAMES SUTHERLAND<sup>3</sup>

Sir, This comes to give you hearty thanks for the kindness you wer pleased to favour me with quhen at Edinr.

<sup>1</sup> This is John Jameson, D.D., whose *Notes . . . upon the printed Chronicle of Melros* are printed in Nicolson's *Scottish Historical Library*, App. III.

<sup>2</sup> The English edition referred to is that in *Rerum Anglicarum scriptorum veterum*, tom. i, Oxoniæ, 1684, pp. 133-244. It is now known that the Scottish MSS. have no authority, being but transcripts of the Cottonian MS., the only true original. Wodrow must share responsibility for the misstatements of Nicolson in this respect in his *Scottish Historical Library*.

<sup>3</sup> Answered August 28, 1700. Quarto i. 94.

I wish I wer in case to make you a deu return, for to be servicable to you here, or elsquher quher my pouer reaches, is among my greatest desires, & quhen you shall be pleased to imploy me you shall find my desire backed with suitable endeavours.

Receive from your scholar Mr Paterson with this the catalogue I spoke to you of. Perhaps you may find it a very weel chosen library. You may expect ane accompt of the latest books relating to meddals & botany, as soon as I get home my journals. Quhatever else I can serve you in shall be done with all chearfulness and alacrity. Waiting for your commands, I am, Sir, your very much oblidged humble servant,

July 8, 1700.

R. WODROW.

Quhen you have no further use for the catalogue, Mr Paterson will return it me.

#### XLI. For Mr JA. PATERSON <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I have sent you by this quhat I have that seems distinct from quhat I sent already, & for most part from quhat I observed you to have. N. 1 seems to me a very singular corraline substance of very fine & regulare figures. N. 2 is of the undulate or vermicular kind, very fine. N. 3. Petrified mosse abundantly fair and come to a good hard consistency. N. 4. The same only plainer. N. 5. Bitumen fossile in puris naturalibus. N. 6. A yellow talk with marcasits in it, much like the bed of the bitumen. N. 7. A substance found about Hamiltoun that yields vitriol. Its much of the nature of quhat is in the bundle marked  $\bar{x}$ . N. 8. A corraline substance with a shell in it: let me knou the kind of the shell, quhich I wish may reach safe. N. 9 is quhat I cannot name (witch cradle) but desire its name from you. N. 10 is quhat I found among the coraline substances: ane accompt of it will be acceptable. N. 11 is quhat I look upon as very curiouse and quhat serves much

<sup>1</sup> Answered July 24, 1700. Quarto i. 90.

to justify Mr Lhuyds hypothesis as to the Entrochi; this peice I suppose may be the branch of an Entrochus, but I have an Entrochus & only one, else you should have had more of this kind, covered with this coat, quhich makes it extreemly look like the radius of an Echinus. I begg your thoughts on this. My Modiolus is much of a skin with this. N. 12 is a singular kind of Entrochus, if it be not rather to be referred to another kind; your thoughts, with Dr Sibbalds, will be very acceptable.

Receive in the head of the box quhat I promised to send to your brother. He must take one pickle of the corn and take away the shortest beard or aun from it, for you see each pickle has 2; then cut off the other beard near the place quhich is bowed, leaving only soe much stump as to fix a litle bees wax to, quhich heat a litle and fix one of the small glasse tubes (in the peice paisbord uppermost in the box) exactly by the middle; this fix in bottom of a round box 4 or 5 inch diameter, within quhich fix a paper divided in 4 parts, quhich likewise exactly divides the box; then wet your pickle a litle below the glasse or index, and observe by the help of a spiral line how oft the index goes about, & let it come back to its due posture, at quhich it will stand. After the instrument is set before the fire to dry the late moisture, and then brought to the open air. This is the best directions I can give without drawing a scheme, quhich I am not good at; but when you come west you shall see the instrument here.

My service to all your brethren I am acquainted with. I would gladly have accompt of the cloud or some such like thing that your brother observed that night the rable was. I have packed up all the forsaid in a box for security. Receive a bundle also with some things that are not soe ready to break, quhich I suppose might not be unacceptable to you. They are all, I think, corraline substances I before accompted for, except it be a bitt of chrysell from this place & coal with shells in it from Partick. I hope you expect not that I send thir as any proportionable return for the favours I received from you at Edinr. Noe,

that you need not expect : its beyond my pouer. Look upon them as the best I have doubles of, & coming from on freind to another, quhich I hope will atone for their meanness. If any of them be thought worthy of a room in the College curiosities,<sup>1</sup> as a small token of my respect, & smaller return for the happiness I had in veuing of them, I shall lay out my self to furnish you with any I have doubles of.

Receive inclosed a line for Dr Sibbald, with 2 books from the bearer—Sir Ja. Turners MSS. and Wallace Description of the Orkneys, quhich I knou you will deliver to him as sone as may be. I have write to him for a copy of D. Jamisons & his oun reflections on Chron. Melrossi. If he cannot spare his papers west, I hope you will doe me the kindness as to cause transcribe them with accuracy and send them. Quhat expenses you are at shall be refounded quhen and hou you acquaint me. I wish I have not offended him by desiring his papers west. The reason moved me was I observed some notes on the margine of his copy of the Chron. with D. Jam. oun hand, quhich I fear cannot easily be transcribed unless with another copy of the Chronicon, and ther are some feu passages of our MSS. I am not able to read. These, with his oblidging humor, wer quhat moved me. I hope if need be you will represent this. Let me knou of your receipt of all by the bearer ; within a feu dayes after I expect a long line by post with neuse, ane accompt of your success with D. Sibbald &c. Ther is inclosed a line to Mr Sutherland and a catalogue with the Doctors 2 books quhich you will give him. You will doe me the favour to give the bearer or leave them at the Justice Clerks quhen they shall be pleased to return them to you. Begging pardon for all this trouble & hoping for some neu specimina of your fossiles &c. you find or have from correspondents, I am, yours to the outmost of my pouer,

Glas., July 8, 1700.

R. WODROW.

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<sup>1</sup> There is unfortunately no record of these in the Edinburgh University Donation Book.

Clausenius,<sup>1</sup> as also you[r] litle Greek and Latine book relating to Mahametanism,<sup>2</sup> will be acceptable, and Arbuthnet with the bearer, quhen you fall on them. You may still leave any thing—books, fossils &c. in the Justice Clerks & it will come safe to me. Give my respects to Mr Adair<sup>3</sup> quhen you see him. Tell if I kneu he wer to stay in toun I would send him some trifles from this place.

#### XLII. For My Lord PITTMEDDAN<sup>4</sup>

My Lord,

This comes to your hands to render thanks for these many favours your Lordship was pleased to honour me with. According to your desire there comes with this a feu fossiles neither soe good nor soe fine as I could have wished, but such as at this unfavourable season I could fall upon. Your Lordship has most of the species I have ever met with in the place, and such names as I have for them. Quhen any other kinds occurre you may expect specimens of them. N. 1 are *Pectunculites lacunatus* Lhyudi. N. 2 are *Alveolus fastigiatus* Lhuydi. But to others they bids fair to be a *Pectunculites*, only their lines are finer then the former. N. 3 are stones with fair impressions of N. 1 & N. 2 upon them. These are curiouse in their kind. N. 4. Quhat we ordinarily terme Cockspurs: they are of the wilk kind. N. 5 are *Entrochi majores*. N. 6 are *Entrochi minores magis compressi et complanati*, with a peice of the marle or till that all thir kinds are found in, with some *Entrochi* in it: on of the *Entrochi* is very weel branched as your Lordship sees. N. 7 are *Trochitæ* quich are a very curiouse kind & abundantly fair. One of the *Trochitæ* is inserted into a shell quich

<sup>1</sup> Paterson wrote that he was sending *Gaussenus* and *Saracenicæ*, so Clausenius is an error. The book was probably *Gaussenus* (S.), *Dissertationes theologicae*, Lugd. Bat. 1698.

<sup>2</sup> Sylburgius (F.) ed. *Saracenicæ, sive Moamethica*. [Heidelberg], 1595.

<sup>3</sup> John Adair, the geographer.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmeddan, created a Lord of Session in 1677, and a Lord of Justiciary in 1682. *D.N.B.*

makes it singular. N. 8 are 2 turbos. These I wish m[a]y get safe [in] your Lordships hands. For the security of quhat remains I put them in a box as being more tender than the former. N. 9 is 2 Petunculites, one of them very fair, with its auriculæ at it. N. 10 is of the same kind with N. 2 but extreamly fair as ever I met with. N. 11 are 3 Turbonites quhich, tho least, yet are not the lesse curiouse if quhat is said be treu: *Natura in minimis maxime ingeniosa*. Upermost in the box to make up the vacuum your Lordship has some petrified mosse abundantly plain. You have all in *puris naturalibus* as they came out of their mother earth. I would have been at the pains to have cleanged & picked the Entrochi &c. but I knou the nearer they are to their natural state the more acceptable they are to any curiouse naturalist and soe to your Lordship. These pretend not to be any return to your Lordships extreamly valuable present to me & your other kindnesses; that is above my pouer and quhat I most still acknouledge as debt upon me. These are only specimina of quhat you might expect if the place produced them or I could procure them.

I have looked quhat peices of Sanctius Commentaries<sup>1</sup> we have to sell in this place and they are as follows. . . . We have none of Lorinus or a Lapide.<sup>2</sup> Your Lordship may acquaint me by the bearer or by post quhat of these peices you need and they shall be sent in quhen you please. I am emboldned by your Lordships condescending offers to hope for some natural curiositys quhen you return from the north, quhich I should be glad to knou of, that I might cause the bearer or some other come for them. Any thing will be acceptable that comes from your Lordship, particularly Amianthus in all its kinds, ripe & unripe, christalls, stalagmites from the cove of Slains, christalls, marble, oars & quhat ever is fallen upon in plenty & is withall not to great a trouble to your Lordship to transport. If I can serve your Lordship in any thing in this

<sup>1</sup> Gaspar Sanctius, who wrote Commentaries on the Bible.

<sup>2</sup> Joannes Lorinus and Cornelius a Lapide, commentators on the Bible.



country, I will looke upon it as one of my greatest happin-  
nesses to be imployed therin. Waiting for your Lordships  
further commands, I begg the honnour to subscribe my  
self, my Lord, your very much oblided and very humble  
servant,

R. WODROW.

XLIII. For Mr JAMES WALLACE <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I received yours of May 30 and of June 12 by post  
as also the books Mr Bell sent down by Mr Edmistoun, in  
quhich Kidders Demonstration wer uncomissioned, as the  
Account of the Isles of Orkney was also, and, quhich was  
worse, we had it here before. This mistake I doe not in  
the least impute to you but to Mr Bells forwardness to  
have his books off. The mistake is not very weighty if  
moe do not follou, quherfor I hope you will advertish  
Mr Bell to follou exactly the comissions he receives from  
you afterwards, least he lose our change. His prices are  
extravagant, and in some that I could instance that he  
has sent us, the very price they are sold for at Edinr.  
bound. Houever I am extreamly oblided to you for the  
kind pains you have been at in transmitting them to me.  
I have given in the 40 Ss. to Robert Greenlees <sup>2</sup> and taken  
his note for it. Had it not been I have been at Edinr.  
this while and waiting till the said Robert should call for  
the money I had not been soe long in returning my  
hearty thanks.

For our neuse, there are none stirring, but we are all in  
a fearfull ferment, quhich I pray God may not cast us in  
a confusion and feild of blood. Our colony is broke and  
that (as it seems) for ever, our money, & quhich is worse,  
our credite & reputation lost, and after all we knou [not]  
quher to or hou to help our selvs. All the blame is laid  
upon the King, and peaple turning to very bigg words on  
the head. Would to God they goe noe further, but their  
spleen most break upon somebody, tho the most we can  
doe is to bark, and not to bite. It is very much suspected

<sup>1</sup> No answer in the Quarto Letters.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified.

that evil designing men croud in among others and are soe carying on their hellish desings of overtur[n]ing our goverment, laues, liberties & religion. Our sins cry loud for vengeance and this sadly agravates the evil aspect that is upon affairs in the eyes of all discerning persons. The Protestant interest is at a low ebb now as ever it was since the Reformation. Its said that the King of Denmark is turned popish and that ther are fears of the Electour of Brandenburgs inclinations that way. If the Lord leave that prince thus to the counsels of wicked men, it will be a sad stroak to the Reformed Churches. The Lord only knowes quhat these things will turn too. Wer not that he can, and in his own good time will bring order out of confusion, the hearts of some in this land had ere this time sunk under soe dismall a prospect. We are much allarmed with accompts of your heats in England, dissatisfactions with the King, declaring a war with Holland, &c. Whither these be only made here to encourage our heats & widen our divisions, you can best give me accompt.

If you have occasion to be at Oxford pray inquire for Mr Lhuyd, Keeper of the Ashmolean Closet, & give my humble respects to him. He is a very civil gentlman and will entertean you with a sight of his curiosities. If you have not seen them before it wer worth your while to goe once errand. Tho you have seen the Closet yet he has a vast collection of his own, quhich, if in order as yet, will be worth your pains. If you see him you may acquaint him that I desing to give him the trouble of a line & some formed stones as soon as I hear he is come to Oxford. Ane accompt of the book you name, the Cases of the London ministers (& its answers) of the disposall of Stillingfleets Library,<sup>1</sup> & if ther be any hopes of an edition of his Origines Sacræ with the large additions I heard he designed, with all your neuse, especially as to our affairs.

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<sup>1</sup> Wallace, on June 12, had written: 'I am certainly informed that several of the dissenting ministers are at work in answering of a book written by some of the clergie of England (some feu years ago) entituled *The cases of the London ministers*. The subject thereof (if you have not seen it) is concerning separation and schism; the answer is expected to

My father is extreemly troubled with the gravel & I am affraid will not be able to subsist long under it. Ther is noe certainty about our Principalls place. Mr Patrick Cummine <sup>1</sup> seems fairest for it if he will accept. We begin to talk of Mr Sheilds quhom we expect in this week, there being a sloop already come in from Darien.<sup>2</sup> Our comunion is to be nixt Sabath. Ile trouble you noe further at this time but begging the favour of hearing frequently from you, particularly if Mr Lhuyd be come to Oxford. I am, your affectionat comrad and oblidged servant,

July 16, 1700.

R. WODROW.

XLIV. For Mr ALEXR. STEVENSON <sup>3</sup>

D. C., I received your kind presentt of July 18. I entreat you may send quhat of these sea substances you speak of quhich you have in plenty, some more of the Cochleæ variorum colorum, long shells, and, quhen you have provided your self, some more of the Chamæ pulcherrimæ if you fall on them, any of these stones you speak [of], particularly a little of that sparr with the leaves of flouers on it, & quhat else you find that is observable & you have doubles of. The Ambra liquida will be acceptable, with ane accompt of it. Receive Theophilus Antiochenus; for the rest I shall send quhat of them I have afterwards. This being just before our comunion, & the carier just going away, I shall break of and referr quhat else of yours needs answer till nixt, quhen you shall have a large letter to make up the shortness of this. I am, as ever,

July 19, 1700.

R. WODROW.

come from the Ministers about Michaelmas. I am also informed that there are three several parties who have offered to buy the library of the learned Bishop Stillingfleet, viz. the King, Pauls (of which you know he was Dean) & the Citie of London. Of this last zoo have subscribed (all of them Dissenters) to buy it at any rate, for the use of the Dissenting Ministers.'

<sup>1</sup> Minister of Ormiston. *Fasti*, i. 341.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Shields was already dead. See p. 18 n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Answered August 5, 1700. Quarto i. 91. Stevenson's letter of July 18 has not been found.

XLV. For Mr THOMAS DAVIDSON at London <sup>1</sup>

D. C., This comes to your hands to begg the renewing of the old acquaintaince, [I] may say more, freindship that has been between us, and to begg the favour of a line nou and then, quhen your more weighty affairs permitt. A correspondence with you, Sir, is quhat one my part would be both pleasant and profitable, tho one yours, I fear, may be but a diversion, if not a trouble. This cold climate is much removed from the wordle and particularly from the better part of it, learned men. This you can judge of sufficiently without any representation from me by your own improvments since you left it. Yet if any accounts of affairs here, if any thing I could entertain you with were acceptable, you may expect them. But I need not run to soe barren a feild as this is. I'll rather apply my self to your oun communicative temper, and here I will find ground enough for expecting the favour of accompts of affairs from you.

The accounts particular[l]y of quhat follows at your spare hours would be extreamly oblidging to me:—of Deisme, whither it be on the grouing or declining hand in England, if any formula of the tenets agreed on in their metings or given by any considerable person among them, beside quhat we have in Blounts Oracles,<sup>2</sup> be to be had in print; as to the Dissenters, ane account of their divisions (if they be yet raging) who are or wer the heads of partys, the grounds of the rent, and if they meet together in any judicatures in London and the country, quher they inflict censures, &c. And this puts me in mind of a particulare concerning quhich I would gladly be satisfied—whither ther be any printed accompts of the acts and proceedings of the English convocations or any of their inferior judicatorys, and if ther be, ane accompt of them will be very acceptable; if ther be any of the Dissenters have write

<sup>1</sup> No answer found. For a note on Davidson, see Addenda.

<sup>2</sup> Blount (Thomas). *The oracles of reason*. Lond., 1693.

against the Deists beside Mr Tailzour,<sup>1</sup> or against the Socinians. The writters of the other side seem to many here to be necessitate by their own opinions to grant soe much to their adversaries, being all (that I have met with) Arminians, and sevrall, Socinians, that their writings doe not satisfy sevrall here, and it seems clear that such as are Arminians are not in case to deal either with Socinians or Deists. Ane accompt of the Theosophical Society would be very satisfying, quhat they pretend too, of quhom they most consist, and quhat is become of them. Ane accompt of the presentt circumstances & state of Socinianism in England, & particularly at London, who are their most considerable defenders & opposers; of the author of the Private Christians witness to Christianity<sup>2</sup>; of the author of The Turkish Spy; if the 2nd Spira be ane imposture; if there [be] any of the Greek or Roman authors coming out with notes in usum D. Gloscesteriensis<sup>3</sup>; quhat esteem Wells Neu and Old Geographical Mapps are in, with their price—there is ane accompt of them in the last years History of the Works of the Learnd, the authors of quhich I would gladly hear of. There is ane accompt of a desing to compendise the Philosophical Transactions in the said peices. I would gladly knou quhen we may expect this in print. Mr Bell or any of the booksellers will satisfy you about quhat of these relate to books; your own inquisitive temper & converse with the ministers & other learned persons put you in case to satisfy me as to the rest.

It will be a speciall obligation on me to buy the Philosophicall Transactions for the moneth of June 1699, and then beginning at the moneth of December 1699, as many as are come out. These are for the Library. For my self I would gladly have our countryman Dr

<sup>1</sup> Nathaniel Taylor, who wrote *A preservative against deism*, Lond., 1898, and other works.

<sup>2</sup> David Hamilton.

<sup>3</sup> The Duke of Gloucester at this time was a boy, William, son of Prince George of Denmark and Princess (afterwards Queen) Anne. He died in 1700, aged 10. Dean Stanhope wrote religious works for his use. Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, iv. 153. I have not found any of the Classics edited for his use.

Arbuthnets Reflections on Wodwards theory of the earth. I latly here met with a Greek Neu Testament printed ex Theatro Sheldoniano anno 1675. As far as I can mind its a pretty large 8vo, with the variæ lectiones of either 30 or 60 manuscripts at the foot of the page like notes; the editors name is not at it. This book I am extreamly desirouse of. It would be a special favour to try for it either neu or at second hand. I would [give] 5 or 6 shills. for it befor I want, tho if you fall on it, I belive it may be had much cheaper. I will allou quhat ever you think it worth. Quhat of these you fall on the bearer Mr Edmiston will call for quhat [time] you appoint, and pay you quhat you lay out for them; he will stay 5 or 6 weeks at London, & is of Mr Bells acquaintaince.

For our neuse, as to quhat relates to the publick you will have them before this reach you, and Mr Edmiston will give you ane accompt. Our Principals place is not disposed of as yet. Mr Patrick Cummine seems fairest for it. My father these 20 days has been very ill of the stone, but this day he is somquhat better. Quhat apology to make for all this trouble I put you to I know not, but if I can serve you in any thing here it shall be done with the outmost readiness & willingness. My humble respect to you[r] mother. This with ane account of the neu books, discoveryes & advances in learning, & the happiness of hearing from you by the bearer, post, or others coming to this place, will extreamly oblige, D.C., your affectionate friend and humble servant,

R. WODROW.

Glasg., July 24, 1700.

#### XLVI. For Mr ALEXR. STEVENSON <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I received yours on Friday last by the carier and wrote to you immediatly and sent a short line, quhich, with Theophilus, receive. As a witness of the carriers unfaithfulness, he promised to return within 2 hours, and take

<sup>1</sup> Answered August 5, 1700. Quarto i. 91. No earlier letters from Stevenson have been found.

them, but I have not yet seen him. In time coming order him to deliver yours quhen he comes to toun that I may have time to answer it befor he goes away. I have writt this before hand that \*it may be ready for him quhenver he calls. I again return you my hearty thanks for your valuable presentt. Receive a return such as it is out of quhat I have at hand. I have not put my fossiles in any order, but hope to doe it shortly nou, & then I shall knou quhat I have doubles of. You knou them all. The Nux pregnans was quhat you desired. I have not yet gote another but am in hopes of it; the other 3 are the fruits of a late visite to the Oldhouse Burn,<sup>1</sup> that rich repository of nature. I meet almost still with some that [are] neu there. I gote the impression of the seed of a plant very plain. The plant I knou, but cannot give you its name; its comone in marshy places & rattles quhen ripe. I met with a peice of matter in form of a pear, and a small Entrochus, for its stalk of a very odd contexture, quhich without a figure I cannot describe; its but the bigness of a pea. Take these as quhat at presentt I have, and not as quhat I owe you.

As to your present, your lead oar is very rich, & wer it not that D. Sibbalds oare is copper, I should be ready to transmute Davennan to Ballacoch.<sup>2</sup> Your shells are very curiouse in their kinds. Your Chamae pulcherrimae are very fine but I doubt if they be to be referred to the Chamae, quhich I suppose has no lines going from the rostrum to the lipps, but only transverse. I pretend not to be positive, for I have no peice on shells by me except Johnstoun,<sup>3</sup> who has nothing like this of yours. I sau one of them in Mr Adairs vast collection of Scots shells at Edinburgh, echinated. Your Cochleæ variae colloris are very fine; 2 of them rather Johnstons Trochi; your long shell is quhat I cannot find in him. As many moe

<sup>1</sup> Flows through Eastwood parish into the White Cart.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot explain the allusion.

<sup>3</sup> Joannes Jonstonus, a Pole, who wrote works in Natural History. Glasgow University Library Catalogue, 1791, has his *Historia naturalis de quadrupedibus, de avibus, de piscibus*, etc. Paris, 1650.

as you will of all thir I received till you come to 8 or 10 will be acceptable. Your Amianthus is extreamly white. You may shortly expect some treu Scots from me. A bitt of your greenish stone will be satisfying. I desire you me send me some of all these substances you sent Mr Astoun, with your thoughts at large, & the talk. The difference between the sparr quartz or rather Selinites & the talk or Muscovy glasse is that the latter laminateth & is flexible, as I suppose I intimated to you quhen here. I had almost forgote your marmaiden purse, quhich is curiouse, & of quhich, if you have plenty, pray send me some more, with ane accompt of its locus natalis, at least as to you, with your thoughts of it. It seems to me to be the seed of a vegetable in its husk, & ther is somequhat like seeds plainly within one of them.

Receive Theophilus as quhat I have of mine oun. For Eusebius, if you desire his Church History, I shall send you it out of the Library; for his Preparationes and Demonstrationes we have them only in Latine. Polybius is not in the Library. I have it of mine oun in Latine, quhich you may command. Except the epistles of Ignatius, &c., & much of them also are on contraverted heads, almost all the other Fathers of the 3 first centurys are apologeticks and defences of the Christian religion, quhich then was their great work; the practicall or rather commentators such as Chrisostome, Basil, &c. are afterwards.

As for the accompt of quhat I gote at Edinr., you shall have a list of them quhen I look over them, quhich will be shortly. As to our MSS. they are neither many nor valuable, & I think you have seen them all. They are Fordoun, Knox History, Calderwoods History 6 vols., Wickleifs Translation of the Evangelists,<sup>2</sup> 2 Latine Bibles. Quhat accompt further you desire shall be given. I desire you may send me quhat animals, birds, beasts, or fishes you can fall on. Receive Museum Petiverianum<sup>1</sup> 4 vols., quhich will be worth your looking over. Return it per

<sup>1</sup> Petiver (J.). *Musei Petiveriani centuria prima (-decima) variora naturæ continens.* Lond., 1695-1703.

<sup>2</sup> See Addenda.



nixt post if you then have done with them. Lay out yourself for procuring quhat old coins you hear of, and quhat MSS. you hear of let me have ane accompt. If Boyd of Trochridg ly near you, let me knou quhat writings of that great mans are in his successors hands, & if they may be purchased for money.<sup>1</sup>

To divert you a litle from your lithoscoping let me have your thoughts on this philosophicall doubt, hou matter can consist of actually infinite parts, quhich is the certain consequence of its infinite divisibility & extension, & matters being reciprocall, I say if the parts of matter be infinite, hou use we the argument against the eternity of the wordle taken from the parts of time, that in infinite ages ther are more hours then dayes, & days then years, &c. May not the Deists tell us this is noe absurdity, for ther are more parts in a cubicall foot then a cubical inch, and yet ther is ane infinity of parts in both. Your thoughts on this and of the boundarys or difference between the infinity these gentlmen suppose in the parts of matter and that quhich both partys agree to be ane incommunicable attribute in God will be very acceptable to yours as before,

R. WODROW.

July 25, 1700.

#### XLVII. For Mr JA. PATERSON <sup>2</sup>

D. C., I received yours with the bearer and your 2 books <sup>3</sup> for quhich I humbly thank you. I am very much straitned in time, & had it not been that I send a trifle with this, you had gote it by post. I am much obliged to the Doctor for his kind offer and extreamly to you for yours to collate the MSS. I heartily accept of it & by this return

<sup>1</sup> Stevenson replies: 'My mother tells me there are very many in Trochig's hands, especially French ones, but she does not think he will sell any of them.' Quarto i. 91. See Wodrow (R.). *Collections*, vol ii. *Collections on the life of Mr. Robert Boyd of Trochorege*. [Maitland Club.] 1845.

<sup>2</sup> Answered August 15, 1700. Quarto i. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Gaussenus and *Saracenica*.

you hearty thanks. If Arbuthnet can not be brought west with you pray let me have a large accompt of him by letter. As to these notions that you had from me, I knou not quhat ground I had for them. I leave you to judge. You cannot weel doe it without the figure, quherfor I have sent you in the book, quhich, quhen you have satisfied your self with, send with the bearer. I have not read any of [it] almost as yet. Ane accompt of that book you tell me of,<sup>1</sup> the authors name, with his scope and a short hint of his methode would be extreamly acceptable.

As to the Doctors noble undertaking of giving us a more correct edition (and I hope his own notes also) of Sedulius and Arator,<sup>2</sup> I wish I wer in case to give in my mite to it. We have but one copy [of] Sedulius and Arator in the Library, quhich wants with the beginning 30 pages of Juvenecus poems: the 2 the Doctor has his eye upon are compleat, but the year or place of their printing is not to be had. They have many variouse readings on the margine; its in 12mo & semes to be printed before the 1600. I have another of my own printed apud J. Tornesium, done of a MSS. at Lyons 1588, without any thing but the bare text. If I can be any way further servicable to the Doctor in this desing I will count it my happiness. For the rise of that project you speak of I must refeire it till meeting or at least to another occasion.<sup>3</sup>

You need never be scroupeulouse of writing still by private hands. Had it not been for the book and stone you should have had this by post; yours by post is very acceptable to me. Let me hear as soon as ever you fix upon your time of coming west that I may cast my bussiness into that order that I may get you waited on. I leave you odography till nixt. Your stone you see

<sup>1</sup> [Osterwald (J. F.).] *A treatise concerning the causes of the present corruption of Christians.* [Tr. from the French by C. Mutel.] Lond., 1700.

<sup>2</sup> This project, which resulted in an edition of Sedulius printed at Edinburgh in 1701, is frequently mentioned in letters from Sibbald and Paterson, e.g. Quarto i. 92, 96, 119, 128. See *infra*, p. 223 n.

<sup>3</sup> A Glasgow project to substitute Christian for pagan authors in classical education.



is a vast congeries of shells with clear long peices that I take to be prickles of the Echinus. They are surprizing enough to me; your thoughts on them will be very acceptable. I hope by this time you have fallen on my last and soe I expect ane answer to this & it together at large. In case you have not, your thoughts on 8.9.10.11.12. especially of your brothers discovrys, particularly the meteor that night the rable was, ane accompt of your progresse to Libbertoun Well, with your neuse. Give my service to Dr Sibbald, Messrs Sutherland & Adair. Being in hast I add noe more but that I am your affectionate comrad and servant,

R. WODROW.

July 29, 1700.

#### XLVIII. For Mr ALEXR. STEVENSON <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I received yours of 5. inst. with your rich present, but being just nou going out of toun for a day or two, I am not in case to answer any of your desires except as to the box and Eusebius, quhich receive from the bearer & peruse with acuracy, for its the foundation of all our ecclesiastical history. Let me have your reflections on it. Take care to keep it close, for I desire not any should knou that the Library books goe soe far abroad. Order the carier to take care of it quhen you return it. As to the box, it is full, but not soe weel filled as I gote it. Receive in it some specimina of quhat I gote since my last.

N. 1. Lythostrocion from Bathgate in its bed. N. 2. Lythostrocion from the same place in its lamina. N. 3. Silver, as its called, but rather lead oar from Bathgate. The rest not papered you see is a mixture of stones and shells, & N. B. the prickles, as I suppose, of the Echinus with them, quhich is very singular. Your marmails box is Echinus galeatus. More of them & the rest per nixt, quhich I shall have ready against he call. Some more of the coralline mosse, Echinae, if in plenty, and shells, with ane accompt of the locus natalis of corall & mosse.

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<sup>1</sup> Answer not found.

I am oblidged to you for your curiouse accompts from Mr M.<sup>1</sup> quhom I kneu heer. Expect a good long one per nixt.

I am, &c.,

Ag. 7, 1700.

R. WODROW.

XLIX. Queryes for Mr Jo: McMILLAN<sup>2</sup> quhen going for  
Guiney

As to the natives : if those of them that are at distance from Europeans have any notion or knouledge of one God, or doe they belive that there are two, one good, another evil, or doe they worship many and yet acknouledge one superior to the rest? Have they anything like learning or writting among them, inscriptions on stone, or wood, or hyroglyphicks; a short accompt of their rites and customes in mariage, burials, &c; of their religieuse worship, sacrifices, or stated washings, will be very acceptable; if they have any set day or part of a day they allou for their worship and ceremonies; if ther be any considerable difference between the collour of any of them, particularly if some peaple on the River Gambra<sup>3</sup> be only tauny and others very black; if their children be black quhen first born; if some of the negroes have such sharp sights that they will discover a ship further of at sea then any European; if they eat those they kill in battail, as its said; if they use poisoned darts, and with quhat they poison them.

2ly. As to their animals, ane accompt of these of them we have not in Europe, particularly of the elephants, hou long they goe with their young, hou long they live; of the musk cat, its shape and biggness; quher the musk lyes and groues in this animal.

<sup>1</sup> George Martin, *Scoto-Hibernus*, was a student under John Tran at Glasgow in 1695. *Munimenta*, iii. 156. Stevenson calls him 'a practical chymist.' Quarto i. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified. He may be the Glasgow student of 1695. *Munimenta*, iii. 157. He is not named in the list of the crew, etc., of the *Speedy Return* which sailed for Africa in May 1701. *Darien Shipping Papers*, pp. 245-8.

<sup>3</sup> Gambia.

3ly. As to their birds and insects, ane accompt of the most strange of them.

4ly. As to their rivers, rain, fish, whither the River Niger overfloues the country yearly, as Nile does; at quhat time & hou long does the flood continou; whither the rain quhen it falls be hote, rotting the cloaths if not presently dryed, and breeding wormes if it falls on the skin and is not presenttly wiped of; ane accompt of their fish, with the wayes the natives take them.

5ly. As to their vegetables, treas, plants and herbs, quhat of our kinds you observe ther, with ane accompt of these distinct from ours; ane accompt of the palm trea, of the way of making palm wine; whither this trea affords wine, oyl, vinnegar, soap, and bread, and whither out of the leavs they pick threads quherof they make curiouse works; whither besides the palm wine they have a drink made of grain like our ale; quhat grain its made of and hou prepared; if (as Bloom relates)<sup>1</sup> there be in Guiney a trea called the oyster trea that bears oysters 3 times a year.

6ly. As to their mines, ane accompt of them & of the way of their gathering gold dust and cleanging it; if the uppermost of their gold be the finest.

7ly. Of ambergrease, quher it groues and hou gathered.

About these and the like I hope you will endeavour to satisfy your self as farr as you have access, either by observation or converse. You knou I am gathering a collection of naturall curiositys here, such particularly as may tend in many wayes to the clearing of naturall history. Quherfor I entreat you may bring home with you in a box or otherwise as many of the things under-written as without to much trouble to your self you can procure, viz.

1. Oars of mettalls, gold or silver, with a litle gold dust.

2ly. Quhatever animalls are not to be had here, or their parts, as serpents, their skin, the skins of other beasts, the feet or heads of beasts, the wings, heads &c. of birds, some of their prettyest feathers, a feather croun,

<sup>1</sup> Blome (R.). *A geographical description of the four parts of the world taken from the notes and workes of . . . M. Sanson.* Lond., 1670.

breclets, beads, nose peices, &c.; quhatever fishes, quhatever parts, head, finns, or scales, you can procure. I am hopfull to receive some litle ones whole, particularly a flying fish, suking fish, & such like.

3ly. Some of their plants, herbs, or roots, dried; quhat of their fruits are portable, particularly their nutts of all their different sorts, if they have any; a peice of as many different sorts of wood as you can; their flouers dried betwixt 2 bitts of paper; a bou, arrow, and dart, and any of their houshold instruments, if you can fall on them.

4ly. Some of their money, for quhich I suppose they use shells.

5ly. Some of their shells, of as many kinds as you can. Of these you will find aboundance on the shore.

6ly. Any stones you meet with on the shore of any odd shape, figure, collour, weight or lightness, uncomone here.

7ly. Procure if you can some of their writing, songs or books on the leaves of palm treas, if they have any; a specimen of their language in a feu words with their significations annexed will be very acceptable, particularly some of their names.

If you touch at any place by the way I hope you will gather quhat shells, stones, plants you meet with one the shore &c. Anything you fall on will be very acceptable. Trouble your self only with 2 or 3 of a sort unlesse it be in shells, nutts and such like that are in plenty & portable. In giving your self this trouble you will extreamly oblidge your affectionate comrade and humble servant, while

R. WODROW.

Ag. 13, 1700.

L. FOR MR ALEXR. STEVENSON at Air <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I received yours of the 5 with your very rich present, for quhich this comes to thank you. I thought befor this time to have written ane answer to be in readiness against

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<sup>1</sup> The answer not found.

the bearer should come, but I have been soe diverted by drauing up queries for Guiney and dispatching them that the carier has just nou surprized me, I not expecting him till toomorro. I by him received your Echinus, and coralls, & corralines. The Echinus is a litle broke. In answer to both take quhat comes in my noddle raptim. As to the marmails purses, I am not out of the fancy that they are seeds of some vegetable; the seed I observe in one of them with the strings at the end of all of them, quhich may be a kind of roots (quherby they fix in the earth and get nourishment) seem to countenance this. Quhat further light you get as to them I hope you will comunicate. The marmail boxes are the Echinus cordatus vulgaris. I have one of them fossile from Mr Nicolson quhich you sau. I am perswaded they have fish in them; by quhat accident all on your shores want the fish I knou not. The hole in the belly seems to be that quherat the fish goes out and comes in. I had a very large one at Edinburgh <sup>1</sup> exact round, but to my great sorrou the carier brook it coming west. Receive a peice of it by the bearer for want of better things to send. You see it is quite distinct from your kinds. As to your thought about the coralline substances being produced by precipitation, I am not soe fully satisfyed with it. The substance is so regular that I rather incline to think it a vegetation produced from some imperceptible seeds: this is Bocconi's <sup>2</sup> opinion of corall, & he pretends to have discovered the seed & the way of their grouth and vegetation, quhich he extends to the corraloid, quhich are much one with corralines.

Your diversion from lithoscoping by Mr Martine <sup>3</sup> has been happy for you and in part for me by the satisfying account you give me of it. I am not fully satisfyed as to his monstrouse head, & the more because he had but a

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<sup>1</sup> MS. 'Endir.'

<sup>2</sup> Boccone (Paolo). *Recherches et observations naturelles, touchant le corail*, etc. Amsterdam, 1674.

<sup>3</sup> George Martin told Stevenson of 'a Giant's head which was then digged out of the ground (near Artenry . . . in Ireland) . . . two foot high at least.'

transient veu of it. These things need long, acurate, and strict search and deep observation, with full satisfaction about all circumstances; the wordle has be soe oft deluded by cheating persons. I will lay out myself to get some accompts of it. I heartily wish his hopes as to quhat he thinks æquivalent to rhubarb may not be frustrate. As to your coin <sup>1</sup> I have not gote time to consider it, but I hope to master the reading of it. I hope you will lay out your self for quhat of thir you find. I ame in hopes of some here about.

I am extreamly desirouse of ane accompt of the 3d. stone on the banks of Dune.<sup>2</sup> Beside the action you mention I mind none therabout, unlesse it be the utter ruining of Eugenius the 1. by the Picts and Romans. If you discover any thing of this it will be a surer token of our being a nation befor Fergus the 2d then all that has been brought, and worth 20 years pains. Ane accompt of Trochriggs MSS. is earnest[ly] longed for. As to our philosophicall head we most referr it to more laizour. Soe much raptim for your former kind letter and accompts.

As to quhat I gote today of Ag. 13,<sup>3</sup> I assure you your demands from me are all extreamly welcome. I look on my self as more in your debt then I shall ever be able to pay, and I shall still be glade of an opportunity of doing any thing that may be acceptable to you. Look not on this as complements, for I assure you its quhat I look on my self oblidge to, and will still endeavour to perform to the outmost of my pouer. Your Echinus with bristles is extreamly acceptable, as your coralls are. Your accompt of your corall on tangle seems to confirm its vegetation.

<sup>1</sup> A groat of Edward IV.

<sup>2</sup> Stevenson had written (Quarto i. 91): 'There are amongst the banks of Dune three big stones, the eastmost of which hath a coarse draught of a sword on it, the other little or nothing, and the third, which I have not yet seen, they say hath characters which none can read.' He suggested that the third stone might commemorate 'the battel wherein Fergus the first killed Coilus King of the Britons.' For the source of these suggestions see Buchanan (G.). *Rerum Scotorum historia*. Edin., 1582. Bk. iv. f. 33<sup>v</sup> and f. 44<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Not found.



I am in good hopes of discoveries from your heugh. Of Lithostrocion per nixt, being extreemly hastened by strangers coming to the Library in the time of writing this. My fathers brucklness in his health, I fear, will hinder me from seing you at Ayr. If I can spare soe much time to goe down to Grenock I may perhaps come about in a boat, but this is all conjecture. I am extreemly oblidge to you for your kind offer of accepting this trouble of a diversion for some time. I assure you I would gladly visite your shore, but especially your father and you, if my throng of bussiness permitted. Entreating you may oblidge me further by long lines and quhat ever occures, tho I have some of it formerly, I am, &c.,

Ag. 15, 1700.

R. WODROW.

I have this day ended my shotles and you may expect my catalogue,<sup>1</sup> in quhich you have soe considerable a share, shortly.

#### LI. For Dr SIBBALD <sup>2</sup>

Honoured Sir,

The inclosed with the bundel, the letter for Mr Sutherland, and the letter and bundel for Mr Paterson (whoes name he mistakes) came to my hand this night from Mr Lhuyd.<sup>3</sup> The learnd gentleman has not forgote his freinds in this country, & I doubt not but he has made up the delay of his writing by the richness of his present. I have a line from him with a very great variety of fossiles, Entrochi, &c. There are 2 sorts quhich I latly sent to Mr Paterson quhich he notes *non descripti*, viz. Entrochus punctatus and Entrochus imbricatus. They [were] found within 2 miles of Hamiltoun from the same place

<sup>1</sup> A transcript of this, entitled *List of Materials for a Natural History*, is in the Library of the Royal Technical College, Glasgow, and an abridged copy by Sibbald, in the National Library of Scotland.

<sup>2</sup> This, along with the letter of July 8, is answered on August 31. Quarto i. 96. It is printed in *Analecta Scotica*, ii. 134-6.

<sup>3</sup> Lhuyd had written on April 2, but his letter and parcels had only now reached Wodrow.

I had his *Entrochus clavellatus* of quhich I think Mr Paterson had some likewise. I have a *Modiolus* from him, one of quhich I fell on within 3 mile of this place; all these noe doubt you have likewise from him. I am not out of hopes to fall on many of his kinds in this country, quhich I belive may be found as fertill of this kind of curiositys us other places, if it were weel searched. He gives me his direction at Dublin. I have frequent occasions to that place. If you write to him while in Irland you may give the bearer your line & I shall endeavour to transmitt it.

Ther is a girle in this toun has voided a very extraordinary stone from her bladder. Wer it not that I supposed you had accompt of this from physitians here or better hand and more able to give accompt of this kind of matters then I, I would send you quhat I have heard of it.

Honoured Sir, I received some sea substances latly from Ayr, of quhich by the bearer receive a small specimen N. 1. White corall. N. 2. A coraline substance of a fine enough contexture. I would gladly have its proper name from you. N. 3 is quhat is a stranger to me and soe comes to you for a name. Quhat of this kind of stuff comes to my hands, more then one of a sort, you may command. I still look upon it as my greatest happiness to be any ways servicable to you, and retean a gratefull sense of the multiplicity of favours you wer pleased to honour me with quhen at Edinr. Quhat of your fossils, shells or quatever may tend to my insight into that considerable part of learning, natural history (you have more then 2 or 3 of a sort) you can spare, would be extreemly oblidging. This with an accompt of quhat advances are making in learning by the bearer, post, or otherwise, will add to the many obligations already lying on, Honoured Sir, your very much oblidged and very humble servant,

Ag. 23, 1700.

R. WODROW.

I gave Mr Paterson accompt of our editions of *Sedulius* and *Arator* some weeks agoe, quhich I hope you have long ere nou. If I can be any wise servicable to you in

this your generouse undertaking it shall be performed to the outmost of my pouer.

LII. For Mr JAMES PATERSON <sup>1</sup>

D. C., Long looked for comes at last. Mr Lhuyd has not altogether forgotten us. You have by this noe doubt a rich packet, of quhich I hope shortly to have accompt of by word of mouth, and you shall see quhat he has been pleased to honnour me with. This is my thrid since any came to my hands from you. I sent you accompt of the editions of Sedulius and Arator, & of quhat else in yours needed ane answer. I entreat you may answer all by post & let me have the time quhen you will be west. I still deferr my going abroad till I may have the happiness of your & Mr Sutherlands company. Being very much taken up this night, and the bearer in hast, I add noe more but that I am your affectionate comrade & oblidged servant,

R. WODROW.

[Aug. 23, 1700.]

LIII. For Mr ALEXR. STEVENSON <sup>2</sup>

D. C., I just nou received yours and your present. To make you a small return receive some of quhat occurred to me latly at Pollock. N. 1. A Glossopetra in ane iron stone. I have but another in this kind and you are the first ever gote any Glossopatræ from me. N. 2. A large Pectunculites, echinated. N. 3. A Turb. N. 4. A Belemnites with the place for its alveolus. N. 5. Entrochus depressus fimbriatus. N. 6. I suppose its nucleus Entrochi, quhat comes out of the midle of some larger ones. N. 7. A very singular bivalve. I begg you may continou your kind help to the advancing my collection here. I have been at Hamiltoun, but gote noe body to lithoscope with me, tho both Mr Alstons wer there. I have gote some animalls

<sup>1</sup> Answered August 30. Quarto i. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Answered October 15. Quarto i. 98b.

from Port Glasgou, as a sea hurtcheon, and some others that I cannot accompt for. Receive Herodotus by the bearer. I am mightily taken with the 2 Echini you nou have sent me. I suspect the animall may be in the closed one. The marmails purses Dr Sibbald calls the uterus of a skate in a letter to me. I expect to see you shortly in nou, and your brother : let me knou the time per nixt. I am thinking of deferring my catologue for some time, tho I have nou ordered all my collection. The bearer being extreamly in hast, I add noe more, but that I am your oun as befor,

[Sept., 1700.]

R. WODROW.

LIV. For Mr JA. PATERSON <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I received yours of the 15. of Agust with my book from ane old servant of yours on the 2d instant, and your last of the 30 of Agust by Mr Hume <sup>2</sup> on the 6. with Mr Sutherlands line. As for the first I am extreamly satisfyed with the explication of Bruces genealogy <sup>3</sup>; only I would know the authority upon quhich he founds his 2 Baliols senior and junior, and his 2 Bruces, since Buchanan, Boece and Major are silent as to them, excepting this incongruity in Buchanan quhich ab absurdo indeed proves it. Houever this hypothesis solves the *αναχρονισμος* if it be weel founded. As for your last by Mr Hume, I was so unfortunat as to misse him, being, quhen he called, out of toun. My brother let him see quhat poor stuffe I have collected here. Houever I have since sent a copy of queryes to ane acquaintaince of mine in Bute to be comunicated to him. I received your Selenites, for quhich I heartily thank you. I have been a-wandering these 8 or 10 dayes, else I had returned you my deu acknowledge-

<sup>1</sup> Answered September 27. Quarto i. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Paterson says of him : ' He has been these several years Governour to Sir Wm. Hope (Deputy Governour of the Castle of Edr.) his sons, where my brother is to succeed him. He is now going to be Schoolmr. in Bute.' Quarto i. 95.

<sup>3</sup> This is given in Quarto i. 93.

ments sooner; a-wandering, I say, for I can call it little else, for I met with nothing almost worth my while. At Portglasgou I gote 2 fish, a sea hurtcheoun bigger then a hedg-hogg, and another very pretty fish quhos kind I have not yet discovered, with a feu shells, one of quhich is a very fair *Pectunculites echinatus* evry way like the one in your musæum. Receive a feu of the Bucini and a little Corralina in want of better things to present you with.

Pray let me knou if Mr Lhuyd be in England or in Armorica. I would gladly dispatch a feu things for him if I thought he wer at Oxford; as likewise hou far the Doctors Sedulius is come and hou soon we may expect, and quhat forwardness his catologue of books he desings to expose to sale is in.<sup>1</sup> Receive enclosed a line for the Doctor and another for Mr Sutherland, quhich I knou you will deliver as soon as convenience allowes.

I am nou beginning to dispair (as weel as you) of your coming west. The weather begins to prove unkind for observations. I need not tell you that you should have had all the enterteanment I could have given. This will be more fitt to tell you in the Spring (if God continou peace and health). Then or quenever you come you may assure your self of it. I have this day begun to transcribe our *Chronicon Melrosense*.<sup>2</sup> I have nothing of moment since my last to acquaint you with, soe I shall spend noe more of your time, allotted for better ends then trifling away on my scribles. Beging the continuance of your correspondence, I am yours as befor,

R. WODROW.

Sept. 23, 1700.

#### LV. For Mr JA. SUTHERLAND <sup>3</sup>

Sir, I received your of Agust 28. on the 6. current. I had not been soe long in returning you my hearty thanks

<sup>1</sup> The first part of Sir Robert Sibbald's Library was sold at Andrew Symson's, Edinburgh, in 1707.—British Museum, *List of Catalogues of English book sales*. The proposed auction was apparently postponed.

<sup>2</sup> Wodrow's transcript is now in the National Library of Scotland.

<sup>3</sup> Answered January 22, 1701. Quarto i. 108.

for it and your catolouge (quhich I daily expect from Mr Paterson) had I not been out of toun this while. I have not as yet gotte these meddails I spoke to you of, but am not out of the expectation of them. I was to have waited on the gentlman that has them but he was abroad. I was at Portglasgou and at the place quher the Saxon coins wer found; the place I need not describe, for I suppose you wer there. I found none there tho I was at some pains to search it. I hade a bit of silver from ane acquaint-aince ther that was gote among the coins, of the fibula kind, like quhat you gote ther. I have gote 2 silver coins of James the First as I suppose, one with Villa de Edinburgh, another with Villa de Roxburgh, some[quhat] broader then a sixpenny peice; as also a Saxon coin, as I take it, of the same bigness. I can make nothing of the kings name; on the reverse is *Posui deum adiutorem meum Civitas London*<sup>1</sup>; and a lesser on, quhich semes to be one of the Henrys. An accompt of quhat additions you have gote to your noble collection would be extreemly acceptable.

I have heard noe more of Mr Lhuyd since his letter to me of the same date with yours. I should count it my great happiness to wait on you at this place, and am very glad you give me the hopes of it. In any service you have in this country pray command, Learned Sir, your very much oblidged and very humble servant,

R. WODROW.

Sept. 23, 1700.

#### LVI. For Dr SIBBALD<sup>2</sup>

Honoured Sir,

I received your kind line of the 31. of Agust only on the 19. current throu the bearer his stay at Edinr., else I had not been soe long in returning my deu acknouledgments for it. Num. 3, quhich you think is

<sup>1</sup> Sutherland identifies the first coin as a groat of James III; the second he does not know, but it seems to be a groat of the second coinage of James II (Grueber, *Handbook*, p. 173); the English coin he calls a groat of Edward IV.

<sup>2</sup> Answered September 24, 1700. Quarto i. 96. The answer is printed in *Analecta Scotica*, ii. 136-7.

the uterus of a scate, is called by our fishers a mermaids purse, as they call the *Echinus cordatus* major the mermaids box. The long twiggs at its end made me take it for some vegetables seed, and these twiggs for roots quherby it might drau sap and nourishment to itself, and quhat confirms me in this is one of them that I have that is intire and whole and yet I observe sevrall things within that exactly resemble seeds of plants. I would gladly knou if you have observed any thing like this in any you have, and hou, if it be the uterus of a scate, they are found in such plenty without any vestiges of the animall. I shall take care to follou your directions as to coins, inscriptions, &c.

Ane accompt of the learned Swede <sup>1</sup> you speak of his notes on Arator will be extreemly oblidging. Your noble desing of publishing Sedulius and Arator is extreemly satisfying to all good and curiouse persons here, and soe visibly tends to the good of youth and falls in with a desing of some here for seasoning the youth by teaching them Christian authors, rather then heathen ons, that in some places are offensive to a modest, much more to a Christian ear, that I doubt not but it will meet with deu acceptance among all that wish for a Reformation of Manners.<sup>2</sup> For my own part you may assure your self, as soon as the proposalls come to my hands, I shall lay my self to the outmost to procure subscriptions. We are to have a Synod here the first Teusday of October. If they could come here against then, I would hope for a considerable number of subscriptions.

I had a line from the Archdeacon, of the 9 instant, by the last post save one. Ther is litle of consequence in it, only he tells me he has been these 5 moneths under the hands of physitians, but is nou returning to his former

<sup>1</sup> Ericus Benzelius the Younger, Archbishop of Upsala.

<sup>2</sup> Sibbald also hopes that it may be 'one mean for the Reformation of Manners (happily begun in the nighbour kingdome).' For an account of this movement see Nicholson (W.), *Letters on various subjects*, pp. 188-94. The *Register of a Society for Reformation of Maners* (in Edinburgh), from September 10, 1700-December 30, 1707, is in Edinburgh University Library, Laing MSS. III, 339.

strenth. He makes the impressions (as I supposed of shells) in coal slate, some of quhich I left with you quhen at Edinr, to be the leaves of some vegetable entirly preserved. I would gladly have knouen to quhat kind of vegetables he referred them. I have these 2 or 3 years had thoughts of learning the Irish tounge, but for want of a gramer and dictionary (none of quhich I could ever yet meet with) they wer of noe effect. Your directions quhat to doe in the want of them would be very acceptable. Meanwhile I am, Honoured Sir, yours to the outmost of my pouer, while

R. WODROW.

Sept. 23, 1700.

I have given you the trouble of this by post that if it be possible your proposals may be here against our Synod on Teusday come 8 days.

LVII. Queries &c. for Virginia. By ROBERT BIRNIE <sup>1</sup>

Octob. 8, 1700.

To these for Guiney adde :

1. Whither the pleasant smell of the pines are felt 50 leagues of land.

2ly. As to the beasts, adde ratle snakes skins, or other serpents ; lizard ; a musk ratte and flying squirrell.

3ly. As to the birds adde a Virginy batte ; a jay ; woodpeckers of all the different sorts ; some of the prettiest feathers of their largest turkeys and of their mocking birds ; a red bird ; a bleu bird ; a humming bird or 2 ; a horned bird ; all these whole if you can.

4ly. For vegetables adde Radix Virgin. ; Indian corn the largest you can meet with, and its leaves about it, with some of its stalk and 2 or 3 lesser ones.

5ly. As to fossiles : if ther be a great many shells like oyster shells found below the ground ; if the inhabitants make lime of them. Pray bring home some of them with the earth or stone they lye in. Its also said that in the banks of the river of loose sand or earth and in fallen

<sup>1</sup> For a note on Birnie, see Addenda.



doun braes and any place quher the earth is fallen doun there are found teath and back bones of fishes petrified or turned to stone, especially in a hill about 4 miles from James toun and the river ther was a whole back bone of a whale found, with its ribbs, all turned to stone. Ther is one Mr Banister<sup>1</sup> in James toun that is curiouse in thire kind of maters. If you can fall acquaint with him he will help you exceedingly. I hope you will procure quhat of these teeth or bones you can. At the fall of the River Raphanock ther is said to be curiouse talk, a transparent substance like christall. If you can fall on any of it pray let me have a specimen.

LVIII. For Mr ALEXR. STEVENSON at Air<sup>2</sup>

D. C., I received yours of the 15. inst. The favours you talk soc much are much more then merited long since and you should term them faint returns for the obligations you have oft laid on me rather then favours. I assure you your desires shall be commands on me, and, after all, its but quhat I am oblidged to. I thank you for your accompt of the comet<sup>3</sup> quhich as far as I hear has not been noticed elsquher. I wish you may take care to observe it afterwards and let me have an accompt per nixt whither it continoues or not. I entreat you may get a loan of quhat of Trochridges papers<sup>4</sup> you can and enquire particularly for any that concern our history. Pray let me have per nixt an accompt of the Deaf Stone about 10 or 12 miles

<sup>1</sup> In *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xxii. no. 270 (for March and April 1701), there is an article, *Some observations concerning insects made by Mr. John Banister in Virginia, A.D. 1680, with remarks on them by Mr. J. Petiver*. See also Britten (J.) and Boulger (G. S.), *A biographical index of British and Irish botanists*, p. 10, where Banister is said to have died in 1692 or 1696. The *Dictionary of American Biography* gives the date of his death as May 1692.

<sup>2</sup> Answered November 5, 1700. Quarto i. 99.

<sup>3</sup> In his reply Stevenson says that it was not a comet but 'one of these exhalations . . . which ordinarily they call shot starrs.'

<sup>4</sup> Stevenson says that he saw at Trochig 'several little books in verse, some epigramms . . . in a quarto . . . and about a rimm of paper of French sermons . . . and some few English ones.'

from you that Buchanan, Boece, &c., make such a noise about.<sup>1</sup> I wish you may send me some more of the marmalades purses and the Echini, and the shells you sent last, or at least bring them with you, half a dozen of each if you can. Receive quhat I take to be a Lapis judaicus denudatus and a very fair impression on till, one of quhich I gote last week some longer then a foot. Pray let me hear from you nixt week quhat is become of the comet. I am, yours as before,

R. W.

LIX. For Mr Archdeacon NICHOLSONE <sup>2</sup>

Reverend and Learned Sir,

I received yours of the 9th. last moneth by post quhich was extreamly acceptable after soe long silence. As I am heartily sorry to hear you wer soe long valitudinarian, soe its extreamly satisfying to hear you are returning to your former strenth, and gives me ground to hope for the acceptable accompt of your perfect recovry per nixt. As to N. 10 of the box you had last from me, I am not yet out of the fancy that these things are shells that are mixed with the marle, and I suppose the peice you have most be wronged in the cariage. I shall endeavour to send you some more of this that perhaps may be more plain, as soon as I can find a fit hand. I have latly fallen on somquhat that seems to be of the Lythophyta kind, but hou to place [it] I cannot yet determine. One peice I have is upwards of a foot in lenth. I shall send you this with some other things I have in readiness for you with the first occasion I can meet with. I heartily wish I could fall upon a stated way of conveying things to you. If you can give me any help in this it would be very acceptable.

<sup>1</sup> Stevenson gives this account of the Deaf Stone of Colmonell, which he thinks may be the stone referred to in Buchanan and Boece: 'A big stone about seven foot or eight every way which the people called the Deaf Stone of Commonel, it being about a quarter of a mile from that church, but I observed nothing extraordinary about that stone save that indeed unless one had cryed very loud on the other side we could hear none.' See Boece (H.) *Scotorum historiae . . . lib. xix.* Paris, 1574, f. 3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Answered May 17, 1701. Quarto i. 130.

I am glade to hear Mr Woodward has not given over his researches, for all the bad enterteanment his prodromus has met with. I should be very glad to hear if he has yet any thoughts of publishing his large peice, and quhen we may expect it. I am at a great losse in thir kind of matters for the want of a help hou to tribe quhat I fall on in the small searches that I make hear about. Mr Lhuyd told all his catolougs wer disposed of, quhich makes me long extreamly for a 2d edition of it, of quhich he gave me some hopes quhen he was here. I had about 6 weeks agoe a line and a rich packet of fossiles from him quhen in Ireland, but of ane very old date Aprile 2d. Since, I have not heard of him. Pray let me knou if he be yet come to Oxford and to stay ther any while, that I may return my hearty thanks for the honnour done me by this learned and curiouse gentlman.

I have litle to give you more relating to your Scots Hist. Library unless it be that I have just nou fallen upon Mr William Scote of Couper his Appologeticall Narration, soe oft cited by Petry, soe that I can now fully assure you its distinct from Calderwood. The book consists of 175 pages in large folio of very close write.<sup>1</sup> I was not much out of the road quhen, before I sau it, I wrote to you that it seemed not to be purly historicall, but mixed. Its soe indeed, and by the slight veu I have taken of it, appears to be a politico-historicall discourse, if I may soe terme it. He begins at year 1560 and ends at the year 1633, and gives ane accompt of the first course of government by superintendents quhich continoued to 1572, then of the introduction of bishops, with large reflections on the occasion of this alteration, on the means hou it was brought in and established. In the mean time he gives a very large accompt of many of the most considerable passages of that time. I am not in any case to give you any further accompt of this book, having but taken a slight veu of it,

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<sup>1</sup> This was one of Matthew Crawford's MSS. purchased for the Church of Scotland in 1737, but the original being found not to be the property of Crawford's executors, a transcript was substituted. This transcript is now in Edinburgh University Library.

but I am in hopes of procuring it for the Library. Let me have the particulars anent quhich you would have ane accompt. I shall doe quhat lyes in my pouer to satisfy you concerning them. In the same book is Mr. Ja. Melvills History of Scotland. Of this I can give you noe accompt not having had any time to consider it, only it [is] much of a bulk with the former. Let me knou per nixt if you have a copy of Dempsters Antiquitates Scottorum;<sup>1</sup> if not, if you think it possible a copy might be procured from Oxford, quher I hear ther is a very good copy. I should be glade likewise to knou if you have a copy of the Cronicon Melrossense or knou of any at Oxford. Mr. Gales<sup>2</sup> (quho if I remember right has printed it) his copy has been very far different from ours quhich is said to have been taken of the autograph yet extant in the Cottonian Library. Begging the favour of the continuance of your kind correspondence, I am, Sir, your very humble servant,

R. WODROW.

Oct. 18, 1700.

This comes by a student here Mr Meadly<sup>3</sup> who lives at York and thinks to come by Careleil; if not he is to give it to [the] North Alertoun post.

#### LX. FOR MR JA. PATERSONE<sup>4</sup>

D. C., I received yours of [the] 27. with the books. I had not been soe long in visiting you had I not been taken up more then ordinary about some small bussinesses, and had I not knouen you would not come to toun till the end of this moneth. This comes then to welcome you to toun,

<sup>1</sup> There is no work of this title in Dempster's own list of his writings at the end of his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Scotorum*. Perhaps this work itself is meant.

<sup>2</sup> It was printed in *Rerum Anglicarum scriptorum veterum tom. i.*, Oxon., 1684. This volume was edited by W. Fulman, the second and third volumes by T. Gale. J. Stevenson in the Bannatyne Club edition of the Chronicle (p.v. n) gives evidence to show that Fulman used a Corpus Christi College MS.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Medley, a student at Glasgow in the class of John Tran, 1699. *Munimenta*, iii. 167.

<sup>4</sup> Answered April 4, 1701. Quarto i. 114.

and to return you my hearty thanks for Gausenius (quhich receive from the bearer). The book I have read with great satisfaction, and looke upon him to be as free from Arminianism, or rather Neu Methodisme (pardon the cramp word) as many of the professours of Saumure I ever met with, yet I think he enclines that way. His diction is neat and terse; his thoughts good and many times neu (to me at least), his own, and not copyed. Yet I think he presses too much the following of nature (as he termes it) in his methode of preaching. You see quhat freedome I take to give you my thoughts of soe great a man, & expect the like freedome from you.

The season is now turning unkindly to subterranean tryalls and researches, soe I have been the longer on this, having nothing of that kind to entertean you with. I am just now reading Du Hamels *Historia Accademiae Scientiarum*. This peice I know not whither you have seen or not, but upon supposition you have not, take quhat follows. He gives an account of the foundation of that Society and the learned men that composed it at first, and brings down its history from its foundation to the year 1698. Under every year he gives an account of quhat the Accademy did towards the advancing of Natural History, Astronomy, Geography, Geometry, Anatomy, & of quhat experiments, dissections, observations, &c. were made before them, or they had account of from other good hands. And in short it to me seems to be one of the most usfull and curiouse works that I have met with of a long time. He gives a hypothesis of Mr De la Hire upon the nature of freezing, quhich is that salts (perhaps of a niterouse kind) mix themselves with the oblong particles of the water, quhich makes them rigide and stops the motion. By this he explains the strange force that freezing has to break through even the most compact & stiffest of mettalls. But methinks it somewhat odd that none of the saline particles can be catched by any chymicall operations on ice, or any way they can fall on, especially since it seems they come in considerable quantity befor they can make so considerable an alteration, or rather sensible, upon water.

But in my humble opinion the wordle, for as learned as it is, and though it has made very considerable advances since Bacon & Cartes put it in a way of observation & tryall, yet notwithstanding all this, I think we have not as yet a sufficient stock of experiments & tryalls to build our hypotheses on. I have only instanced in this particulare as most congrouse to the coldness of this night, tho the hypothesis is not altogether neu. To return to our author, he has aboundance of things tending very much to enlighten Naturall History. Being uncertain but you may have seen and read the book I shall say noe more of it, but only this, I am soe taken with it, that if it had been mine oun, or in my custody for any considerable time, I had sent you a loan of it for a litle time, tho uncertain whither you had seen.

The season turning unkindly (as I said before) to our correspondence upon subterraneouse subjects, its my opinion that in the want of these, it must turn to subjects that we can master within dores, I mean Natural History, Philosophy, Scotch History & Theology, &c. The particulare subjects of these I leave to you to determine, and together with these I most begg ane accompt of quhat is most solide neu and satisfying in the books you meet with, and assure you of the like from me in the small access that I have to neu and curiouse books. I hope within a feu weeks to have Cronicon Melrossense ready for you. As this naturally puts me in mind of D. Sibbald, whoes pardon by this I most begg for not returning ane answer to his last, quhich I received with a hint of the proposalls concerning Sedulius. I made all the use of them I could and have spoken to sevrall about this work and all pleased the desing and offred to take a copy, soe I think I can dispose of 40 or 50 copies. But in my humble opinion the proposalls should have been printed, and by this means I think I could have exceeded by far the hundered subscriptions Mr Simson<sup>1</sup> desires among our students of

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<sup>1</sup> Andrew Symson, the Edinburgh publisher. This edition of Sedulius was printed by the Heirs and Successors of A. Anderson in 1701.

theology and philosophy. and without this, persons promise to take a copy, but not a word of advancing the half of the money. Its thought by some here that a copy should be granted to evry 7 subscribers, as you knou is ordinary in all proposalls.

But the Doctor and Mr Symson can order this affair without any advice from me, and soe I shall add noe more, but that they shall still find me willing to the outmost of my pouer to serve them in this affair. I desing to write to the Doctor within a day or two at more lenth and to Mr Sutherland with my hearty thanks for his kind present of the catalouge. I have nothing of any value that I have gote to my collection here to acquaint you with since my last, unless it be of some impressions upon coal slate of crescents or something like them, of quhich I hope shortly to send you a specimen.

Meanquhile I hope for a long line by post or otherwise to attone for your long silence. Till then and ever belive me to be yours to the outmost of my pouer,

Oct. 31, 1700.

R. WODROW.

LXI. For Mr ALEX. STEVENSON at Air <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I received yours of the 5 inst. with Eusebius and Grotius. I shall say nothing more as to these obligations you soe oft speak of, but let such acknowledgements be for ever banished from betwixt us, as not suiting to that freedome and intimacy I still desire to entertean with you. I suppose we are both abundantly satisfied to be usefull to one another to our outmost and expresse this as opportunity offers, and I hope we are both sufficiently convinced of this; noe more then of it till there be somquhat of a breach between us (quhich I never expect) that may need some cement of this kind to make up; let epistolary converse be of a free and familiar strain that excluds all kind of suspicion one of another.

<sup>1</sup> Answered November 9, 1700. Quarto i. 100.

I am abundantly satisfied with your accompt of the Deafe Stone at Commonell, and would thank you for it wer it not that I resolve noe more of this shall be on my part (for the reason above) only I should think the voice might ascend 7 or 8 foot and be heard over the stone. It wer worth the while to try if the voice could be heard better at 3 or 4 foot distance from the stone, and gradually on, both with respect to the speaker and hearer, then quhen both are close to the stone. Likewise it wer worth the while to get upon the tope of it and observe hou the voice is heard there. Any further accompt of these or quhat other experements you have made on this will be acceptable.

You seem to give me the hopes of a correspondence with William Hamiltoun,<sup>1</sup> referring me to him for ane accompt of that stone you have gote from [him]. I assure you I shall be very glade to entertean it with him. I entreat you may lay doun a way hou to convey my letters to him and his to me, and acquaint him that as soone as I knou quhat way to send a letter to him he shall have the trouble of one. Quhat you have by you to help on my collection here I wish you may dispatch to me befor you goe east, or leave them soe as they may come to my hands (I need not tell you to dispatch Herodotus with them) particularly quhat shells and Echinæ, marmails purses, &c. The stone you speak of from the cocks head is somquhat singulare, and wer it not that I suppose you will incline to reserve it for your oun collection, I should wish it wer in company of my adder, serpent, toad, and corby stones, all quhich I look on as noe-wise deserving these names. Receive N. 1. A peice singular talk from the isle of Tyree. N. 2. A small Concha Veneris from the same place (I have only another else you should have had more). N. 3. A peice

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<sup>1</sup> He was a classmate of Stevenson in the class of John Tran, 1697, where he is entered as 'filius natu maximus de Ardrie.' *Munimenta*, iii. 163. He succeeded his father, Robert Hamilton, a noted covenanting leader, in the lairdships of Airdrie and Preston. He was ordained Minister of Bothwell in 1709. Hamilton (*Lt.-Col. George*). *A history of the House of Hamilton*, p. 710. *Fasti*, iii. 231.



of marble from the same place with somequhat like ane oar in it, [on] quhich let me have your thought.

I shall not pretend to be sorrouful for your going to Edinburgh this winter, since it is quhat you are most satisfied with, only I wish I might have had the advantage of your company here this winter, or, least you take this as a complement, I wish we might have both had the mutuall opportunity of bettering one another by our converse. Since this fails let us make it up by our frequent free and familiar correspondence by post. For this end as soon as you are at Edinburgh, let me knou hou to direct for you. I heartily wish you wer to come this way that I might have had one night of you here, and you might have gone throu the additions to my collection. If this be possible, I should heartly desire it.

My service to your father and all other acquaintaince with you. I expect another line from you befor you goe east. Till then and ever belive me to be your affectionate comrad,

R. WODROW.

#### LXII. For My Lord PITMEDDAN <sup>1</sup>

My Lord,

I received the line your Lordship was pleased to honnour me with in July last befor you went north. Had it not been that I was uncertain of your Lordships return to Edinburgh till nou, I should not have been soe long in returning my hearty thanks for this considerable favour.

This comes likewise to repay in part (for the whole I utterly dispaire of) these repeated obligations your Lordship was pleased to lay on me quhen at Edinburgh last. Such things as this part of the country affords for subterranean rarities come to your Lordship with such names as I can give them. Quhat further discoverys of this kind I shall have the satisfaction to make here shall with all readiness be comunicated to your Lordship. I desinged this parcell

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<sup>1</sup> No answer found.

should come to your hands by Mrs Liliast Stuart,<sup>1</sup> but my lady's leaving this country in such a sudden hindered this. N. 1. Some large and fair shells of the Pectinites kind, fossile. N. 2. Some shels in their native bedd as taken up out of the ground, of the same species with the former, but their contexture finer. N. 3. 2 Turbonites, fossile. N. 4. Some Fungites, or cockspurrs, fossils. N. 5. A Belemnites or stone resembling an arrow; quhen in the ground it was whole, but they are seldome got up whole. N. 6. A Glossopetra or fish tounge, very singular. N. 7. A Cornu Hammonis or Nerites. N. 8. A very singular fossile shell. N. 9. Entrochi comunes majores. N. 10. Entrochi comunes minores. N. 11. Entrochi punctulati. N. 12. Nucleus Entrochi majoris. N. 13. Entrochi clavelati striis ad modum profundis donati. N. 14. Entrochi degenerating to some other mater, perhappes ocre. N. 15. Entrochi comunes dislocati. N. 16. Entrochus imbricatus; this kind is rare. 17. Trochi or the liths of Entrochi, 2 of them of the stellar kind. These are most of the kinds I ever met with at that place in the neighbourhood of Pollock, all in soft slate or till of quhich you have some. N. 2. I should be glad to have your Lordships thoughts on the origine of thir kinds of magnalia naturæ. None of the 3 hypotheses are fully satisfying to me, and if I mistake not are not sufficient to solve the phænomena that appear most commonly. But perhaps we have not a sufficient stock of experiments to build a hypothesis on as yet, and it would be more satisfying to some if learned men would rather spend their time in making observations and tryalls then in devising neu hypotheses, of quhich I think ther shall be noe end.

I doubt not but your Lordship has fallen on sevrall minerall and fossile substances in the north. I am encouraged by your Lordships former oblidging presents to hope for a sample of these quherof you have doubles to my small collection here. Mr Maxwell<sup>2</sup> or any of the

<sup>1</sup> Daughter of Sir James Stewart of Coltness. Wodrow (R.), *Analecta*, i. 207, 357. *Coltness Collections* [Maitland Club, 1842], p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Maxwell, Chaplain to Sir John Maxwell, Lord Pollock.

Justice Clerks servants will convey them to me quhen your Lordship has any spare minute to look them out. Any further commands your Lordship has in this country or in any place quher I can serve you shall be willingly obeyed by, My Lord, your very much oblidge and

very humble servant, R. WODROW.

Glas. Nov. 4, 1700.

LXIII. For Mr ARCH. FOYER <sup>1</sup>

Dear Sir,

I received yours with your Overtures upon Wendsday last, quhich I have read over with great satisfaction, pleasure, and I hope, not without profite also, and heartily wish they were comunicated to the wordle. I could here expatiate upon the great learning, solidity, observation and judgment that appear in them, but this I knou would be displeasing to your modest ears and noe wise for the handing forward that correspondence you are pleased to promise me. Ile rather give you some few thoughts that occurred to me in perusing your Overtures, quhich may be rather a specimen of the freedom I resolve to use upon all occasions with you, then of any thing really reprehensible in them. Chap. 1 § 4. You say the *precenters reading exceedingly marrs the worship of God*. I am not yit clear about this. I knou the Church of France did praise God without reading the line as we doe, and the Bohemians also, if I mistake not, but the precenter read over quhat was to be sung befor the congregation sang it, at least in some congregations. After all, I doubt if singing without giving out each line in publick would not have as many disadvantages as our present practise, for I fear after all

<sup>1</sup> Minister of Stonehouse. *Fasti*, iii. 280. See also Wodrow (R.), *Analecta*, i. 210, 258, 314. On October 25, 1700, Foyer sent Wodrow a Utopian allegory entitled *Land of Prosperity newly discovered in a speculative voyage through the world*. This deals somewhat with education, but the Overtures referred to must be something distinct, and I have not found them, although there are several similar Overtures in Wodrow MSS. Folio 35 in the National Library of Scotland.

our endeavours for educating youth, ther will still be severall in the mixed congregations that will not be able to read, and some morally incapable, as blind people, not to name strangers that may come from England or Irland, that are not trained up as our youth are, and it seems hard to exclude these from this excellent deuty.

Chap. 1 § 5. Queritur if quhat you propose concerning censures be practicable in English schools in quhich, quhen distinct from Latine ones (as you overture they should) ther will be feu found, if any, of the age or solidity to be a censure, but the overture holds excellently weel in Latine schools.

Chap. 1 § 12. You seem to suppose that we have distinct professors for rhetorick and antiquity (by quhich I suppose you mean the bell-lettre) since you make a distinct sellary for these, yet we have them not, as you knou, and I find no overture for establishing distinct professors of these sciences. In the same paragraph you make the mathe-maticks double of philosophy, quhich I think ther is noe ground for, for these seem to be far more easy, being in a natural methode, then either philosophy or Greek.

Chap. 2. Sect. 1 § 1. You would oblige all parents to send their children to school, quhich I think will be hard 1. quhen the parents have skill and laizour to teach them at home; 2ly quhen they are tender and not able to endure the fatigues of going and coming to and from the school if at distance; 3ly quhen the parents are able to mentean a governour to teach at home.

Chap. 2. Sect. 2. Subsect. 2d § 1. You joyn transubstantiation and universale a parte rei together. I think the bringing in of universale a parte rei, quhich many hold, in a very intelligible sense, last strenthens the nonsensicall dogme of transubstantiation, and may make some belive they are on the same footing. § 3. You recommend Virgil evangelizans,<sup>1</sup> quhich by some is looked upon a very

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<sup>1</sup> *Virgilii evangelisantis Christiados libri xiii. In quibus omnia quæ de Domino nostro Jesu Christo in utroque Testamento . . . altisona divina Maronis tuba suavissime decantantur, inflante A. Rosæo. Lond., 1659.* (And other editions.)

unbecoming work. To put the phrazes and things narrate by the Spirite of God in such a garb as Virgils is, and to apply the phrazes Virgill uses for holding out the abominable rites of gentilsme (and only these) to the mysteryes of our religion, is thought by some to be a grosse abuse, & nixt to blasphemy. This I give not as my thoughts, but as the thoughts of some tollerably seen in the matter befor us. In the same section you propose Calvins Institutions to be read in schools. I have only this to say, that indeed Calvine is a noble stile of Latine, but it seems to soon as yet to put polemical and contraversiall divinity in the hand of your scholers, they being not weel enough fixed not to be shaken [by] the subtilities of adversaries that are to be met with in such books.

§ 4. You name Durhame on Scandale<sup>1</sup> for themes; quhat is just nou said may relate in part to this. I wish rather a short compend of universall history wer drauen up in English for this use, quhich would be pleasing and profitable for the use. In this § you name Polybius among the authors to be exponed; this author will doe better for the bajons, he being written in Greek, and the Latine translations we have done by Casaubone not of such a stile

\* MS. 'if.' as ane originall. § 8 of the same chapter. I\* most look upon it as a hyperbole your not being to redeem your life with making one Latine hexameter. § 14. I see not but most of the arguments brought against Latine poets teaching will strick at the historians also, particularly the first 4. Your 5. argument from Montaigne will not hold, for he was educate another way then you propose, viz. in a society of learned persons quhom his father enter-teined, and he learned Latine by the ear, & not by gramer or reading any books at all.

Chap. 3. Sect. 1 § 1. As [to] the College magistrate I suppose there will be litle need of choicing a neu on, for this is the Rector office to take nottice of vice and punish it (at least in this universality) but the overtures about the

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<sup>1</sup> Durham (James). *The dying man's testament to the Church of Scotland, or, a treatise concerning scandal.* Edin., 1659, etc.

frequency of his courts &c. are very reasonable. § 2d is provided for by our laues here, except the last part relating to our citicens. § 10 is likewise provided for by our laues, to quhich all most be subject. I should not be against students give their formall consent by subscription, but I would have it only once (least the frequency of the thing take away its solemnity) unless quhen any is found to contradict their subscription, then presently let their name be put out and not admitted to subscribe till earnestly they seek after it.

Chap. 3. Sect. 3. Subs. 1 § 6. You overture ane English-Hebreu gramer for such as want Latine. I see litle use the Hebreu will be to such, but I think as consequentiall to this the dictionary you speak of § 7 should have the English of the Hebreu added to it, else the gramer will be usless alone. I think we need not a neu English Hebreu gramer, Leusdens<sup>1</sup> one of this sort will serve. Subs. 2d. Art. 1 § 3. You overture that quhen sophismes are detected example of adversaryes should be detected. I think its too soon as yet to put the arguments of adversaryes in the youths mind, till the[y] be weel seen in our own orthodox opinions, and it makes youth have lou thoughts of our weightyest truths quhen they are brought in as examples of the lesson. I think ther is nothing worse in all Le Clerks philosophy then his bringing in examples for all his logicall quibles from the weightiest points of religion. Art. 3 § —. You would have all ethicks excluded universalities. I am as far as any against treating the vertues and vices ex penu Aristotelis, and for the passions they belong to the physicks, but till a set of Christian ethicks be appointed, I think Puffendorf de officio hominis,<sup>2</sup> abstracting from some feu of his escapes, might do weel, quher the nature of laues, their obligations, the deuty of superiors and inferiours, and the nature of society and the deuty of its members, and in short the foundation of

<sup>1</sup> Leusden (J.). *Manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum*. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1668.

<sup>2</sup> Puffendorf (S. von). *S.P. de officio hominis et civis juxta legem naturalem libri ii.* Ultrajecti, 1696. (And other editions.)

æconomicks and politicks, & quhat is called morality, is breifly hinted at. This would be a good foundation for these that are study[ing] either divinity or lau.

Art. 4. 1. Of the teachers not addicting himself to a party. I should think this will better come in in the generall overtures, for this is as prejudiciall in logicks and metaphysicks as in physicks. Art. 5 § 4. Quhat you say of the regents teaching mathematicks will not hold here, at Edinr., & Aberdeen, quher ther are professors of this science. Art. 6. You overture declamations in history. I wish you had enlarged a litle on the end and use of such declamations, quich in history, of all sciences, seem most needless.

By this time I perswade my self I have overwearied you being almost wearied my self. I shall say noe more on this head. I received your 3 books. As for Stair I believe it may give 5s. and scarce that, but for Leydeker its the worst edition, as Mr H. will tell you. I am perswaded [it] will never give above 3 ll., if it give that. Essenius is taught at Edinburgh, quich makes it dear, but I never sau it give above 4s. here. Mr Reed the auctioner cannot be had just nou and the carier is in hast, soe I most defer the sending of Amesius at 10, Horn at 1 ll. and Baxter, if the person that bought it will part with it, and Gerhard on Pet[er] 2 volls. in 4to at 4 ll., quich is yet cheaper in my opinion then any you have. The money I shall lay out for all. Pray encourage our auction by sending doun a good number of books but at easier rates then your last, or else they need not come. Mr Jam[eson] thanks you for your Socinus & gives his service to you. Waiting for a long letter, I am yours as before,

R. WODROW.

Glas. Nov. 12, 1700.

#### LXIV. For Mr ARCH. FOYER <sup>1</sup>

Dear Sir,

I received yours of the 14. inst. just nou. I shall not detean you having nothing of consequence to acquaint you with, knouing you are considerably thronged, for all

<sup>1</sup> Neither the answer nor the letter of November 14 has been found.

the solitude you complean of. I am on the other extream, and have reason to complean of my diversions and company. I wish I could improve my diversions as weel as you doe your solitude, but I knou this wish is fruitless and goes noe further then a wish. I received your 2 books, of quhich and of all that come from you, I shall take all the care I can. I am not a litle satisfyed to hear of some more of your composures, and that I may have the happiness to see them, being soe much taken with your last. I am noe less content to hear you are to be here shortly, by my brother. The shortness of this will noe wayes impede the freedome you promise me, it coming in hast from yours affectionately,

R. WODROW.

Nov. 15, 1700.

LXV. For Mr ALEXR. STEVENSON at Ayr<sup>1</sup>

D. C., I received yours of Dec. 1. just nou. I am very satisfied to hear your sentiments on the stones on the banks of Dune. If the Lord preserve us both till next season I shall not forgett to remind you of them quhen you come west again. It will be extreamly worth your pains to see the Cat-Stone within 5 miles of Edinr., of quhich more afterwards, and by a narrou observation of its deformed letters you may perchance meet with some on these stones on the water of Dune. You need not, but I shall frequently give you letters, insignificant as they are, quhen at Edinr, abstracting from my oun interest, or if you think this a complement, my humor; your desire is enough to engage me to this. I count it noe small losse that you are not to come by this place, but let it be made up by your frequent and long letters quhile at Edinr., and particularly one as soon as you arive safe ther to yours intirly,

R. WODROW.

Dec. 3, 1700.

I was uncertain if this should find you at Ayr, soe I have

<sup>1</sup> No letters from A. Stevenson have been found between November 9, 1700, and April 6, 1702.



been the shorter, and it comes empty. If you have any thing more by you for me, I hope you will leave it to be forwarded. If this reach you I hope for one more from Ayr, with ane accompt of the bleu stone or Amianthus I just nou receive.

LXVI. For Mr JAMES SUTHERLAND <sup>1</sup>

Learned Sir,

I received the acceptable present of your curiouse catalogue <sup>2</sup> from Mr Paterson a considerable while agoe. Had [it] not been that this long time I expected to have seen you here, I should not [have] soe long deferred the acknowledgement of this and your many other favours. The unkindly winter for herbalizing being nou come on, I have lost hopes of seing you here this season. I should be glad to hear of your neu additions to [your] collection of meddails, that is already soe much advanced, with your advice quhat books are best to beginn with on that noble science. I have met with nothing considerable since my last. Receive inclosed a peice of one of the James quhich I latly gote. I should be glade you would give me its age and reading.<sup>3</sup> I have the prospect of some latly dugg up in Galloway, of David, as is said. Quhen ever they come to my hands you shall have ane accompt of them.

I have by me ready for you ane old herball with Regimen Sanitatis by ane anonymouse author, printed 1486. Its the oldest I have met with. If you have it not already pray let me knou, that I may send it in to you. I should be glade of any doubles you have to spare, Roman, and especially Scots. Any service you have in this country I should be glad to be honoured with it. If you give your letter to the Justice Clerks directed for me, or any thing

<sup>1</sup> Answered January 22, 1701. Quarto i. 108.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Sutherland's *Hortus Medicus Edinburgensis*; or a catalogue of the plants in the Physical Garden at Edinburgh, Edin., 1683.

<sup>3</sup> Sutherland identifies it as a groat of James III., minted at Edinburgh. He reads the inscription—Front: JACOBUS . DEI . GRA . REX . SCOTTORUM; Reverse: DNS . PECTOR . MS . # . LIBERATOR . MS.

else you have to transmitt, it will come safe to me. I should be glade to hear of your last from Mr Lhuyd and quher you think he is at present.<sup>1</sup> This, with my humble respects to the learned D. Sibbald, is all at present from, Sir, your very much obliged humble servant,

Dec, 7, 1700.

R. WODROW.

LXVII. For Mr LACHLAND CAMPBLE at Edinr.<sup>2</sup>

D. C., I received yours of Nov. 21. by post and had not been soe long in returning you thanks for it had it not been that I looked for more to follou it ere this time. The bearer this comes with deceived me likewise as to his time, else you should have had them sooner by a week. Receive inclosed one from Mr Jamison in answer to yours. I need not speak of neuse to you, who lye at the fountain of all kinds of them. I expected ere this time some forrainge journalls, but they are not yet come to hand, and tho they wer, perhaps I could furnish you with litle out of them but quhat you have from the History of the Works of the Learned. You most look for noe returns from this solitary and retired place (for thir kind of matters) but send your freinds here accompts of affairs both civil and learned, out of pure gratuity and good nature, expecting noe returns. Mr Jamisons *Roma Racoviana et Racovia Romana*<sup>3</sup> goes on apace. I intreat for long accompts of affairs from you both as to civil affairs and especially concerning the Republick of Learning, quhat\* neu advances you meet with or make in your reading and excellent converse, quhat neu books, or curiouse old ones. \*MS. 'qñ'

<sup>1</sup> Sutherland's answer tells of Lhuyd's expedition to Ireland (from which he brought home over 30 Irish MSS.) and of his studies in survivals of Cornish (there are, he believes, 'some remains of it all along the South Coast for nigh 30 myles in length, and he believes on the north syde above 20').

<sup>2</sup> Answered December 12, 1700. Quarto iii. 15. Campbell was afterwards Minister of Campbelltown. *Fasti*, iv. 50.

<sup>3</sup> It was published at Edinburgh in 1702.

This comes by a privat hand because of Mr Jamisons enclosed and the occasion offers it self, but I hope you will not spare me by post, and neither shall I you, quhen occasions offers not, and quhen I have any thing worth your while. Meantime belive me ever to be your affectionate comrad and servant,

R. WODROW.

Decem. 7, 1700.

LXVIII. For Mr MATHEU CONELL at Utrecht <sup>1</sup>

D. C., Having the occasion of the bearer Mr Luke coming over, I thought it might not only be acceptable, but also was my deuty, to give you a small touch of our affairs since you left us. I expected to have heard by post or otherwise befor nou from you, but yet have had noe accompt. I hear this day Andreu Scot is come in to Borroustouness. By him I expect my catologues and quhat of my comission you could fall on. If these be not sent by him or some other befor this come to your hand, I wish you may give these and quhat ever further you procure for Mr Jamison or me to Mr Luke the bearer, and he will bring them safe here. I think he shall not leave Holland till the beginning of February, and by that time I think you will be a[t] Leyden, if not befor this reach you.

For our affairs here, having a discourse in my hand to say within 2 dayes, I shall be the shorter. Ther is noe word at all of the disposall of our Principalls place as yet. Our Synod sate in October last and transported Mr Broun <sup>2</sup> to this place, after having put out the Presbitry of Pasley as parties because their reference to the Synod implied a determination of the affair: upon quich the said presbitry, Mr Broun and Nilston appealed to the Assembly.

<sup>1</sup> Answered March 8, 1701. Quarto i. 117. This supplies the date of Wodrow's letter. Connell was afterwards Minister of Blantyre, and East Kilbride. *Fasti*, iii. 228, 268.

<sup>2</sup> David Brown, ordained to Neilston 1688, called to Blackfriars 1692 and again in 1700. Admitted February 6, 1701. He married a sister of Thomas Blackwell. *Fasti*, iii. 399.

Since the Synod Mr Blackwell <sup>1</sup> is gone north, and its said Pasly is about to call Mr Broun, from quhich, if they desiste not, its thought Mr Broun will let his appeal fall and come here. The Synod also transported Mr Elphiston <sup>2</sup> to a parish within 4 miles of Edinburgh.

Our Parliment sat down on the 22d of the last moneth, and are yet sitting, and its thought will sit out this century. The party called the Country Party are much weakned, and, as is said, will desist from pressing Caledonia any more. The Parliament has passed ane Act for the declaring Presbyterian government as nou established to be founded on the word of God. The Country Party pressed further to have the intrinsick pouer of the Church declared and her pouer to sit in Assemblies quhen, quher, and hou long, she pleased, and without the Kings Comissioner, if none wer sent, declared. It was objected that the Church was not desiring this, and soe was put of. The Commission was solisted by the D. and Presbitry of Hamiltoun to petition for this but it was not thought fit hic et nunc. The Parliament has been long upon and at lenth has passed the Habeas Corpus Act for the personall security of the subject, that none shall be imprisoned without the reasons given to him (except in some cases, as invasions and immoralitys) and subscribed, and that with a set time they shall either be bailed or tryed. They have also passed ane Act against profanity for Church bailays, and depriving excommunicated persons from offices of State or Army; also ane Act for discharging the importation of all forraing cloths and silks except flannen, and their wearing, on the pain of 500 merks; ane Act discharging the exportation of wool on the pain of death, and severall others in favours of manufactories. But their great work concerning the cesse and standing of the souldiers is yet befor them.

I belive befor this reach you, you will hear that the Rising Sun and another ship in her company are lost on

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Blackwell, transported from Paisley to Aberdeen 1700. Afterwards Principal of Marischal College. *Fasti*, vii. 358.

<sup>2</sup> James Elphinston, ordained Minister of Strathblane 1691, called to Dalkeith 1700. *Fasti*, i. 316.

the north bar of Carolina, and all their men except 12, among quhom are Walter Grahame, Mr Stobo and his wife.<sup>1</sup>

Your comrade Mr H. Shau is gone this week to be chaplain to my Lord Haddingtoun in Fife.

I need not desire you to take a care of my comission, I knou you will doe this. I shall only mind you of the Republicks at auctions or else quher, and the theses and pamphlets in Latine or French. Quhen you have bought any considerable part of my comission and Mr Jamisons, pray let us have a long line by post with ane accompt of affairs with you, neu books, &c. Mr Jamison and all comrades here give their service to you. Quhat I have omitted, my brother (who is nou upon his tryalls)<sup>2</sup> [will give] if time will allou. Soe, comending you to the grace and care of our graciouse God, I remain your affectionate comrad and humble servant,

R. WODROW.

[December 19, 1700.]

LXIX. For Mr A[RCHIBALD] F[OYER]<sup>3</sup>

Dear Sir,

I received yours by the bearer and I am not a litle affected with the sad presages of Gods judgment on this land, quhich, if we may dare prognosticate any thing in this matter, we have ground to fear may be by sending us back to spirituall Egypt, that land of darkness, idolatry, and graven images. Affected I am with this, but alace, not soe much as it becomes me. Happy are they that are found ready to oppose this horrible stream of profanity that is like to hurry thousands into endless ruin. Happy are they that are fled into the chambers of protection quhen the blast of the Terrible on[e] like a storm against

<sup>1</sup> The *Rising Sun* and the *Duke of Hamilton* were lost off the coast of Carolina on September 3, 1700. Archibald Stobo was one of the ministers sent to Darien. Walter Graham was Lieutenant on the *Rising Sun*. Cundall in *The Darien Venture*, New York, 1926, p. 99, says that Mrs. Stobo was drowned. But Borland in *The History of Darien*, Glasgow, 1779, p. 81, agrees with Wodrow in numbering her among the saved.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Wodrow, licensed April 30, 1701. *Fasts*, iii. 477.

<sup>3</sup> Answer not found.

the wall comes on. Happy are they that have the spirit of supplication to wrestle with God for themselves and a land that is at the brink of ruin. By the rule of contraries hou unhappy are these that are dead, formall, and carnall at such a time as this is, and, in a word, are at ease in Zion, quhen the Protestant interest is soe lou, the main pillar of antichrist is dai[ly] strenthning his hands, eminent princes for a bare title of a king turning over to the Whoor.<sup>1</sup> Germany seems to be lost, Holland (loose as it is) at the brink of ruin; for Brittain and Ireland I need say nothing more of them then is said in the Causes of the Grouth of Popry.<sup>2</sup> All my comfort is that the Lord reingeth, and that quhen his time to work is come, all thir lets and impedements shall be as blacks and foils and shaddoues to hold forth the glory of his doings.

But for want of time I most break of from this sweet consideration; you are far above my help in this matter. As to the causes of the grouth of popry, I should not be very forward to impute the neglect of the F[rench] Protestants at the Peace of Reswick to state policy, but rather to meer necessity on the kings part. You know that peace was much against King Williams mind, and the Parliament of England they would continou the subsidies noe longer, soe that the king was necessitat to patch up the peace the best way he could; his allyes wer shrinking of, and quhat could he doe allone? Feu or none of them appeared any way for the Protestant interest. I am assured from a very good hand, that had it from a French Protestant in Holland who was concerned in the affair, that the French Protestants ther had it notified to them that a remonstrance or petition from them would be kindly received by the English and Dutch plenepotentiarys. This they designed and wer a drauing up, upon quhich some things relating to them wer thought upon. But the unhappy division between Jurieu

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<sup>1</sup> This is aimed at the Elector of Brandenburg who, it was feared, had made concessions to the Catholics, in return for the Emperor's recognition of his new title of King of Prussia.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to Foyer's letter to him of November 29, 1700, entitled *Letter . . . concerning the causes of the growth of Popery*. Quarto i. 106.

and Saurin<sup>1</sup> quhich had divided them among themselves, broke their petition, and the plenepotentiarys meeting with opposition, and the peace being soe necessary, upon the above said reasons the bussiness dropt. This I only suggest to you for the vindication of the King, tho I assure you my heart bleeds at the sad and forlorn condition of these people, and especially at the profanity and loosness that continoues among them. As to the late denyall of petitioning the Parliament for asserting the Churches intrinsick pouer, I am in the dark about it, but as far as I yet see, it seems not soe proper for a Parliament as for the Church her self to assert this, and till the King deny to joyn with the Church in asserting this, I think he is not a civil pope.<sup>2</sup> I heartily wish the Lord may direct his servants in the ministry to cary zealously and prudently in such a criticall juncture as this is, and make them wise as serpents and harmless as doves. I acknowledge my unclearness as to this point and heartily wish to be cleared in it. You see quhat freedome I use with you, and because the bearer is in hast, shall only wish that you may continou yours with yours affectionately,

R. WODROW.

Jan. 7, 1701.

LXX. For Mr ANDREU ROSSE at Cramond<sup>3</sup>

D. C., This comes to you[r] hands to reneue our old acquaintance, shall I say more, intimacy, to thank you for your last long convoy the lenth of Bathgate, to mind you of your promise to send west one of the heads of the sea animals that wer killed some years agoe about you somequher. Moreover a particular errand it has is to begg a special favour. I remember quhen you wer in this

<sup>1</sup> Pierre Jurieu and Elie Saurin. In 1697 alone, the year of the Treaty of Ryswick, Jurieu published at Utrecht three pamphlets against Saurin. See *Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses publiée sous la direction de F. Lichtenberger*, Paris, 1877-82.

<sup>2</sup> As Foyer had called him.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the Andrew Ross who was Professor of Humanity at Glasgow, 1706-35. No answer found.

country you had the happiness to light upon a treasure in a barn or some such place of Beltrees papers.<sup>1</sup> I earnestly entreat you may give me a particular accompt of the place quher you found them, the parish, toun, or house. You told me, and if I remember right I had some of them from you a while, there wer severall French papers among them. I am nou in some case to make use of such if any more be had. I shall not fail to communicate with you quhat ever I meet with, if I be soe happy as through your kind asistance to fall in among the remainders of them if any such be. I heartily wish you would leave at the Justice Clerks with Mr Maxwell directed for me, or give to any Glasgou carier, any of these papers you have in French or in English relating to our Scots affairs, and I shall restore them quhen you call for them. I expect you will write by post to me as soon as you receive this, quhich I have enclosed in a line to Mr R. M.,<sup>2</sup> Chaplain to my Lord Justice Clerk, to be conveyed to you quhen or hou I knou not. Mr Jamison gives his service to you. This is from your affectionate comrad and humble servant,

R. WODROW.

Jan. 7, 1700 [1701].

LXXI. For Mr M. CONNELL at Leyden <sup>3</sup>

D. C., I wrote to you in December last by Mr Luke, who I knou not yet whither he be sailed or not. Perhaps this may be at your hands as soon as it. In it I gave you a hint of our affairs here since you left us. I have litle to add. We expect Mr D. Broun to be received in this place within a feu weeks at least once befor the Assembly sits. He and the Presbitry of Pasley have laid down the appeall the[y] made to the Assembly upon his transportation to us by our Synod in October because they heard of a call from Edinr. and another from St. Andreues to Mr Broun. The Parliament have declared our setlment in Caledonia to be accord-

<sup>1</sup> There are some papers of the Sempills of Beltrees in Wodrow MSS., Folio 28, in the Church of Scotland Library.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Maxwell.

<sup>3</sup> Answered March 8, 1701. Quarto i. 117.



ing to the Act of Parliament '95, and referred the prosecution or asserting it wholly to the King. Mr Matheu Crauford is dead since my last.<sup>1</sup> Ther are some hopes yet of publishing his History. The neuse of this great mans death will noe doubt be very affecting to De Vries,<sup>2</sup> who was intimate with him, as likewise to Mr Broun<sup>3</sup> of Rotterdam, to quhom give my humble respects quhen you see him.

I received your by Mr Scott with the books, except these you named in a line from Van de Water<sup>4</sup> to Mr —. As to the rest of my comission I only desired them at catches, at auctions, in 2d hand shopes, &c. I am content to give a litle more for them then I set doun especially Bochart, Rapin, Malebranche, and Spanhems Elenchus.<sup>5</sup> I hope you will not forget the Republicks, theses, and pamphlets. We want yet of the *Acta Eruditorum Lipsiae* the mo[n]th of Aprile 1697, the title page and last sheet of the index for the year 1699, and quhat is come out since the last you sent. These I desire you may write up to Van de Water for, as also the follouing books in the catologue he priced: Huetius de concordia rationis et fidei<sup>6</sup>; *Principes de physique* par Hartsoeker<sup>7</sup>; *Traité de sources de la corruption qui regne parmi les Chretiens*<sup>8</sup>; Puffendorf de jure nat. et gentium<sup>9</sup>; likewise, if he have it, *Itigiii Bibliotheca patrum apostolicorum* 8vo Lips.

<sup>1</sup> Minister of Eastwood. He gave his MS. History to Glasgow Library in 1693 on condition that his sons were given bursaries. *Munimenta*, iii. 435-6. But something must have intervined, for it was purchased by the Church of Scotland from Crawford's executors in 1737 and is now in that Library. It is still unpublished. *Fasti*, iii. 134-5.

<sup>2</sup> Gerard de Vries, Professor of Theology at Utrecht.

<sup>3</sup> James Brown, Minister at Rotterdam, 1691-1713. *Fasti*, vii. 550.

<sup>4</sup> Publisher and bookseller at Utrecht.

<sup>5</sup> Spanheim (F.) the Younger. *F. S. F. controversiarum de religione cum dissidentibus hodie Christianis . . . elenchus historico-theologicus*. Amst., 1694.

<sup>6</sup> Huetius (P. D.). *P. D. H. . . . Alnetanæ quæstiones de concordia rationis et fidei*, iii lib. Lipsiae, 1692.

<sup>7</sup> Hartsoeker (N.). *Principes de physique*. Paris, 1696.

<sup>8</sup> [Osterwald (J. F.).] *Traité des sources de la corruption qui règne aujourd'hui parmi les Chrestiens*. Amsterdam, 1700.

<sup>9</sup> Pufendorf (S. von). *S. P. de jure naturæ et gentium libri octo*. Ed. ultima. Amstelodami, 1688.

'99<sup>1</sup>; *Lettres et Memoires de F. Vargas*<sup>2</sup>; *Fabritii Bibliotheca Romana*<sup>3</sup>; *Amelovens Amœnitates et opuscula*<sup>4</sup>; *Cellarii Geographia vetus; ejusdem nova.*<sup>5</sup> Quhat of these are not bound I wish he would stitch them up. I wish you may b[u]y any of these he has not at Leyden, or elsquher quher they can be had, especially Itigius, quhich I am very desirouse of. Mr Jamison desires you to buy for him *Sulpitius Severus cum notis Hornii*, and *Dalleus de imaginibus*.<sup>6</sup> Buy for me at ane auction or elsquher if you can light on it *Salden de libris* at 16 Stivs. bound<sup>7</sup>; *Verboys nova via docend. Grecam* at 30 Sts.<sup>8</sup>

As soon as you have received this and done anything as to the commissions in it, pray write by post, and give us a charecter of Pontanus,<sup>9</sup> and let us hear the sentiments of reflecting persons among you upon the Elector of Brandeburgs turning King of Prussia, and whither ther be not shreud suspicions of his turning popish, or at least his being out of case for appearing for the Protestant interest; if the King of Denmark be not feared to incline that way; with your other neuse.<sup>10</sup>

I hope you will send over quhat you have gote for us here by the first sure hand, only, if befor you get one

<sup>1</sup> Ittig (T.). *Bibliotheca Patrum Apostolicorum Græco-Latina*. Lipsiae, 1699.

<sup>2</sup> Vargas Mexia (F. D. de). *Lettres et mémoires . . . Tr. . . avec des remarques, par Mr. M. le Vassor*. Amsterdam, 1699.

<sup>3</sup> Fabricius (J. A.). *Bibliotheca Latina*. Hamburgi, 1697.

<sup>4</sup> Almeloveen (T. J. van). *T. J. ab. A. amœnitates theologico-philologicæ*. Amst., 1694.

<sup>5</sup> Cellarius (C.). *C. C. geographia antiqua juxta et nova*. Jenae, 1698.

<sup>6</sup> Daillé (Jean). *J. D. de imaginibus libri iv.* Lugd. Bat., 1642.

<sup>7</sup> Saldenus (Gu.). *G. S. de libris varioque eorum usu et abusu, libri duo*. Amst., 1688.

<sup>8</sup> Verwey (J.). *Nova via docendi Græca*. Gaudæ, 1684.

<sup>9</sup> Connell gives some account of Pontanus, Leydecker, Maastricht, and De Vries, Professors at Utrecht.

<sup>10</sup> Connell thinks the King of Prussia is still Protestant, and he has heard nothing definite against the King of Denmark. But he adds: 'The state of the Reformed in Germany is very low, especially in the Palat. And as to their illustrious schools and universitys, orthodox men are thrown out and men of Jesuitical principles put in their rooms, which is remarkable, especially in Heydleberge.'

Mr Luke be come over, he will take a speciall care of them, and I had rather be 3 weeks or a moneth longer in receiving them then have them coming by another then him. Be sure to write by post quhen you send them of.

I am yours &c.,

Jan. 24, 1701.

R. WODROW.

LXXII. For Mr JAMES SUTHERLAND <sup>1</sup>

Learned Sir,

I received yours of the 22 current from the carier. This comes to give you hearty thanks for soe instructive a line, and particularly that quhich you are pleased to communicate from the learned Doctor Richardson.<sup>2</sup> I think I have perused all the authors he names except Augustinus Scilla,<sup>3</sup> Lister in his appendix to his *Hist. animalium*,<sup>4</sup> and Dr Leigh.<sup>5</sup> If you could acomodate me with a loan of any of them, particularly the last, I should have a special care of them and return them at the time you shall specify. There are only 3 that I have mett with in my small reading different from the Doctors: Boot with Laets additions de lapidibus much commended by Mr Lhuyd; Nehem. Greu in his Rarities of the Royall Society at the beginning of his chapter of Stones; and the learned Ray in his last edition of his *Physico-theologicall discourses*<sup>6</sup> has a very large excursion on the nature of formed stones and subterraneouse shells, and gives a kind of theory distinct

<sup>1</sup> Answered February 1, 1701. Quarto i. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Richardson, M.D., who sent Sutherland a list of books on formed stones. For summaries of letters from Richardson to Lhuyd see Lhuyd (E.), *E.L. . . lithophylacii Britannici ichnographia*, Ed. altera, Oxonii, 1760; and see also *Extracts from the literary and scientific correspondence of Richard Richardson*, Yarmouth, 1835.

<sup>3</sup> Scilla (Agostino). *La vana speculazione disingannata dal senso. Lettera responsiva circa i corpi marini che petrificati si trovano in varii luoghi terrestri*. Napoli, 1670.

<sup>4</sup> Lister (M.). *M. L. . . historia animalium Angliæ tres tractatus. . . Quibus adjectus est quartus de lapidibus*. Londini, Eboraci, 1678-81.

<sup>5</sup> Leigh (C.). *The natural history of Lancashire, Cheshire and the Peak in Derbyshire*. Oxford, 1700.

<sup>6</sup> Ray (J.). *Three physico-theological discourses*. 2nd ed. Lond., 1693.

from the rest, of quhich, wer it not that I think you may have seen him, I should give you ane abstract.

You tell me you have some stones from Dr Richardson with the impressions of capillary plants on them. I have met with some hard clay or till with impressions of this kind on them, particularly one piece of a foot long or more with a continoued impression of this kind. The till with the shells in it, of quhich I \* left some with you at Edinr. the Archdeacon takes to be leav. I[f] you want some more of it acquaint me and I shall send in some [of] it. I have a considerable variety of formed stones and shells here; if you have any from Dr Richardson that you can spare, especially with impressions of plants on them, they would be extreamly acceptable. I hope, if once the Spring wer come, to furnish you with some till or coal slate with impressions on it.

\*MS. 'a'

Receive inclosed the coin you desire with Villa Rokesburg. It was gote with the groat of K. James the 3ds I receive just nou, and I belive may be a groat likewise. Receive likewise 2 peices I have gote since, digg up about 10 or 12 miles from this in the parish of Kilbarchan, quher ther is some ground to hope for moe. I shall be glade you give me your thoughts upon them.<sup>1</sup> For that book of meddalls, its Patins,<sup>2</sup> and I desing to send for it in French. In the mean time I thank you for your oblidging offer of procuring it for me in English. If you have any of your oun excellent collection you can spare for a feu weeks quhich you think proper for me to read, I shall be very satisfied to have a loan of it.

Receive the old herball as a small return to these many obligations that you have been pleased to lay on me. I shall count my self happy if I can be any further serviceable to the furthering your curiouse collection of coins, or books

<sup>1</sup> Sutherland reads the first—Front: HENRICUS REX. Reverse: SIMON. ON. CANTE, and calls it a penny of Henry II. The second he reads—Front: EDWAR. R. ANGL. DNS. HYB. Reverse: CIVITAS. CANTOR., and calls it a penny of Edward I. The former is not in Grueber's *Handbook*.

<sup>2</sup> Patin (C.). *Histoire des médailles, ou introduction à la connoissance de cette science*. Paris, 1695.

on them or plants. My humble respects to the learned Dr Sibbald and my friend Mr Paterson quhen you see them. Beging the continuance of your correspondence by post or otherwayes and the communication of quhat discoverys you think proper for me in your excellent correspondence, I am, Sir, your very much oblinded humble servant,

R. WODROW.

Jan. 27, 1701.

LXXIII. For Mr A[RCHIBALD] F[OYER] <sup>1</sup>

Dear Sir,

I received yours of the 24. this day with Bisterfeild. Receive Gerhard on Peter, 2 vols. As for Wilkins Ecclesiastes I neither have it of my own nor is it in the Library, else you should have had it. I have not as yet received these books you wrote of long since from Stratheven. I should be glad hou soon they come. I shall be content either to accompt with you at meeting for quhat books I have sold for you and bought to you, or take your offer in this line I just nou receive. Tho ther be some litle difference between the books, and a penny in the shilling given of to the auctioner of them that are sold, yet that is betwixt you and me. I shall therfor, as you desire, keep Bisterfeild and take my venture of the selling of Leydeker and Essenius ; soe you and I am clear till these books come down from Stratheven, of quich pray send a list. The trouble you talk of that I have been about them is not to be named among freinds, among quhom mutuall good offices are deuty, not trouble.

As to the contents of your letter it would spend too much time to you to give you my thoughts on evry part in it, it is soe full of mater, and your arguing from soe many varieuse topicks. This we may referr to our meeting. I belive noe thinking person will deny that the want of zeal in our party, and the restraint on our priviledges, is quhat all have reason to groan under. Yet I think and

<sup>1</sup> Answer not found.

crave leave to say that our own misimprovement of the priviledges and the partiall liberty that God has been pleased to allow this poor land, the want of zeal for the advancement of personall reformation and parochiall reformation, and acting with boldness upon the grounds and priviledges we have had since the late happy Revolution, are noe lesse to be lamented. Had ministers, and the small number of good magistrates we have, joynd heartily to put in execution the good Acts of Parliament against profanity that we have read twice a year in our Churches (most I say it, in almost a sham way), it might perhaps have pleased the Lord to blesse the day of small things, and our priviledges might perhaps at this day been larger then they are; and quhat service might our elders and deacons doe toward reformation of manners you know very weel. It seems to be our main duty at this day to improve the talent we have, and not put it in a napkin and cry for more. Think not I am against pleading zealously for the priviledges of the Church. I assure you I think noe such thing, but I heartily wish all prudent and necessary means may be fallen on for the asserting of them, and I suppose this may be done \* by zealously improving quhat \* MS. 'on' we have. For quhat you say as to magistrates giving us a civil right, I am noe wayes against it. But pray quhat more civil right would you have then you have already by Act Ja. 6. Parl. 12. Act first—Ratification of the liberty of the treu Kirk and Generall Assemblies, and all this and many more ratified more then once since the Revolution? For my part, I see nothing more in the overtures from your Presbritry<sup>1</sup> to this, yea, scarce soe much. I wish we may reflect on quhat we doe in such a ticklish time as this is. I wish ther may not [be] seeds of division souden among ministers, that shall not be soe soon laid, and much of the trouble of the Church of Scotland proceeded from this source. I wonder to see some join with these that they mightily opposed some years agoe, drau up their papers, act for them as *pro aris et focis*, and never consider hou

<sup>1</sup> There is a copy of these overtures of Hamilton Presbytery in Wodrow MS. Folio, vol. 28 in the Church of Scotland Library.

much it weaken[s] the hand of their bretheren and strenthens enimies hands, and quhen all is done, produces noe more then quhat is already in their hands, if they knou hou to improve it. It may be that I may be ill informed, but I speak according to the light I stand in and the information I have, and shall be glad to have better from you if this be wrong.

Quhat I have said is my oun deductions from maters of fact I hear, and noe ways the sentiments of others. I shall be glad to have your mind quhat you would desire further from the civil pouer that we have not already given us, and quhat are the points you would have a Parliament or an Assembly asserting with respect to the intrinsick pouer of the Church. Your thoughts on this, and quhat other things you please, will be very acceptable to me. Ther are severall points of your letter I would give you my mind on, but time fails. I most referr you to another occasion. I hope you will misse noe opportunity to me, for I have none but quhen you direct them with a line to me, and continou your freedome with yours affectionately,

R. WODROW.

Jan. 28, 1701.

#### LXXIV. For Archdeacon NICOLSON <sup>1</sup>

Learned Sir,

The bearer Mr Bird <sup>2</sup> acquainting me that he was returning to England and that he would wait on you, I could not let this occasion slip of giving by this my most humble respects to you. I wrote to you by Mr Meadly, a student, some 2 or 3 moneths agoe. Since, I have not heard from you, quhich makes me suspect that he has not delivred you that line. As far as my memory will serve me I shall recapitulate here quhat I designed for you then: vid. sup. p. 161.<sup>3</sup> This is the substance of quhat Mr

<sup>1</sup> Answered May 17, 1701. Quarto i. 130.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Jacobus Bird *Anglus*, a student at Glasgow in the class of J. Boyd, 1699. *Munimenta*, iii. 167.

<sup>3</sup> Letter LIX.

Meadly caried. I have litle to add nou. I have met with some papers of Mr Robert Boyd of Trochridge, Professoure at Saumure, and Principall here, giving some characters of the learned men that wer in his time. Its writte in French by his oun hand. There is litle or nothing in it that can be of any use to your Scots Hist. Library, he insisting mostly on forrainge learned men, soe I shall say noe more of it. I am just nou promised a sight of one Mr Jo. Livistoun his remarks on the learned persons that lived in his times,<sup>1</sup> and I hear he keeps more at home then the former. If I meet with any thing that can be of use to you, I shall not fail to communicate it.

We have about 6 weeks since susteaned a great losse here by the death of anc eminent person in this neighbourhood, Mr Math. Crauford. He has left behind him in writte a History of this Church from the Reformation to the late happy Revolution 1688. He had the perusall of severall MSS. relating to our history (as he told me himself) quhich I fear nou are lost, such as one Forbus History of Scotland in folio.<sup>2</sup> I intirly credite him, and belive he pretended to nothing but quhat he really had access to. His History will be as large as Petry, if not larger, and we are here laying doun measures for the publishing it.

Receive from the bearer a litle box with a feu fossiles, quhich rather then he should come altogether empty, I have troubled you with. Had he stayed a litle longer till the season had been more favourable for stone-picking, you should have had quhat this place affords. N. 1 is quhat I sometimes meet with here. I gave Mr Lhuyd one of this kind. He thought it referable to the Glossopetra kind, but said he had not mett with any of them in England. N. 2 may perhaps be of the Lythophyta kind. It is rare hereaway, yet I met once with a peice of this kind near a

<sup>1</sup> Livingstone's biographical MS. *Memorable characteristics* is printed in *Select biographies edited for the Wodrow Society . . . by W. K. Tweedie*, vol. i. pp. 293-348.

<sup>2</sup> This may be the same as, *Certaine records touching the estate of the Kirk in the years MDCV and MDCVI*. By John Forbes, Minister of Alford. It was printed at Edin., 1846, for the Wodrow Society.



foot and a half in lenth. I should be glad to have your thought on both this and the former. N. 3. 2 fossile shels of the Turbo kind. N. 4. Some Entrochi that are somquhat odd, and might be called furroued. Not in a paper you have 2 fragments of a stone strangely filled with Entrochi, some shells, and litle streight clear mater, that I have not met with elsquher. According to Mr Lhuyds hypothesis I should think thir wer the prickles of some exotick Echinus. Your thoughts on them would be very acceptable. If I had not been surprized by Mr Birds suddain departure, I would have endeavoured to have furnished you with somquhat more valuable. Receive in the same box a groat of our James the 2d, of quhich I have a double, and I thought it might not be altogether unacceptable. I should be extreamly oblidge by your transmitting quhat fossils, shels, formed stones, Lythophyta you have to spare, with their names &c.; and quatever occurs here that is worth your while to see, I shall misse no occasion to send you. Pray let me knou quhat lenth your Scots Historicall Library is come, and if your freinds here may look for the happiness to see you in Scotland this year, with quhat other accompts and discoveryes you shall think fit for, Sir, your oblidge humble servant,

Feb. 18, 1701.

R. WODROW.

Leighs Nat. Hist.: his thoughts on it.

[Extract]<sup>1</sup>

I take the Cat-Stone to have been soe denominated from the person whoes monument it is, quhom I præsume to have been named Gêd or Get quhich name in Latine was Vetta, even as we find Gwortheirn to have been written Vortigernus, Gwortheveir, Vortimerus, Gwitheline, Vitelinus &c., but whither this Vetta filius Victi might have

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be an extract from a letter from Lhuyd to Wodrow mentioned, *infra*, p. 187 n. 2. The philological account is very like that given in *An account of some Roman, French and Irish inscriptions and antiquities lately found in Scotland and Ireland by Mr. Edw. Lhuyd*, printed in *Phil. Trans.*, vol. xxii. no. 269 for February 1700.

been a son of Vectius Bolanus mentioned in the MSS. Hist. of the Picts (D.S.<sup>1</sup> has it) or one of the 3 Pictish kings of the name of Gethus, most be left to further enquiry. In regard the Romans used noe such monuments, it seems to me most probably to have been Pictish. As to the manner of inscription or form of the letters, it agrees exactly with diverse in Wales quhich I take to have been toward the 5. or 6. century, but we have noe tumuli soe encompassed with stones with any inscription. I hope you will digg a trench throu it and be satisfied whither they used urn buriall or observed any order in placing the corps in a kind of stone coffine, &c.

Since our coming to Ireland the most remarkable antiquitys we mett with wer certain small circles of stones one in another pitched on the end in the sea sand and diverse of these together, and a vast number of brunt bones with some deers horns scattered in the sea sand near them, quhence we præsumed it had been some place for sacrificing either of the Danes or Old Irish. In mosses here are found the same kind of brass padles I had from Sir H. Lr,<sup>2</sup> so that notwithstanding their nateness the armes may have been old Irish and Brittish, since they are found quher the Romans never came, tho it may be objected they might be brought thither.

LXXV. For Mr WILLIAM WRIGHT, M[inister] of the  
G[ospel] at Kilmarnock <sup>3</sup>

D. C., I received Ludulfus<sup>4</sup> with your oblidging and instructive letter of the 16. current. This comes to thank

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sibbald.

<sup>2</sup> MS. not clear. ? Sir Hans Sloane.

<sup>3</sup> This letter begins a new series headed: 'Letters 1701-1708.' On the first leaf is written: 'Mr. Alexr. Edward, to be left at Robert Bruce Goldsmith Shop foragainst the Tron Church'; but no letter to Edward follows. A letter may be wanting, or the note may refer to Letter LXXIX, or it may just be a record of an address. Letter LXXV answers a letter of February 16, 1701, Quarto i. 72, and is answered on March 25, 1701, Q. i. 82. For William Wright, see *Fasti*, iii. 106-7.

<sup>4</sup> Ludolf (Hiob). *J. L. . . . historia Æthiopica, sive brevis et succincta descriptio regni Habessinorum*, etc. Francofurti a. M., 1681.

you heartily for your communicating your remarks on the said author. I look on my self as very much obliged by them, and on them as a far greater token of your kindness to me then you had filled your half sheet with empty complements, as some are pleased to doe. As to Ludulfus, its nou some 8 or 9 years agoe since I read him, soe I can say litle of his opinions. That Ghihon may be Nile I think may hold, but his reasons from the etymology are scarce convincing, and why he brings in *γῆων* the Greek and does not derive it immediately from the Hebreu גִּיחֹן I knou not. I should think the Greek had litle to doe with the Abyssinians, and suppose this river might be thus termed befor the Greek translation was in Egypt. I fear he will have difficulty to bring this river into Eden without allowig greater alterations by the Flood then some will grant. That he makes the Tigris a branch of the Nile, as you tell me, I did not mind, soe I cast mine eye on the contents and find him making Niger the left branch, quhich I belive may very weel be, and Morden<sup>1</sup> in his map places its head pretty near it. That much light might be gotten from ancient Arabick writers to the Old Testament I very weel belive, and to strenthen quhat you say about the mischeivouse effects of Mahumitanisme, I doubt much if ther be any Arabian writers extant that wrote befor Mahomet. I could never hear of any, that cursed mungrell religion, being such ane inveterat enimie to knouledge, arts, or letters, I fear has swallowd up all. Yet Maimonides and some of the latter Greeks a litle befor the destruction of the Constantinopolitan empire may serve in some measure to mitigate this great losse, especially if we add the vast improvments that our latter great lights in the eastearn learning—Bochart, Drusius, Selden, Hottinger, &c., have made.

I fear, tho we had a certain account of the ancient discipline of Æthiopia and their church officers, it would serve us litle instead for the parity of church officers, for I think it can scarce be made out that Christianity was

<sup>1</sup> Robert Morden, author of *Geography rectified, or a description of the world*, Lond., 1688. (4th ed., 1700.)

settled in Æthiopia much befor the 400. year after Christ, and by that time there wer vast alterations made from the primitive purity, especially in countrys far of from Constantinople and Rome, men taking then their liberty to innovat according to the humor of the peaple and princes. As to your derivation of the chests at the comunion table from the litle chist the ark, it is neu to me, and I should be glad to have it vouched, and the way it came from the ark to the table opened. If we could find any of the Jeues instruments they used about the paschall lamb, as, for instance, if the veshell the[y] used for carring the blood or the water in quhich they dipped hysop or put their bitter herbs into could be made out to be of the same form with the Christians chests, it would be as naturall.

Befor we leave Ludolfus I would be glade to have your opinion upon the overflowing of Nile, whither it overfloues the country soe as to make it impassible and puts the peaple in Egypt out of their houses into higher grounds, or whither they may have bounds sett to it, and suffer it only to overflou as much as they see fitt, by walling it in. All this seems harsh to me. I still fancied they had channels and graafes cut to receive it and then I could not weel conceive hou it should enrich the soyle unless they had some sluces in these channels to stope it for a litle till it covered the land, till it laid down its rich despositum, and then they gave it passage; and then I think it should be a litle hard soe to manage that unruly element. Pray let me have your thoughts on this and, if your opinion coincide with mine, any vouchments you can of it, for all this is only imagination, and I never met with any body that satisfyed me about the πῶς of this flood.

I once thought to have sent you with the bearer Geddis History of Æthiopia<sup>1</sup> as ane appendix to Ludolfus, but being uncertain whither you have already read it, and not being able to give any extraordinary character of it, I chose rather to send you Jaquelots Dissert.,<sup>2</sup> quhich

<sup>1</sup> Geddes (M.). *The church history of Ethiopia*. Lond., 1696.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Isaac. Jaquelot's *Dissertations sur l'existence de Dieu*, La Haye, 1697.

I verily belive will please as weel. I hope you will peruse it as you can conveniently, and return to me as soon as may be, for I am reading it nou and then to Mr Jamison. Pray send me your reflections on it at lenth. I have nothing to quarrell with in these on Ludulfus (quhich you too modestly are pleased to terme insipide) but your shortness. I knou your throng of more weighty affairs will not permitt me to be soe happy as to hear at that lenth I would desire at one time, yet hope I may be favoured with your thoughts at lenth at different times, as your laizour may allow, to yours intirely,

Feb. 22, 1701.

R. WODROW.

LXXVI. For Mr ARCH. FOYER <sup>1</sup>

Dear Sir,

I received yours of the 6. current <sup>2</sup> by Mr Loudon.<sup>3</sup> I am not a litle surprised at your desiring from me ane accompt of the best comentator on evry book of the Scripture. You most for this apply to these that are of 20 or 30 years longer experience then I. Besides some comentators are best for criticisms, some best for analysis, others for practicall notes, and some for contradictions and difficultyes, and all on the same book. Soe much for that line. I received yours dated this day just nou.<sup>4</sup> I have not seen these 5 propositions and the considerations against them, of quhich I should be glad to knou the author. If you fall on the answer with quhich you are soe much pleased, pray comunicate it with me. As to your query why is the Greek Church soe litle if at all minded in the Revelation, I shall give you quhat occurs to me at presentt upon it. I look on the Greek Church to be but a limb and a branch of that great apostacy and backsliding from the truth fortold in the Revelation, and it seems not to be soe distinct from Popery but it may very weel be

<sup>1</sup> Answered March 3, 1701. Quarto i. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Not found in Quarto Letters.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps John Loudon, who was a Professor at Glasgow at this time.

<sup>4</sup> Not found in Quarto Letters.

comprehended under the whoor, beast, and false prophet. Witness their grosse idolatry in worshiping images, and standing by and defending this soe much as they did, and pray quhat was all the opposition they made against the Pope of Rome but a mean that they might have one established at Constantinople. This is quhat occurs to me at presentt, and I shall be glade to hear your reflections on it.

Since we are upon the Revelation, I must tell you that it has been my mind this while that the time of the healing of the beasts wound is not yet past, but (if I may be soe bold as to think any thing about thir hidden things and the wayes of Providence) seems at this day to be upon the wheels of Providence to bring about. Witness the greatness and daily accessions of that right hand of the beast in France, and the imminent danger of Holland and of the Protestant religion. As for quhat some of the learned make the wound of the beast—the Albigenses, Waldenses, Jerome of Prague, and John Husse, Weickliffe, &c., they seem not to jump with the greatness and deadliness that this wound is held out to be of in Scripture. Besides in all ages there was some opposition made to the papall hierarchy, but I think none soe great as to deserve the name of a deadly wound till Luthers time and the Reformation, quhich seems nou to be setting again. Pray let me have your thoughts on this, and, if you dissent from me, your reasons; if you agree, your further vouchments of this.

You conclude by telling me you have many other questions to propose. I assure you I would gladly hear them. Not that I pretend I am in any case to give you satisfaction about them. Quhatever mistake you lye under as to my parts, I am not soe much in esteem of them as to think any thing like this. But I wish to hear them that I may be more and more affected with my ignorance, and that I may (if it ly in my pouer) give you and my self any satisfaction from books, converse, & the like. I hope you will misse noe occasion to yours affectionately,

Feb. 24, 1701.

R. WODROW.

LXXVII. For Mr JA. WALLACE at London <sup>1</sup>

D. C., Having the opportunity of the bearer Mr Edmiston coming to London, & supposing your family to [be] there at this time, I thought it my deuty to break that long silence that is fallen in betwixt us, I knou [not] hou, but this I knou it is to my considerable losse. I wrote to you (I think in October last); whither it reached you or not I knou not, but since I have not heard any thing from or of you. I kneu not whither you came to toun this winter or not, and if I had supposed you in toun, I kneu not whither you had changed your lodgings or not, soe I was bound up from writing (not knowing your direction) till this privat hand offered.

For our Scots affairs I have litle of consequence to acquaint you with. Our Assembly is sitting, and the odious names of Court and Country party is feared to have gote in among them. The delegats from Hamiltoun Presbitry, joined with Mr Hogg of Camphire,<sup>2</sup> set up mightily for asserting the intrinsick pouer of the Church. They are joined by Mr Webster,<sup>3</sup> Mr William Hamiltoun <sup>4</sup> in the Presbitry of Edinburgh, and some others. I pray God may prevent rents in this poor Church, quhen the lyons and wild beasts of the forrest are standing, or rather making large strides to devour us all. It is not a litle surprizing to some to see these that wer not long since upon the extream of moderation, and if it hold quhat some say (of R. W.<sup>5</sup>) wer against removing any of the episcopall clergy from the north, no & not the non jurants, in a sudden, and at such a criticall juncture as this to appear soe much on the other side, that I may not [but]

<sup>1</sup> Answered April 15, 1701. Quarto i. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Hog, Minister of Campvere till 1699, but in that year transferred to Rotterdam. *Fasti*, vii. 541, 551.

<sup>3</sup> James Webster, Minister of the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh. *Fasti*, i. 123.

<sup>4</sup> Minister of Cramond, and afterwards Principal of Edinburgh University. *Fasti*, i. 146, vii. 381.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Wylie, Minister of Hamilton. *Fasti*, iii. 260.

call it extream. Houever the Comissioners declaration of the tender respect His Majesty and the Parliament have to the intrinsick pouer of the Church is some kind of publick testimony for this weighty truth. I shall say noe more on this ticklish head.

Mr Pasley is transported to the north, but its thought he will demitt befor he goe.<sup>1</sup> Mr J. Dreu<sup>2</sup> is transported to Fife, and severall others are transported, quhom, I belive, neither you nor I knou. In short ther has not been on transportation yet refused. Our Principalls place is not yet disposed of. The candidats for it that are nou talked of are Mr N. Gillies,<sup>3</sup> Mr Jo. Stirling,<sup>4</sup> and Mr Pat. Cummin.<sup>5</sup> We hear some words likewise of Mr Trail<sup>6</sup> with you. Mr Rot. Johnstoun<sup>7</sup> is under his tryalls for Kilbarchan, and it [is] expected Mr R. Cameron<sup>8</sup> will shortly get a call to Bith.

We are mightily refreshed here with the accompts we have of your Parliament. Pray let me knou quhat are the free sentiments of understanding persons on Melfords

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<sup>1</sup> Probably John Paisley, Minister of Lochwinnoch. *Fasti*, iii. 153. Ministers were to be transported to the North to fill the churches left vacant by Episcopalian ministers deposed at the Revolution. Such was the urgency that not only probationers but ordained ministers were ordered to go. Thus in 1700 the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr was asked to send 'three actual ministers.' The movement was not popular with every-one, and penalties, even to deposition, were enacted against ministers who refused the call. But Mr. Paisley seems to have avoided the proposed transfer. *The Principal Acts of the General Assembly*, 1700, nos. xix.-xxi.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Drew, Minister of New Monkland, transported to Markinch; afterwards Principal of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews. *Fasti*, v. 113, vii. 413.

<sup>3</sup> Neil Gillies, Minister of the Tron Church, Glasgow. *Fasti*, iii. 474.

<sup>4</sup> John Stirling, Minister of Greenock, appointed Principal of Glasgow University on May 8, 1701. *Fasti*, vii. 396.

<sup>5</sup> Already noted, p. 94 n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Trail, Minister of an Independent Congregation in London, and author of various works. *D. N. B.*; Wilson (W.). *The history and antiquities of dissenting Churches*, i. 235-240. Wallace in his answering letter calls him 'a rigid-Tantivi-Independent.'

<sup>7</sup> He was ordained Minister of Kilbarchan on April 16, 1701. *Fasti*, iii. 150.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Cameron, ordained Minister of Beith on September 1, 1701. *Fasti*, iii. 83.



Letter to Perth.<sup>1</sup> We are much surprized with the account that your Convocation are about abrogating some [of] the ceremonies. If this hold, pray let me have ane accompt of the springs and grounds of this considerable condescension. Its thought by some that this may only proceed from their willingness to evite a greater evil, the abrogation of the sacramentall test. Pray let me hear at lenth your sentiments of this and ane abstract of the arguments pro and con for the abrogating of that test. The Archbishop of Ca[n]terburry is represented by some to be strict and he flouen, by others moderat and condescending like his predicessor. Your determination of this will be acceptable. Pray let me knou if ther be any printed Acts and Accompts of your Convocation, like our Acts of the Assembly, and if their be, let me have their ti[t]le and, if to be sold, their price.<sup>2</sup>

Let me knou hou our countryman D. Burnets Comment on the 39 Articles is pleased in England; if he has yet met with any adversaryes but Edwards.<sup>3</sup> There is a book I have latly met with quhich I am extreamly desirouse to have, quherfor I most add this further trouble to the many I have given you, to entreat you to use all the diligence your affairs will allou you to procure it for me, and give to Mr Bell to give to the bearer Mr Edmiston. Its title is *Conradi Kircheri concordantiæ Veteris Testamenti Græcæ Hæbreis vocibus respondentes* 4to in 2 vols., Francofurt, 1607. I will give 10 slls. for it befor I want it. Let me have ane accompt per post of your neu books, advances, books in desing, neuse, &c. My service to all with you of my acquaintaince. My paper commands me to add noe more but that I am, D. C., your affectionate freind and oblidged servant,

R. WODROW.

March 8, 1701.

<sup>1</sup> *A letter directed to . . . the Earl of Perth.* [By John Drummond, titular Duke of Melfort.] Lond., 1700. It discusses Jacobite plans in France to restore James II.

<sup>2</sup> For the English Convocations, see Wodrow's report of a conversation on the subject with Archdeacon Nicolson, in *Analecta*, i. 7-9.

<sup>3</sup> Edwards (J.). *A free discourse concerning truth and error . . . Together with reflections . . . on the Lord Bishop of Sarum's exposition on the Thirty Nine Articles of the Church of England.* Lond., 1701.

LXXVIII. For Mr JA. PATERSON at Edinr.<sup>1</sup>

D. C., I knou you will be much taken up, and soe shall be but short. I suppose this auctione may be over against this reach you. I hope you received my 3d line about the books at the end of the catalogue. I sent it in to Mr Maxwell, and hearing he was to be west this week, I desired him to call at you and bring with him such books as you had ready for me. Whither he has done soe I knou not. Having the occasion of the bearer to supply his omission (if he be guilty) I have given you this. I should be glad you give him quhatever you have by you for me. I would have sent in money but you knou I could not, not having ane accompt of my debt. But as soon as you let me have the prices of my books and pamphlets I shall forthwith order the money in. I long to hear from you at lenth upon the Reipublique des Lettres. As soon as you have a bitt of time let me have a long letter by post with ane accompt of your discoverys, advances, additions to your collection during your last long silence. Chro. Melross. lyes ready for you and shall be sent in as soon as I knou you are ready for it. I am, your affectionate comrad and oblidged servant,

R. WODROW.

March 11, 1701.

LXXIX. For Mr ALEXANDER EDWARD<sup>2</sup> at Edr.

Sir, I received yours of the 7. instant only on the 12., soe the experiment you were pleased to comunicate to

<sup>1</sup> Answered March 22, 1701. Quarto i. 81. His answer includes a list of books bought for Wodrow at the auction.

<sup>2</sup> Episcopal Minister of Kemback, deposed in 1689. *Fasti*, v. 206. No answer found. Edward's letter of March 7 was in Quarto i. 78, but is now wanting. In Wodrow's index to that volume the entry reads: 'Alexr. Edwards (who writes on doxology and nou the architects).' A marginal note reads: 'out D. H.' (*i.e.* David Hume).

me came to late, the time you set being elapsed. I should be glad to knou your accompt of the phænomenon, for it surprizes me considerably. Let me knou if it only takes effect at the time you name. I am much satisfyed to hear that you are to come this way for England, that I may have the considerable advantage of one nights further converse with you. I shall have that MSS. transcribed for you against you come west. May I begg the favour of a transcript of that MSS. on our old monastries you told me of. I entertean my self pleasantly with the hopes that you will bring it west with you. Quhatever charges you are at in doubling of it shall be thankfully refounded by, Sir, your very humble and affectionate servant,

Ma. 14, 1701.

R. WODROW.

LXXX. For Mr MATH. CONNELL at Leyden <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I received yours by Mr Luke and am weel satisfied with the books you have bought. I hope you will get quhat more of them you can befor you leave Holland. I only add if you can get at a 2d hand Conradi Kircheri concordantiæ V[eteris] T[estamenti] voces Hæbrei Grecis respondentes in 2 vols. 4to at any reasonable rate, b[u]y them for me either in Holland or England, and the last moneth of the Hist. des ouv. des Scavans, befor you leave Holland. Mr Luke gote not that one quhich you desired him, for it was but a printing. Send all home with your oun books, and acquaint us by post quhat ship they are in, quhat is their mark, and hou to enter all, and we shall take a care of them. Try if Verveij of Messrs du Port Royall have wrote ane Hebreu grammer,<sup>2</sup> & buy them. I am, yours, &c.,

R. WODROW.

Ma. 31, 1701.

<sup>1</sup> Answered May 21 O.S., 1701. Quarto i. 125.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot find such a work by Verveij in any catalogue I have seen.

LXXXI. For Mr JOHN McLEAN quhen going home to Mull <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I was extreamly satisfyed yesternight to hear that the learned and curiouse Mr Beaton <sup>2</sup> was in this country and near you. I have not the honnour of his acquaintaince, but I take this opportunity to give my most humble respects to him. If he had any commands in this country he should find none more chearfull in obeying them then I. The queryes I have for you are as follous, and I hope you will discourse [with] Mr Beaton on quhat of them you think convenient.

1. Let me have quhat light you can about the 2d sight : if you knou any instances of it in persons that are free from all suspicion of a compact with Satan ; if you can certainly informe me of its going from father to son, in a line, or from nurse to child ; or of any piouse and treuly religiouse people that have had it ; hou it is come by, with the circumstances of, and way and time hou and quhen, they see things.

2ly. Let me knou Mr Beatons mind about Gathelus. Treuly I am not soe far out of love with that accompt as many of our late writers even of our oun nation are, especially since I read the very circumstantiated relation of it in our MSS. Fordoun. If he be for the truth of that history, I should be glad to have ane accompt of his reasons, & soe, on the other hand, if he be against it.

3ly. Let me have ane accompt of any Irish gramer you can hear of. If I could get a copy of one I would be extreamly obliged, and refund you quatever charges

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the student of theology of that name at Glasgow, 1700. *Munimenta*, iii. 267. He was ordained Minister of Kilninian and Kilmore in September 1702, in succession to John Beaton. *Fasti*, iv. 114. The answer, dated April 20, 1702, together with the answers to the Queries, is in Quarto ii. 6 ; they have been printed in *Analecta Scotica*, i. 121-5.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the John Beaton who was Minister of Kilninian and Kilmore from 1679 till his deposition in 1701. *Fasti*, iv. 114. He was looked on as an authority on Gaelic learning, and is chiefly responsible for the answer to Wodrow's queries. Letter CV *infra* is addressed to him.

you are at in causing transcribe it; and soe likewise of ane Irish dictionary or vocabulary that might give me a hint of the most ordinary words.

4ly. Ane account of the fashions and customes that are peculiar to the Highlanders would be very acceptable; of their ancient bards, their peculiar games, the customes and frites observed on set dayes throughout all the year; their mariage and funerall solemnitys, &c. I hear there was ane accompt of all thir write by some body or other to the Hble. Robert Boyl, & that there is a copy of this in some curiouse person in Mull or some of the neibouring islands his hand. I would give anything for a copy of it.<sup>1</sup>

5ly. I had in summer last ane account of a very ancient MSS. by a line from Mr Ed. Lhuyd in Ireland, that was then in the hands of Mr Beaton. He told me he supposed it was writt in the 2d century, and that ther was a copy of it sent up to Ophlaharti.<sup>2</sup> The author is Carlrile Fachaire,<sup>3</sup> a heathen. Pray get accompt of this from the learned Mr Beaton of its subject, bigness and quhat advances are to be made out of it in our history or the maners of our ancient druids.

6ly. Quhat accompt you can give me of the burrous or artificiall mounts, buriall stones, other stones with letters or carving on them, these in a circular form, or urns, &c., that have been dugg up.

7ly. Ane accompt of the opinions of the vulgar Highlanders touching the adderstones, toad-stones, cocknea-stones, mole-stones, *leag*, &c.; quhat they say of their virtues, origine, &c., and, if you can procure me any of them or elf arrous, it will be very acceptable.

8ly. Any old coines (and by the by if any thing instead of money went of old among the Irish, as shells, stamped leather, &c., and hou soon money in brasse, copper, silver

<sup>1</sup> The natural philosopher and chemist. D. N. B. McLean answers that he knows of no one in Mull who has such an account, but that Sir R. Sibbald has a list. See Addenda.

<sup>2</sup> Roderic O'Flaherty, the Irish historian. D. N. B.

<sup>3</sup> Cairpre Lifechair. See Mackinnon (D.), *A descriptive catalogue of Gaelic manuscripts*, p. 236.

or gold wer brought in among them ; I hope Mr Beaton can give you light here), fibulas, old silver, brass or Pechs money will be very satisfying, as likewise any old utensiles for house, feild, or warr.

9ly. Ane accompt of your old Highland poets of note, historians and physitians, quhen they lived, quhat they wrote, hou large their books may be, and quher to be had.

10ly. A list of Christian names purly Irish, both ancient and modern, with a mark of these still in use. I have some thousand of Scots names and sirnames gathered together. I would be glad of a list of your sirnames with ane account hou old the denomination of Mac to the fathers name is, and quhen it came first in use. It seems old and to have some congruity with the Hebreu way of naming peaple.

11ly. If Mr Beaton can give you any light whither the Romans wer ever in Ireland. I can meet with noe nottices of this in their historyes, and if they wer not, quhat reason can be given why they invaded not Irland as weel as Brittain, it lying as near France almost.

12ly. Ane accompt of the Black Rolls of I-Colmkill that I hear Mr Beaton has, quhat they treat of, hou ancient they are, if they be in Irish or Latine, and quhat advances as to our history may be made out of them.

I hope for a large accompt of matters in answer to quhat is above, and for my collection here I doubt not but you will doe quhat you can to help it forward. Let me have keel, pyrites, that yellou substance that is in slates, elf arroues, cocknea-stones, adderstones, toadston[e]s, *leag*, nutts that are cast in from the sea, oars of mettall, corkye-litt, with ane accompt hou it groues, is gathered and made use of ; any stones of ane odd shape, figure, collour, weight, or lightness, particularly from I-colkmill ; hazell nutts of any odd shape or bigness ; animalls or parts of them, that are rare, or of ane odd shape ; corral and other sea substances, chrystalls from Arran, shells of all kinds except muscle, cockles, & oysters, 2 or 3 of a kind, with their names about them—in short any thing that is singular. This [is] quhat occurs raptime and without any

deu order. In giving yourself this trouble you will extremely oblige your affectionat comrad and humble servant,

R. WODROW.

Ap. 18, 1701.

LXXXII. For Mr JA. PATERSON <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I have litle at this time to trouble you with, yet having the opportunity of Mr Chartres<sup>2</sup> your freind (quhom both upon the account of his oun curiosity and upon your account I heartily wish I had been in case to entertean better here) I could not but give you the trouble of this. I have feu additions of any value to my collection this good while. I had latly some very fine and pellucide I-colmkill stones and a stone from Lorn that exactly resemble[s] the pumish stones that are cast out by Ætna. Its very porouse and soe light that it sweems above water. The hill is very evenly and not very high quher this kind of stones are gote lying upon its tope, the name of the hill Dunmacsniachan.<sup>3</sup> I suspect by this account that this hill may have been once the seat of ane Ætna and, perhapps the hill (being but litle and evenly) may also have been raised by a subterrancouse fire. The northness of the climate can say nothing against this since there are Ætna's farther north the[n] we, witness Hecla and others in Island and Fero, and even in our time we have felt some touches of earthquakes in Scotland quhich comes from the same cause (as you knou) as the Ætna's.

I doubt not but you are by this time wearied with this kind of dull philosophizing. I wish I had been in case to have relived you by ane ocular demonstration by sending

<sup>1</sup> Answered May 10, 1701, Quarto i. 119; and May 14, 1701, Q. i. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Charteris, a nephew of Laurence Charteris. He graduated at Edinburgh in 1697 in the same class as James Paterson.

<sup>3</sup> Near Ledaig, about two miles north of Connel. The name is said to mean 'Fort of the Sons of Uisneach.' In the O.S. map of 1876 and in many later maps it is marked Berigionium, a 'ghost' name that goes back to Boece, who wrongly identified the vitrified fort on this hill as Ptolemy's Rerigionium, misspelt Berigionium in some fifteenth century editions of Ptolemy's *Geographia*. See Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 72.

you some of it. I only gote a small fragment of it, but I am in hopes of some more, and then you shall not fail to share in it.

Befor we leave the Highlands Ile transcribe to [you] ane account I had from a tollerably curiouse person of I-Colmkill that was there. I give it to you in his own words: 'In I-Callimkill (alias Ionia) there is a harbour, a mile westward distant from the buildings of the place,' &c. Vid. Accompt of I-Colmkill, Bernara & Medairloch. . .<sup>1</sup> This relating to your Icolmkill stones and to our Scots (tho I belive in part faboulouse) antiquitys, I thought it was not altogether out of the road of correspondence.

I hope by this time the throng of your auction work is over. May I then plead for the re-establishment of that usfull correspondence you favoured me with? Pray let me have ane accompt of quhat additions you have received either to your own or the Colledgs collection, quhat discoveryes you hear of by converse and correspondence. I hope for ane accompt of the posthumouse works of the late learned Mr Charters & quhat discoveryes you make there as to Scots History, bell-letre, divinity, &c. His nepheu tells me he has a large tractat de officio pastoris. Pray let me knou if ther be any desing to print this or any of his works.<sup>2</sup> Let me have account particularly of his peice upon our Scots divines, ane accompt of the whale that makes soe much noise in our gazets, and quhat is become of it. I need not instance in particulars. You knou quhat suites my palate.

Pray quhen you get a spare hour wait not for a private hand. Spare me not by post. Give my most humble respects to Sir R. Sibbald. Tell him I think to dispose of 2 dozen or 3 of Sedulius here, but I fear our students will be gone befor it be ready for sale. Quhat he sends west I shall be countable for and doe my outmost to dispose of them. Let me knou quhen the book may be expected

<sup>1</sup> This account is in Quarto ii. 2; it is printed in *Analecta Scotica*, i. 114-5.

<sup>2</sup> Paterson's letter of May 14, 1701, giving a particular account of the works and death of Laurence Charteris, is printed in the Introductory Notice to *Catalogues of Scottish Writers* [by L. Charteris], Edin., 1833.



here. The Meurise Cronicon waits your laizour here. I need [not] tell you I am ready to serve you here. Let me knou you have noe suspicion of this by your imploying me, and you shall find me still to be your affectionate comrad and servant, while

R. WODROW.

Ap. 28, 1701.

Mr Chartres tells me he has some copper coins quhich kindly he offers to divide betwixt you and me. If it had not been his oun offer I could never have been soe bold as to have thought on it, but nou, as matters stand, I hope you will mind him of it.

### LXXXIII. For Mr JA. PATERSON <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I received yours of the 14th just nou. You could not have oblidged me more then by the satisfying account you have given me of the Rev. Mr Chartres. I count you extreamly happy that enjoyed the benefite of the last and best hours of soe extraordinary and excellent [a] person. The very company, behaviour, and air of such persons, especially quhen near death, quhen the high and heven born soul is upon its wing homward, has somthing thats more edifying and convincing then any thing else that I knou, and has in many, quhen seconded by the blessing and grace of God, been the foundation and ground work, if I may say soe, of a virtouse, pious, and shining conversation to the glory of God and edification of his people. Your very representation of soe excellent and holy a person and his imitable patience and exercise of other graces does considerably, though alace not suitably, affect me. That the company and fellowship you have had with soe eminently pious, learned, and in all respects excellent person, soe eminent ane instance of the pouer of grace in recovering sinfull man and reinstating him in a condition in many respects better then that from quhich we are fallen, may be blessed of God to you, shall ever be my hearty wish and prayer. Quhat more accompt

<sup>1</sup> Answered May 26, 1701. Quarto i. 128.

you have of this extraordinary person and his works will be extreemly oblidging to me. That excellent work of his on The Material Contraversyes of Theology its incompleatness, I say, is a great losse to the wordle. Pray let me knou quhat lenth he has gone in it, with quhat other particulars of the rest of his performances you think fit. In the mean time I cannot but heartily thank you for quhat I have gote.

I should be glad to have ane accompt quhat MSS., &c., he had that he bestoued on his freinds that relate to our history, &c. I should be glade likewise to knou [whither] Dtr Sibbald has done with the MSS. of Sir Ja. Turners his Reflections on Buchanan. If he have, I hope you will get it from him and send it west. Severall persons here are solisting me for a sight of it. Let me knou quhat is become of that auction the doctor designed to have had of some of his books. As [for] Dtr Leighs Naturall History, I expect it evry week from London, quhence if I get it not this week or the nixt, I will accept of your kind offer in your last but one. I hope by this time you have gote the History of the Works of the Learned for March from Mr Valange.<sup>1</sup> I knou not whither I added Welwood Memoires<sup>2</sup> last week, but I heartily wish to see it. If Mr Valange have it pray get it and send it home with Sedulius and he will set it down to my accompt. I have nothing singular since my last. I am in hast, yours as before,

Ro. WODROW.

May 22, 1701.

LXXXIV. For Mr Archdeacon NICHOLSON at Edinr.

Sir, I received by post yours of the 17 and 24th of May,<sup>3</sup> quhich wer extreemly acceptable, particularly for the desirable accompt they gave that this might find you see

<sup>1</sup> John Vallange, publisher and bookseller at Edinburgh. Plomer, p. 296.

<sup>2</sup> Welwood (J.). *Memoirs of the most material transactions in England for the last hundred years preceding the Revolution in 1688*. 2nd ed. Lond., 1700.

<sup>3</sup> Quarto i. 130 and 126. Nicolson proposed to set out for Scotland on June 9.

near. I extreemly long to have the happiness of your company at this place that I may make you some small return for the many obliging favours you have laid on me since you wer last here. I shall take care to obey your commands in your last. For Sir J. Turners MSS., I fear we shall scarce have access to them, but I shall endeavour to have a list ready for you. Our freind D. Sibbald has at presentt from me in loan his Reflections on Buchanans History, and by this time I think may have done with it. If you please you may have it from him to peruse. Mean while wishing you a safe journey to this place, I begg leave to subscribe myself, Sir, your very much oblidged humble servant,

R. WODROW.

May 30, 1701.

LXXXV. For Mr. JA. PATERSON <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I received yours of the — with ane accompt of Mr Graham,<sup>2</sup> and begg quhat more you have on this head by the bearer or post if you misse him. I am surprized that suposed book of Mr Sages is keepd soe closse. I wonder quhat can be the matter. Pray procure me one of them as soon as possible. You find me a very troublesome comrad, but thus Ile revenge my self for your long silence. I should be glade to have the passages of the Synod of Dort,<sup>3</sup> &c. Just nou I receive a kind letter from Mr Lhuyd. The fossiles he sends me are not come to hand, but as soon as they doe you shall have ane accompt of them, instead [of] the searches you expect, quhich I most put of for some weeks. Pardon the confusedness of his scrible. Its in great hast and from yours as before,

July 30, 1701.

R. WODROW.

<sup>1</sup> This answers Paterson's letters of July 19 and July 28. Quarto i. 133, 132. No answer to it has been found.

<sup>2</sup> James Graeme, the last Episcopalian parish minister of Dunfermline. He was deposed by the Synod, according to Paterson, for 'dangerous errors and other miscarriages,' but was reinstated by the General Assembly. See *Fasti*, i. 393, v. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Graeme defended the doctrine that Christ died for all mankind, which he said was upheld by the Synod of Dort.

LXXXVI. For Mr Archdeacon NICHOLSON, at Salkeld near Penrith in Cumberland by North Allartoun <sup>1</sup>

Sir, Its near a moneth since I ended my collation of Knox, and for my heart I could not get soe much time in toun to reveu my confused notes. I hope this shall not come to late to your hands, or if it doe their is noe great losse, for I suspect you shall find litle in it very considerable. Such as it is I hope you will receive as a small specimen of quhat I stand indebted to you for.

For ane accompt of the old 12mo edition of Knox and our MSS., I gave you it in one of my former. The edition of D. Buchanan that I referr too is in folio, Lond. 1644. You knou ther is another edition of this reprinted in 4to at Edinr. the same year. I find noe diversity at all betwixt them. The preface you see is by D. Buchanan, as also Knoxes life. At the end of the preface you find in 2 pages ane accompt of Patrick Hamiltoun and Walter Mill, quhich I suppose is by the same hand, since it [is] not in our MSS. In generall you may note that all the marginall lemmata are wanting in our MSS. and the old copy (for [quhich] afterward you will find O. C.) and soe fall to his share likewise. The O. C. wants to p. 15 of the edition of Buchannan (for quhich afterwards meet with D. B.) and the 4th book wholly, soe here you most only expect the collation of the MSS. & D. B.

The first thing that occurs in the MSS. is a preface of the authors, quhich D. B. wants, for quhat reason its hard to tell; this preface is some more then half a sheet. Ther is not much material in it; after a short accompt of the sad state of people under popery, the author tells us that

<sup>1</sup> Answered October 2, 1701. Quarto i. 137. This present letter contains Wodrow's formidable collation of David Buchanan's edition of Knox's *History of the Reformation*, printed at London, 1644, with the Glasgow MS. Part of this letter is printed in Nicolson's *Scottish Historical Library*, App. VI. There is a fuller collation printed in Laing's edition of the *History*, Edin., 1846-48, App. I, but in this case Laing's own MS. (now in Edinburgh University Library) is the standard. There is an account of the Glasgow MS. in the Introductory Notice to that edition.

'[because . . . ] bruities wer dispersed of us the professors of Jesus Christ within this realme, in the beginning of our interprise orders wer taken that all our proceedings should be committed to register, as they wer by such as then traveled painfully both by tongue and pen, and soe was collected a just volume (as will after appear) conteaning things done from the lviii year of God till the arivall of the Queens Majesty furth of France, with the quhich the collectors and writters of that time was content, and never minded farther to have traveled in that kind of writting; but after invocation of the name of God and consultation with some faithfull, it was concluded that faithfull rehearsall should be made of such personages as God had made instruments of his glory by opponing themselves to manifest abuses, superstition, and idolatry; and albeit there be noe great number, yet are they moe then the collectors would have looked for at the beginning, and therfor the volume is somquhat enlarged above expectation. And yet in the beginning most we crave of all the gentill readers not to look off us for such a history as shall expresse all things that have occured within this realme during the time of this terrible conflict that has been betwixt the Saints of God and these bloody wolves that claim to themselves the title of clergy . . . for with the policy mind we to medle noe further then it has religion mixed with it.'

Soe far our author, quher we may not that he lives in the times of these transactions he gives ane accompt of, quhich is another consideration that stricks against the author of the Fundamentall Charter of Presbitry. Ther is litle more in the preface but the apology for his naked relation of truth and his stile.

Nou as to the book it self, I shall not trouble you with all the more minute differences I have notted, quhich might be in some way usefull for any that wer to give the wordle ane aureate edition of Knox, quhich I think shall not be in hast. I only touch at these variations that are more considerable. P. 2 of D. B. In the Articles of the Lollards, only that quhich is in italick characters is in our

MSS. P. 4 of D. B. You may notice that the reference to Foxes Martyrology is in the MSS., and the argument the author of the *Foundamentall Character of Presbitry* brings after Spotswood from this passage was that quhich strait me most of any he brought, till of late I had fallen on the first volume of Fox printed in Latine, Basile 1558, 14 years befor Knox death, quherin p. 121 at a considerable lenth is inserted the accompt of Patricius Hameltonius Scotus. This edition Mr Knox might weel see, and noe doubt refers to. P. 34 about the midle, from these words 'For<sup>1</sup> Mary daughter to Rob. Bruce'—'after that he spake' are not in our MSS., but added by D. B. for enlightning the story and, nine lines belou, our MSS. wants the passage about the feigned testament. P. 35 D. B. Our MSS. wants that favourable character of K. James the 5. from 'Yet to speak the truth'—'The question of his goverment,' &c. P. 41 D. B. line 33, & thus the MSS has it: 'Forby by Gods word would not the divorcement of his father from Elizabeth Hume his first wife be found lafull, and soe would the said mariage be declared null and he a bastard. Caiaphas,' &c.

You see the difference and additions. But the additions are yet larger in the follouing. Page 41 line 41, 'First because he himself was born'—page 42 line 3d, 'The Cardinall put the Earle of Lennox,' &c. D. B.'s marginall note, quhich wants, seems either to reflect upon Knox, or at least suspect the story he has related himself. We have more of this kind of additions, p. 55 line 21, 'quher the Cardinall had a convention of prælates,' &c.—line 24, 'For that bloody woolf,' &c. This our MSS. wants. And line 29 of the same page, 'The Cardinall seing it was forbidden,' &c.—line 44, 'And soe the servant of God delivred,' &c. All this our MSS. wants likewise, and my O. C., quhich still jumps with the MSS., except quher I shall afterward give you an accompt. P. 57 line 30, you see D. B. refers to certain records. The MSS. has it thus: 'The manner of his accusation, process, and asizes follouing, as we

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<sup>1</sup> An error for 'From.'

have received the same from the Book of Martyrs, quhich, word by word, we have here inserted, and that because the said book for the great price therof is rare to be had.' You see hou far this differs from D. B. By this Book of Martyrs I suppose Fox most be meaned & might have been another of Mr S. arguments.

P. 67 D. B. line 23, 'And conferred a pretty while'—p. 68 line 12, 'The Cardinall dreading,' &c., is all wanting in the MSS. Again page 69 D. B. line 22, 'the trumpets sounding' &c.—line 42, 'On the other side, quhen that the people beheld,' &c., is wanting in the MSS. Soe we want in the MSS. the famouse prædiction of Mr Wisharts of the Cardinalls death. P. 70 D. B., ther is soe much difference between the MSS. and D. B. as makes me think either D. Buchanan has had some other copy or has added very much. The additions are soe many and mixed with the text of the MSS. that, without transcribing both wholly, you will not understand them. Ther is nothing considerable in this page that tends much to clearing any weighty part of that times history, and soe I passe it.

P. 88 D. B. from line 42, 'then God will surely stope,' &c.—p. 89 line 7, 'this conclusion,' &c. [all is added by Buchanan]<sup>1</sup>; p. 101 D. B. line 32, 'failed of all he had written after.' This in the MSS. folloues a severe invective against Qn. Mary, quhich it seems Mr Buchanan has thought to picquant. This by the way, is a presumption that the book was writte by Mr Knox. The words are: 'And therfor it wer expedient that her daughter nou mischeivously reigning should look to that quhich passd before, least that in follouing the counsels of the wickd she end more miserably than her crafty mother did.'

P. 136 D. B. The story of the taking doun of the freirs in St. Johnstoun is related with severall different circumstances in the MSS., quhich being of litle consequence, I shall not take up your time with them. P. 218 D. B. line 23 'As Jo. Knox had forwarned,' &c. From this to Cecils first letter p. 222 is wanting in the O. C., but the MSS. has it

<sup>1</sup> I have supplied this necessary addition from the text in Nicolson's *Scottish Historical Library*, p. 361.

and agrees with D. B. Again p. 233, in the contract at Berwick you see D. B. has it : ' James D. of Chattellarault, E. of Arran & others of the Counsell and nobility,' &c., quheras the MSS. has it : ' James Duke of Chattellarault, E. of Arran, Lord Hamiltoun, second person of the realme of Scotland & apparent to the Croun,' and yet more clearly in the last line of the same 233. page D. B. its ' shall accept the said realme of Scotland, and the said nobility,' &c., quheras its in the MSS. ' shall accept the realme of Scotland, the said D. of Chattellarault being declared by Act of Parliament in Scotland to be heir apparent to the Croun therof, and the said nobility,' &c.

Again p. 252 D. B. line 9, after 1560 our MSS. has quhat folloues : ' God for his great mercyes sake ridd us from the rest of the Guisian blood. Amen. Amen. For of the tyrrany of the Guisian blood in hir, that for our unthankfulness nou reigneth above us, we have had sufficient experience, but of any vertue that ever was espyed in K. Ja. the 5 (whoes daughter she is called) to this houer we have never ane spectacle to appear.' Then folloues : ' Upon the 16 of June,' &c., soe that you see the editor has not only pared but added alsoe from line 9 to 13 in the forcedit place of D. B. In the Proclamation July 8, 1560 D. B. titles ' Q. Eliz. Q. of E., France, and Irland ' ; the MSS. wants ' France.' In the Confession of Faith D. B. p. 253 our MSS. wants all the marginall places of Scripture, quhich you see are there in great abundance. 279 D. B. line 3, ' their comission was to crave assistance,' &c. The MSS. adds ' and to propone the E. of Arran (who then was in noe small estimation with us) to the Queen of England in mariage.'

D. B. p. 281. The first paragraph is wholly wanting in our MSS., viz, the first 9 lines of that page, against quhich the author of Preface to the Fundamental Character of Presbitry objects that it could not be written by Knox because it mentions Charles the 9 his death, quhich was after Knoxes death, quhich is indeed treu, he dying in the year 1574 ; but the objectours charge holds not with respect to Francis the 2d and Henry the 2d, quhich both



dyed befor Knox. Our MSS. then has this passage thus (vid. D. B. p. 280 last line), 'quhich alace, we fear, shall forget thy inestimable benefites. The godly in France upon this suddain death set forth in verse ane admonition to Kings:—

Ad hujus temporis monarchas protrecticon carmen.<sup>1</sup>  
 Consiliis Christum oppugnans et fraudibus ingens  
 regum ille terror Carolus  
 Ipsis ridiculus pueris fuerosus et excors  
 totus repente corrui.  
 Tuque Henrice malis dum consultoribus utens  
 sitis piorum sanguinem  
 Ipse tuo vecors inopina cæde peremptus  
 terram imbuisti sanguine.  
 Henrici deinceps, sectans vestigia patris  
 Franciscus infelix puer  
 Clamantem Christum surda dum negligit aure  
 aure putrefacta corrui.  
 Versuti, fatui, surdi spectacula, reges,  
 hæc vos sapere vel mori jubent.

The death of this king made great alterations in France,' &c., as in D. B. The O. C. agrees with the MSS. exactly, only adds a Scottish translation of thir verses quhich I shall not trouble you with. Soe you see ther is noe ground for doubt from this place that Knox was the author of this book. Indeed if we take Carolus here for Charles the 9. the difficulty remains, and thus D. Buchannan seems to have taken it. But I would rather incline to understand it of Charles the 8. who died about 1498, because he is put befor Henricus pater Francisi, quheras, if it had been Charles the 9., certainly he would have been named last, being after Henry the 2d and Francis the 2d. But this I submite to you intirely as

<sup>1</sup> These verses were printed in *Commentaires de l'estat de la religion et république soubz les rois Henry et François seconds et Charles neuvième*, by Pierre de la Place, n.p., 1565. They are introduced as 'quelques vers Latins faicts sur la mort dudict roy François, du roy Henry son père, et de l'empereur Charles cinquième.'

better versed in the accompts of these times then to need any thing of my help.

Again p. 288 last line, 'Sing the 23 Psal.' After this in the MSS. is inserted: 'The order of the election of elders and deacons in the privie kirk of Edinr. in the beginning, quhen as ther was noe publick face of a kirk, nor oppin assemblies, but privy and secret conventions in houses or in the feilds,' quhich neither D. B. neither the O.C. have. Its as folloues, with the prayer suitable to that occasion.<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \*

To return again to my collation. P. 301 line 19, O. C. has it thus: 'The Books of Discipline have been of late soe oft published that we shall forbear to print them at this time,' &c. This is not in the MSS. quhich has it thus: 'And nou because that diverse times before we have made mention of the said book, we have thought it expedient to insert the whole in this part of our History to the end that the posterityes to come may judge as weel quhat the wordlings refused as quhat policy the godly ministers required.' And after this is inserted the Books of Discipline, quhich end the 3d book. The O. C. has them inserted likewise, and ends with them. You see hou far the MSS. & O. C. jump. Hou D. Buchanan has overlooked this O. Copy, quhich noe doubt was frequent enough in his time, I can give noe accompt. Houever the agreement of the MSS. and O. C. seems to me to be another strong præsumption of Knoxs being the author of the History, especially if we add that the O. C. seems to have been printed a litle after Knoxes death.

Soe we have done with the 3 first books of Knox quhich ends the 1. volume of our MSS., and all along you see that Mr Sage, or whoever be the author of the forsaid preface, has taken all his arguments against Knoxes being the author of this History from D. Buchannans additions, and soe they have nothing in them straitning. I nou goe on

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<sup>1</sup> I have omitted the next long quotation, as it is not in Wodrow's hand but in that of rather a careless amanuensis, and differs only for the worse from the text in Laing's edition, vol. ii. pp. 151-4.

to the 4th book quhich the O. C. has not, soe you have only a collation of D. B. and the MSS.

In generall we may note that there are very many severe reflections on the Queen and Lethentoun, quhich D. B. has not, and very many lesser differences in greater numbers then in the former 3 books. And after all their is litle wanting in D. B. that tends much to the clearing of the history of these times. I only give you a taste of the character the MSS. give of the Queens cariage with Chattelet, the accompt of quhich D. B. p. 351 line 17, 'All this winter Chattelet was soe familiar with the Queen that the nobility could not have access.' The MSS. adds: 'She would lye on Chattelets shoulder and sometimes would steal a kisse of his neck & all this was honnest enough, for it was the gentle enterteanment of a stranger, but the familiarity was soe great that he privily conveyed himself under the Queens bed,' &c., as in D. B.

I only add 2 more instances of difference between D. B. and the MSS. P. 348 D. B. line penult., 'Idolatri was never in greater queiet.' Over against this in the MSS. on the margine are these words: 'Let the wordle judge nou 1571 for Lethingtoun then was, as he nou is, the father of all mischeife.' Its in the same hand with the MSS., quhich by the way I most acquaint you that Mr Robt. Fleemine, Minister at the Scots congregation at London, who gifted us this MSS., as I hear, pretends is Jo. Knox oun hand, quhich he offers to instruct out of some originall letters of Knox that he has. Mr Fleeming is a great grand child of Knoxes, or some such relation. Houever this be, Mr Knox might have added this himself the year before he dyed quhich was 1572. I knou nothing to object against Mr Fleemings assertion, but some write on the beginning of the first volume (quhich is indeed on a loose leafe and seems not to belong to the book) quhich you sau with 'Jo. Knox 1581' written on it. The hand seems pretty near the hand of the MSS. I shall not determine whither it be the same or not, but I belive a very criticall eye may find ground to distinguish them. If this hold my conjectour about its being written by another John Knox

in a former letter will fall. However I think to write to Mr Fleeming about this affair having Mr Fleemins opinion only by hearsay.<sup>1</sup>

The other instance I promised you is D. B. p. 352 at the beginning, quher you fine ane accompt of great dearth [and] famine, concerning quhich the MSS. has as folloues : ' The bole of wheat gave 6 pounds, the boll of bear 6 merks and ane half, the boll of meal 4 merks, the boll of oats 50 shilling ; ane oxe to drau the plough xx merks, a wedder xxx shilling, and soe all the rest proportionably.' I thought this might serve a litle to fix the value of money and commodities of that time.

I shall take up your time with noe more of this 4 Book, only you may nortice that our MSS. ends with the 4 Book in the folio edition. Their is added here in the Edinr. 4to edition a paragraph with ane accompt of articles and petitions, quhich the folio edition wants, quhich makes me suspect there may be some variations betwixt the folio and 4to edition quhich I have not norticed. I desing to cause collate thir two editions, and if the variations be considerable, you shall have ane accompt as soon as possible.

The 5 book is not in our MSS., soe all the forsaid authors observations taken from it fall to the ground. I suppose it has either been compiled out of Knox papers by Richard Bannantyne (of quhom in my former letter) quhich I doe not much incline to, because the 5 book is not in the O. C., quhich Ile (till I get further light) suppose to have been done by Bannantyne or about that time, or rather compiled and added by David Buchannan.

Nou Sir, by this time I think I have quite wearied you and almost my self too by soe long a scroll, quhich if it can be any way usefull to the helping on your Scotch Historicall Library, I have much more then all my small pains can amount to. I most at this time deferr troubling

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<sup>1</sup> A marginal note in the MS. adds : ' My predecessor in the Library informed me of this.' This passage was the source of the quarrel between the Rev. Robert Fleming and the Bishop of Carlisle, of which more will be heard later.

you about matters of natural history, &c. These shall be the subject of the nixt from your very much oblidgeid freind and affectionate servant,

R. WODROW.

Sept. 22, 1701.

LXXXVII. For Mr Archdeacon NICHOLSON <sup>1</sup>

Sir, Having the opportunity of the bearer Mr Paton <sup>2</sup> coming to Cumberland I thought it my deuty to return you thanks for your oblidgeid letter of the 2. instant quherin you acquaint me with your having sent down a Saxon dictionary <sup>3</sup> for me to Mr Sutherland. It is not yet come to hand, but I hope to have it within a few dayes, and promise my self a great deal of satisfaction from it. This, Sir, is a repeated obligation on me, but you put me under soe many, that I am necessitate to plead bankrupt and let the score run up without any hopes of ever making any just returns. For the help you talk of to your Scots Historicall Library from me, its soe very unconsiderable that its not at all worth your notticing in your letter, much less quhen your book comes abroad.

I shall be noe loser it seems by your delay of sending your fossiles. I wish I could make you any retaliation of the product of this country, but not only the season, but my station confines me to this place for a while, soe our subterranean inhabitants shall be at rest for me till the Spring come about. I send you by the bearer some of our bitumen fossile. Its found in lime stone, sometime[s] inclosed in cavitys of the stone, sometimes on the surface of some of the strata, in litle cubicall holes, and mixed with it are found sometimes very fair stones, like diamonds exactly but very soft, some sexangular, some octangular, and some with moe angles. The workers of the lime stone

<sup>1</sup> Answered May 20, 1702. Quarto ii. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Paton, student of theology at Glasgow in 1700. *Munimenta*, iii. 247. Letter CXV is addressed to him.

<sup>3</sup> Probably *Vocabularium Anglo-Saxonicum, lexico Gul. Somneri magna parte auctius . . . opera T. Benson*. Oxoniæ, 1701.

make use of it for cutts and bruises with good success and call it *craige pick*.<sup>1</sup>

I have gote ane addition to my poor collection from Virginy. There is litle in it worth your notticing, on[ly] some fishes that I have not seen, a tooth of a fish called *gare* quihich resembles the Bufonites very much, ane hatchet or instrument of stone quihich the Indians made use of for hollouing their cannoes befor the Europeans came among them. It resembles very much that quihich Doctor Leigh p. 181 figures, and very improbably (in my weak judgment) makes Phenician. I hear of some of them found in our mosses, but I have seen none of them.

I remember in one of your letters you promised me a list of your Scots coins, quihich I should be glad of and endeavour to furnish you with quhat ever double I can light on. For my English ones, I have made noe addittions to them except 2 or 3 of noe age, soe that you cannot almost send me any I have already.

I should be much oblided to you for a continouation of the accompt you gave me not long since of the originall Scots Charters in the treasury at Durham<sup>2</sup> at any spare minute you have. There is one particle that just nou comes in my head, quihich [I] must desire your mind in and then put ane end to your trouble at this time—whither you have met with any accompts of the Romans ever being in Ireland. I find nothing in any of their historians of that, and if they wer not in it, hou comes it that brasse padles, axes, and other instruments used by the Romans are found in the mosses and sacrificing places (as its supposed) among ashes, bones, and horns of beasts, &c., and these finer and neater then the product of the Danes or ancient inhabitants can be supposed to be. Of these I have ane accompt from Mr Lhuyd who supposes them to be Old Irish, but their fines seems to weaken this conjecture, and in short, what rational accompt can be given why the

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. rock pitch.

<sup>2</sup> There is a list in Nicolson's *Scottish Historical Library*, App. VII.

Romans invaded not Ireland, as weel as Brittain, since it lay as near Gaul almost ? <sup>1</sup>

One thing I had almost forgotte and that is the collation of the 2 printed Knoxes. I find no difference at all save in the passage I mentioned in the last, and in the Life of Knox, quhich the 4to has at far greater lenth then the folio, the occasion of quhich as I conceive is this: the folio edition is first printed at London; the same year its reprinted in 4to at Edinr.; quhen it came down, I say, to Edinr., D. Buchannan or some persons acquainted with the affairs of that time have made thir additions to make our Scots edition goe off the better.

I hope, Sir, you will continou your oblidging and instructive correspondence as frequently as your more necessary affaires permitt. I am a great stranger to the wordle, soe I stand much in need of your oblidging accompts of the advances and discoveryes that are making from time to time, and curiouse books are coming to light, particularly if any hopes of Mr Woodward's Larger Theory. I am, Sir, your very much oblidged & very humble servant,

Oct. 20, 1701.

R. WODROW.

#### LXXXVIII. For Mr JAMES SUTHERLAND <sup>2</sup>

Sir, I wrote you in very great hast on Friday last by a carier, who was just going away quhen I had yours by post. I told you that the solemn occasion that we had here of the sacrament had hindered me from answering yours. I desired you to send the Saxon dictionary with him, quhich I hope by this time he has received. If he has not come to you, I hope you will send it by the first occasion, with the expenses you have been at about it, quhich I will willingly refund.

I send you in a feu fossiles by the bearer Mr Mill,<sup>3</sup> a

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 148 n. 1.      <sup>2</sup> Answered Dec. 1, 1701. Quarto i. 143.

<sup>3</sup> Probably James Mill or Milne, Minister of Lerwick (father of John Mill the diarist) who was called in 1703. Wodrow, *infra* p. 251, writing in January 1703, says that he is about to be licensed. See also *supra*, Letter XXXIII. *Fasti*, vii. 285; Mill's *Diary* [Scot. Hist. Soc., vol. v.], p. xxiii.

comrad of mine, who will be desirious of a transient veu of your coins and quhat other rarities you have by you, at your laizour. For my coins, I have none any way old. I have gote a fair enough litle bitt of Alexander the 2ds, quhich I think you have ; a groat of Roberts and another of James the 2ds, I think, and a peice of Henry the 3d of England. I have given the bearer 7 to let you see and to get them read.<sup>1</sup>

Mr Edwards promised to send me some of that smelling stone from Angus,<sup>2</sup> but he has not been soe kind as to doe it. I would be much obliged to you for a peice of it quhen you get any more of it. Ther is a very pretty petryfying spring beside Hamiltoun quhich I sau this last year and can furnish [you] with some specimens if you desire.

I had almost forgote a Roman medail that I have gote of Vespasian, with his head on the one side and 'Cæsar Vespasianus,' and on the other a woman leaning her head on her hand with a souldier at her back, and beneath either 'audax' or rather as I suppose, for its much eliterate, 'Judea.'<sup>3</sup>

I hope to get a further accompt of your antique brase sword.<sup>4</sup> I will shortly send you in some more formed stones [by] the carier, the bearer not having convenience for moe.

I hope by him to receive a feu of your English fossiles, or any things that are curiouse that you have double of and can spare for my collection here. I have of one thing or other from England and our feilds and shores 4 or 500 different kinds relating to Natural History, yet feu of them of any great value. I have not yet drauen a list

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<sup>1</sup> Sutherland in his answer says that he has sent Wodrow readings of them, but he does not give them in the letter.

<sup>2</sup> See a letter from Sutherland to Dr Richardson printed (with a note on this stone) in *Extracts from the correspondence of R. Richardson, Yarmouth*, 1935, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Sutherland identifies it as 'a denarius of Vespasian, and the reverse a woman lamenting at a trophæe with the letters IVDAEA coyned in memory of the taking Jerusalem.' See *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. ii. 1930, p. 6 no. 39.

<sup>4</sup> 'A short sword all of brasse both blade and handle,' found underground in Aberdeenshire. Sutherland.



of them, but I desing it nixt summer, or as soon as I can get any spare time. If you have as yet taken a copy of the coin I sent you in of James the 2d with Villa de Roxburg, or fallen on another of them, I shall be glade to have it by the bearer. If you have gote any late peices on Natural History I should be glade to have ane accompt of them and of quhat ever other things you shall think proper for your oblidged humble servant,

R. WODROW.

Nov. 5, 1701.

LXXXIX. For Mr JAMES PATERSON <sup>1</sup>

D. C., Just nou as I was looking out quhat double I have from Mr Lhuyd to send you by the bearer, Mr Ja. Mill, a comrad of mine, quhom I doubt not but you will entertean on my accompt, you[r] letter by [post] comes to hand, quhich I shall answer just nou after I have given you the reason why you receive soe feu of Mr Lhuyds fossiles. The reason is he was in hast quhen he packed them up for me, and has only given me for the most part but on of a sort, because, as he sayes, uncertain whither I prosecuted this study. Houever he promises more upon a line from me, quhich I desing by a privat hand shortly to send him. You have quhat doubles I have with their numbers and names as a small return for the pains you wer at in transcribing the names of the rest, and the many other obligations I lye under.

Nou as to your letter. As to Mr Grahams bussiness, I thank you for the accompt you give me. We will see the bottome of the bussiness at the General Assembly. The irreparable losse of the Church Registers <sup>2</sup> I heard not of and am very much concerned for. Our MSS. Acts of the General Assembly are only from the 1560 to the first outting of Presbitry. They are written about the year 1635 and subscribed by a nottar.

<sup>1</sup> Answered January 10, 1702. Quarto ii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the disastrous fire in Edinburgh on October 28, 1701. There is a list of the missing Registers in *The Principal Acts of the General Assembly, 1737*, Session ult.

Mr Jamison is very tender ; the desing of his book is pretty odd. He runs a paralel betwixt the Socinians and Papists, and sheues hou they coinceed in all the heads almost of divinity. He can have noe thoughts of answering Mr Sage till this be over. I suspect ther will be noe great need of answering Mr Sage, he is so fearfully prolix and yet soe very litle distinct from quhat he had in his Principles of the Cyprianick Age.

I should be glade of ane accompt of quhat originall Acts of Assembly wer burnt, for I hear ther wer none ther before the '88. This, with your neuse from the Republick of Letters, and any thing you have to spare for my collection by the bearer, and a long letter by him or by post is entreated by yours as before,

Nov. 5, 1701.

R. WODROW.

XC. For Mr ROBT. STEUART <sup>1</sup> at Edinr.

Sir, I have by the Justice Clerks carier sent you in Sir Antony Fitz-herbert de natura brevium. Its a book lyes not in my road of studies, and if it can be of any use to you, I can dispose of it noe quher soe weel. Mr Nicolson in his accompt of the English lauers gives a very favourable character of him, to quhich I referr you : Engl. Hist. Library pt. 3, p. 176, and elsquher.

I knou you will at this time of year be much and better taken up then with any thing I have to inform you, soe I shall not detean you long, only a line nou and then in your intervalls would [be] extreamly oblidging and satisfying. I need not prescribe any subject for this much desired correspondence. You knou my humor and inclinations, and you knou in quhat a corner I lye in here, at a great distance from the accompts of things and persons. You need expect noe returns from me, and this will augment the charity of this your acting.

<sup>1</sup> Son of Sir Thomas Stewart of Coltness. He was the first Professor of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh. No answer found.

We hear that the Advocate has printed a commentary on the Revelation.<sup>1</sup> If this be treu, and they to be sold in the shopes, pray acquaint me that I may send for it west. I long much to see it. Its said here likewise that the Colledge of Justice have or are to put in a petition to the Council against the Societyes for Reformation, or at least to have themselves eximed from the lau oblidging all to retire out of taverns against 10 at night. Pray acquaint me with the treu reputation of this affair by the bearer or the post, and with quhat other things you shall think fitting for your oblidged humble servant,

Nov. 18, 1701.

R. WODROW.

XCI. For Mr A[RCHIBALD] F[OYER] <sup>2</sup>

Dear Sir,

I received yours of yesterday just nou from the bearer. That you have not heard from me in answer to your 3 last was of necessity not of choice. I had them still at Mr Dickys <sup>3</sup> shope and noe occasion to make a return. I have a mind to keep Binchius,<sup>4</sup> and shall satisfy you in books for him. As for Hutcheson on the Prophets,<sup>5</sup> I suppose you shall find him hard to be gote. The first Ferguson I meet with you shall have. I think you have writers abundance on prayer. I could name you a great deal moe, such as Goodwine, Ouen, Vincent, Trail,<sup>6</sup> &c., but I am sure you have noe need of my help on this head, especially quher you have soe many books I have seen but have not. I sympathize with you under your bodily affliction, and pray that God may sustean, support, and releive you.

<sup>1</sup> I have found no trace of this either in print or manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> Answer not found.

<sup>3</sup> William Dickie, bookseller and bookbinder in Glasgow. Aldis, p. 112. *Records of the Burgh of Glasgow A.D. 1691-1717*, p. 201, etc. He presented books to Glasgow University Library. *Munimenta*, iii. 445-6.

<sup>4</sup> Probably *Mellificium theologicum*, by J. Binchius, Amst., 1658.

<sup>5</sup> George Hutcheson, who wrote various expositions on the Prophets.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Goodwin, John Owen, Nathaniel Vincent, and Robert Trail.

As to quhat you [write] to me about Mr Landass,<sup>1</sup> I shall say but litle. In the first place, I knou quhat you are pleased to expresse to be Mr Landass passionate desire and your oun (I had almost said hyperbolically) proceeds in both from ignorance and mistake. Wer it not that you might retaliat and tell me of hyperbolees, I could tell you that if you knou me as weel as I my self and some others doe, you would rather travel to London then that I should be either your compresbiter or a minister of the Gospell (a weighty name) in any place soe young, unexperienced, and in one word, unfitte. This, you will tell me, evry body must say by rote thats in my circumstances, & I must be shy, & I knou not quhat. I shall not say this is worn out of fashion among many young men, but in one word (belive me or not) quhat I say is not without ground, & I assure you, if my heart deceive me not, wer I any wayes satisfyed that I would not be a scandall to the Gospell, that I could be usefull for C[hrist], and wer I not nou in another station for some time, I should noe wayes decline subjecting to tryalls. I knou very weel you will tell me I am not my oun judge. This is recoctum crambe<sup>2</sup> to evry body. But I must be my oun judge as to my entering on tryalls and fitness for this, though not of my fitness to be licensed, else you most grant tryalls in infinitum, for if the first exercise I should give should be for tryall, if I were fitt for tryall, why should there not be ane proceeding to try if I wer fitt for that, and soe on.

As to quhat you say in particulare as to Blantyre, I shall not nou enter in to its merites. One thing I knou, it or

<sup>1</sup> Robert Landess of Robroyston, Minister of Blantyre. *Fasti*, iii. 228. His manuscript *Journal*, now in the National Library of Scotland, describes his difficulties in trying to get a young colleague to share the work of the parish with him, but Wodrow is not mentioned there by name in this connection, although he did get a call to Blantyre, which he refused, in 1703. Part of the *Journal* has been printed in the *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. vi. pp. 373-82, and some recipes from the same volume in *Ibid.*, vol. xiii. pp. 219-28. Landess resigned in 1702, and was succeeded in 1704 by Matthew Connell, one of Wodrow's 'comrades' and correspondents.

<sup>2</sup> Or rather 'recocta crambe,' i.e. 'cauld kail het again.'

any other charge is too heavy as yet for my weak shoulders. I never considered it narrowly, but I assure you that neither the meanness of the place nor the smallness of its stipend would stand in my way, as you fear, if more weighty rubbs wer not befor me. For Eastwoods waiting on me, wer it not that I knou you speak this from misinformation and out of the ingenuity of your heart, in beliving evry body to be as ingenouse in their discourse with you as your self are, I woud be more tart upon it. I can assure you ther wer never, as far as I knou, any desings that way, yea, they are actually in hands with on who I hope will much fitter than ever I expect to be. Your declaration that you would choose Blantyr on many accompts if you wer in my case, I most look upon as but ill grounded, because you are quite ignorant of my case, weakness, and unfitness, to say no more. Houever, I assure you, wer all things inward and outward clear, & I licensed and on choicing of parishes, I knou none would be more acceptable, for the litleness of the charge & plyablness of the peaple (as I hear) then Blantyre.

In the mean time I am oblided to Mr Landass & you for your good (though ill grounded) opinion of me. I wish Mr Landass may be long preserved, strenthned, and made usefull to that peaple. This is from yours, &c.,

Nov. 25, 1701.

R. WODROW.

#### XCII. For Mr JA. SUTHERLAND <sup>1</sup>

Sir, I received yours with Mr Mill for quhich I heartily thank you. I had noe mind to part with the coin with Villa de Rokesburgh, but designed to have augmented my small collection with it, but I neither will nor can refuse you any thing you desire; my obligations are soe great

<sup>1</sup> Sutherland wrote in his letter of December 1, 1701, that Robert Wylie, Minister of Hamilton, had proposed to revive Principal Dunlop's project of a Physic Garden at Glasgow. Sutherland hoped to be called in as consultant, and suggested that he might then train Wodrow for the post of Keeper. The Physic Garden was actually founded in 1704, when John Marshall, Surgeon in Glasgow, was appointed Keeper. Coutts, *History of the University of Glasgow*, p. 186. Answered January 8, 1702. Quarto ii. 1.

to you, that this wer the highest ungratitude. I am much satisfied that I can be any way accessory to the augmenting of you[r] noble collection. As to what you write concerning the physick garden, I have noe doubt but our Principle Mr Stirling will encourage it. I shall contribute all I can to it, but as to the proposall you make of my taking a care of it, I knou it proceeds from your respect to me, but I hope if once it wer begun, a better hand shall be found to oversee it then I ever can hope to be.

The bearer hereof, Mr Crauford,<sup>1</sup> is a comrade of mine and a freind of Sir Jo. Houstouns, and very desirouse to have the happiness of your acquaintaince, all quhich I hope will recomend him to you. He is curiouse, and will count himself happy in a veu of your collection of coins and curiosityes at any spare hour you will appoint. He is son to the great Mr Math. Crauford that has write our Church history, quhich I hope may be printed within a litle time. If you have any doubles of Scots coins or Roman denarii by you, you may be pleased to give them to him, and he will convey them to me safly. I have none but quhat I either have gote from you or acquainted you with, soe I need not trouble you with a list of them. I restrict my self as yet to silver from Ja. the 5 & upwards. My collection is soe small that you can scarce send me any I have. [If] you have any fossiles, formed stones, or other curiosityes you can spare from your oun collection, I shall be very much oblidge, and make quhat returns this place affords. I am, Sir, your very much oblidge humble servant,

Ro. WODROW.

Dec. 29, 1701.

### XCIII. For Mr JA. PATERSON <sup>2</sup>

D. C., I had yours of the 10th and find you have not received mine of the 9th, but this is put of my head by the

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Crawford, afterwards Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Edinburgh. Sir John Houston was related to him by marriage.

<sup>2</sup> Answered February 7, 1702. Quarto ii. 8.

unexpected accompt you give me of your intended journey to England. At first reading, this confounded me with the apparent losse that I shall have of your kind and usefull correspondence at Edinr., and with the danger you may be in by a winter journey as to your health. As to this last, I have nothing to satisfy my self but that your care of your self will, I hope, disappoint my fears. As to the first, you have answered it by your hope of returning (as you are pleased to say) more worthy of my freindshipe and fitter for converse. I can easily enlarge your modest hope to a firm assurance, wer it [not] that I fear (pardon the expression) that you who are already soe far above my freindship and converse, by this, I hope, usefull journey, may altogether get out of my sphere. But D. C., I can soon master this unreasonable suspicion. I knou your genorouse and communicative temper will not be altered. Though you meet with Charletouns,<sup>1</sup> Woodward, Rays, Lhuyds, &c. in England your good nature will not permitt [you] to forgett the meanest of your freinds here. This supports and makes me hope for rich communications quhen it shall please God to return you safe to Scotland. More, our intimacy and freindshipe emboldens me to hope for a line nou and then during your travels. D. C., if you kneu hou refreshing, oblidging, and satisfying this would be, you would not grudge a spare hour to your freind in a corner, quhen you are ranging throu the closets of the learnd, and enriching your mind with their converse.

I will take this for granted, and soe turn to my former letter and commission, quhich I hope you have put into your brother or some other freinds hand, who will give me accompt, as soon as Rules auction<sup>2</sup> is over, hou [to] direct a bill and a carrier for them.

I must entreat the favour of your brothers corre-

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Charleton, M.D., author of many religious, philosophical, and scientific works. The others have already been mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> Probably refers to an auction of the Library of Gilbert Rule, Principal of Edinburgh University, who died in 1701. From Paterson's answer, which gives a list of books bought for Wodrow, it appears that the auctioneer was Robert Freebairn.

spondence during your absence, quhich I hope your moyen will engage him to. You can easily acquaint him with the small advantage and considerable trouble he will have, from your oun experience, but I hope all this will not hinder him from communicating nottices with a freind of his brothers.

I received yours at 10 a clock this night and the bearer goes away tomorrou early, soe I cannot this night speak to Mr Dunlope, but if he have any for his uncle Mr Carstairs to trouble you with, you shall have it by post.<sup>1</sup> I send you enclosed a line for Mr Lhuyd, quhich I knou you will take a care of, and if you be at Oxford and he think fit to give you any fossiles for me, you will pack them with your oun for Scotland.

I[f] you meet with the Archdeacon at London pray give my most humble respects to him, and tell him hou much I am sensible of my obligations to him, and hou earnestly I long to see his Scots Historicall Library, and hear from him at his conveniency.

Having Mr Lhuyds letter to write this night, I must begg another line from you or your brother befor you leave Scotland. D. C., I take my leave of you, wishing you a safe journey, and a happy and speedy return to Scotland, much improven for the good of your country and the advantage of, D. C., your affectionate freind and humble servant, while

R. WODROW.

Jan. 12, 1702.

XCIV. For Mr EDW. LHUYD, Keeper of the Ashmolean Closet at Oxford <sup>2</sup>

Learned Sir,

I received yours of the 24 of June last in Agust from Mr Connell, who is extreamly sensible of your kindness to him at Oxford, and I am concerned in his and my oun name to render you my most humble thanks. Your

<sup>1</sup> Paterson hopes, by acting as messenger for Alexander Dunlop, to get an informal introduction to William Carstares.

<sup>2</sup> Answer not found.



oblidging present of formed stones I likewise had from him, quhich (with your kind offers of moe) lay such obligations of me, as I cannot but be sensible of, and doe all in my pouer to make you any returns this country affords. My humor still runs out upon thir subterranean researches, and I take great delight in considering the antiquitys and naturall history of my native country, as far as my station and other studies will permitt, quhich I think contean a great deal of deuty in them, as that quherby observers have opportunityes of contemplating the providence, wisdome, and pouer of our almighty creatour and preserver. I am not a litle discouraged that soe feu spend their spare hours this way, but I hope their numbers are on the grouing hand. In the mean time I stand much in need of your kind and oblidging help in this kind of study, & promise my self very much from your kind communications, of quhich I have already had soe much experience, both here, from Ireland, and Oxford.

I thought ere this time to have given you the trouble of some fossiles, &c., by a merchant coming for London, but unhappily I missed the opportunity by his going from hence without acquainting me. I am making a collection of quhat fossiles (quherof yours makes noe small part), shells, coins, &c., that I can fall on hereabouts, and desing to leave them to the University quhen I goe from the post that I am in. I promise my self your kind help to forward this with any thing you can spare. I wait for your directions as to the best way of transmitting any trifles I have ready for you. I would have given Mr Paterson (the bearer of this) a feu, had [I] knouen of his journey for England. In the mean time I shall misse noe opportunity I can fall on coming to London to send any thing I think may be acceptable. If Mr Paterson come to Oxford, as he tells me he desings, he will convey any thing you shall think meet for me. Houever if you direct any thing for me to be left at Mr And. Bells, bookseller, at the Crosse Keyes and Bible in Cornhill, it will come safe to me. In the mean time I begg the favour of a line by post, with your directions in the study of natural

history, &c., with quhat other accompts of discoveries in nature and antiquity, in short quhat ever you think fitt for me.

I have gote together some adder, puddock, corby & elf stones of quhich I would willing[ly] give you accompt, but I am soe much straitned in time by Mr Patersones suddain departure that I must deferr this, with ane accompt of a feu coins I have gote together, till another opportunity. Meanwhile quhat doubles of thir I fall on I shall not fail to reserve for you, and transmitt as you direct. I long for ane accompt of the 2d edition of your *Lythophylacium* and quhat other instructive peices on natural history as are come out since.

Mr La. Campble is gone for Holland and desings to wait on you this summer at Oxford. My brother gives his humble respects to you and your fellow traveler. Any queries for this country [or] our Western Highlands you have laizour to think, with any peice of service that lyes in my pouer to accomplish, will be very acceptable to, Sir, your very much oblidged humble servant.

Jan. 12, 1702.

#### XCV. For Mr JA. SUTHERLAND <sup>1</sup>

Sir, I come to accompt to you for my additions to my coins since my last. I begin with a denarius of Trajan quhich may be commone enough (but evry Roman coin is rare with me). It has Trajans head: legend: IMP. TRAIANO AUG. GER. DAC. P M TR P COS. V PR; reverse: a woman standing with a veshel at he[r] feet, a cornucopia in on hand, and either a patera or a glob in the left; legend: S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI.<sup>2</sup> For moderns, I have a groat of Roberts of the largness of that with Villa de Rokesburg, with Dominus Protector meus et liberator meus, as ordinary, with VILLA DE PERTH, with 4 revel of

<sup>1</sup> Answer not found.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. iii., 1936, p. 60, nos. 205, 206. The final 'R' in the obverse inscription should be 'P.'

spurs, as ordinary, of the origin of quhich in our coins I desire ane accompt per nixt. I have gote the 3d part of this same groat with the same about it \* on both sides. I have likewise gote of one of the Jameses with a scepter in his hand and a crose thus (X) behind the scepter, and beneath his hair on the left side the first figure thus (I); on his right side beneath the hair a flouer de luce and a flouer de luce beneath his chin, and on each shoulder a crosse thus: (X X); on the reverse is the ordinary inscription on the outter circle; in the inner circle VILLA EDINBURGH with 2 fluer de luces and benzons quartered thus  $\frac{1}{4} \frac{3}{4}$ . I desire ane accompt on thir 3 points termed (if I mistake not) benzons. I have gote also a peice of Johns of England with his head; the reverse: ROBERD ON DIVE; his face is in a circle & not in a triangle as the Archdeacon tells in Hist. Lib. pt. 3, p. 269. I have likewise gote a birth peice of Charles the 2d: on the on side IN HONOREM CAROLI PRIN. MAG. BRIT. FR. ET HIB. NAT. 29 MAI. 1630; on the reverse the armes of Scot. Eng. France & Ireland; legend: HACTENUS ANGLORUM NULLI.<sup>1</sup>

I have gote likewise a cornelian of this



with

UTERE FELIX on it. It was cast up late by a plough within 5 miles of this place to the westward.

Thus you have accompt of my additions, quhich are very inconsiderable and scarce worth your notticing, but I suppose they will be more acceptable then noe accompt at all. I have not be[en] lithoscoping this season, but as soon as I discover any thing that way worth your nottice you shall have accompt. I had almost for-gote you[r] kind offer of conveying fossiles to D. Richardstone. I have feu or none that are strangers to the Doctor or your self. I will try if I can fall on any doubles that I have that can be any way usefull for you or him, and if any occur, I shall send them in sometime this moneth. Meanwhile I hope to hear from you by post and receive ane accompt of

<sup>1</sup> Hawkins (E.), *Medallic illustrations*, 1885, i. 254.

your discoveries by your self or correspondence in coins and stones, with ane accompt of your additions to your collection of both. I am, Sir, your obliged humble servant,

Ro. WODROW.

Mar. 9, 1702.

XCVI. For Doctor SIBBALD <sup>1</sup>

Honoured Sir,

I received from Mr Paterson your very valuable present of Trockridge and Doctor Sibbalds books.<sup>2</sup> I very much admire the book, and the wordle is much obliged to you for publishing it, and may I hope that its a forrunner of some moe of these excellent persons writings. I can make you noe returns for this and other obligations you have been pleased to put upon me but thankful resentments, to be expressed with the outmost diligence quhen you shall put any peice of service I am capable of into my hand.

I am glade to see that the Archdeacons Scots Hist. Library is come out. I hope he will do us justice, and represent our writters according to the memoires he has had, most of quhich for ought I knou he oues to you. I was told by one who came last week from Edinburgh that somequhat of the same nature is doing at Edinburgh, and to be published this summer in Latine in 2 quarto's.<sup>3</sup> I should be glade to knou quhat of this holds, and if you be concerned in it. My author gives Mr Cummine <sup>4</sup> your Professor of History for the reporter. I should be glade to knou quhen we may expect your printed catologue, part of quhich you wer pleased to let me see in MSS. quhen with you last.

<sup>1</sup> The answer, of April 14, 1702, was printed in *Analecta Scotica*, ii. 138.

<sup>2</sup> Sibbald (George). *G. S. regulæ bene et salubriter vivendi . . . Quibus accessere R. Bodii . . . de filii sui primogeniti institutione monita*. Edin., 1701.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to Sibbald's *Historia literaria*, the manuscript of which, still unpublished, is in the National Library of Scotland.

<sup>4</sup> John Cumming, Professor of Divinity and Ecclesiastical History at Edinburgh.

I have nothing considerable here to acquaint you with. Mr Sutherland will give you accompt of a feu coins and a stone of a (as I suppose) Roman ring that I have by me. There was a comrade of mine was latly cut of the stone in the bladder, and had a stone of 5 ounces 10 drop taken out, and is recovering.

M[a]y I begg the favour of [a] line, with ane accompt of your discoveries and advances in our history, civil, ecclesiastick, and natural, and quhat you shall think fit to be communicated from your learned and excellent correspondence. This would be extreemly oblidging. If you have done with the MSS. of Sir Ja. Turners you have from me, the bearer will convey it safe to my hands. Begging pardon for this trouble, I crave leave to subscribe myself, Honoured Sir, your very much obliged and very humble servant,

Ro. WODROW.

March 9, 1702.

XCVII. For Mr WILL. JAMISONE at Edr.<sup>1</sup>

D. C., I received yours of the 1. instant quhich I assure you was very acceptable. I heard several accompts of your health by our theologues, the Principle, &c., quhich alleviat your silence a litle. The terrible ground of your excuse was quhat came several times in my mind as the only ground of your silence. Houever at this juncture one accompt of affaires is worth two at another time. If your more weighty affaires would allou, I cannot expresse hou acceptable a line once or twice a week would be, with hints at neuse from Church, State, and Letters, and your thoughts on the desings of our adversaries the prelatists, who are noe doubt very bussy at this time; I need not suggest that I will knou the hand you use without any subscription. I pretend not by this either to prescribe as to the frequency or subject; you cannot be too frequent to me, and in this sad juncture, quhen I knou not quhat a day may produce, quhen you have frequent hints of things in your learned

<sup>1</sup> Answered April 28, 1702. Quarto ii. 21.

and prying converse, I need not mention any subject. For returns you knou the place, and you shall have nou and then quhat I would desire wer I quher you are & you here.

I am glade the melancholy prospect of affaires has not diverted you from printing your book. Perhaps it may be as much if not more necessary nou then it was before. If the Lord in the depths of his judgments shall suffer Prelacy to re-enter, I knou not but this poor land may have as much need of ane antidote against Socinianisme as our neighbours in England have. I shall not say that this pestilentious bratt of hell is still a concomitant of Episcopacy; I am far from this. But I cannot but observe the generall tendency of these of that perswasion here to Arminianisme, with your learned freind Dr Burnet Hist[ory of the] House [of] Hamiltoun p. 29-30, quhich I am sure is noe great enimie to Socinianisme. On the other hand (quhich we have more then once spoken together of) if the Lord shall suffer the wound of the beast to heal and this land to be brought to the blackness of popish darkness, its evident hou usefull your desing may be to these that have any spunk of love to Christianity, the blessed Trinity, and divinity of our blessed Saviour in them. Quhen these over-flouing scourges come (both quhich I pray God avert) if your peice should do noe more, it will be a publick testimony for God and his truths, and a specimen of the sentiments of the established goverment and the seekers of God at this day.

Soe you have my rambling thoughts on your way of procedure. Ane unripe thought comes in among the rest that perhaps it may not be altogether unfitt to cast in a word in your dedication or preface, or rather in a short preface between both, of somquhat of this nature. You knou by long experience my rashness in proposing evry thing that sweems in my noddle to a bosom freind, and as I am in converse soe you find me in writing. If you find any reason in this overture, I knou you will revolve and ponder any thing of this nature that you doe at soe ticklish a juncture, quhich is the greatest diswasive occurs to me against such a neu preface.

I am much refreshed to hear of the learned Dr Sibbalds desinge on our witters. I sau a rude draught of it (as you remember I told you) but I did not hear his desing to print it. Wer I in case to give him any nottices of Fordoun, Knox, or Calderwoods MSS., you knou weel enough hou happy I would count my self. I am surprized at the Archdeacons breach of promise to this worthy gentlman.<sup>1</sup> I have soe great thoughts of his ingenouity as to suspect ther may be some reason, quhich, quhen heard, may serve to justify him somquhat. I beseech you let me knou any thing further of the Doctors work quhich I am soe fond of, and give my most humble respects to the Doctor, and tell him, quhen I shall be soe happy to see it in print, I shall be ready to my outmost to endeavour to put of copies in this country, of quhich I hope he doubts not.

Nou as to Mr Sutherland, [if] you have not fallen on him before this reach you, Mr Reid <sup>2</sup> will not fail to meet with him at the Physick Garden, 2 or 3 closes belou Doctor Sibbalds lodgings, at the foot of a close, to quhich either Mr Valange or Doctor Sibbald will direct him by their servant. It will be worth Mr Reids while to see the Garden.

Thus I think I have touched at quhat of yours needs ane answer, and that I fear to a tedium. Houever I shall atone for this by the shortness of my nixt. I must not close till I give you some accompt of affaires with me. I hade a letter from Mr Davidson at London quherin ther is litle considerable, only he tells that about 140 dissenting ministers, about 14 ordeaned (noe mechanick) Baptist ministers among them, the rest Presbyterian & Independent ministers, presented the adresse you had in the Gazet this week to our Queen, quhich she received graciously & assured them of her protection, and admitted them all to kisse her hand. He says our enimes are lying at the

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<sup>1</sup> The promise, according to Jameson, was to show his book to Sibbald before publication.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps John Reid, Boyd's Bursar of Theology at Glasgow in 1701. *Munimenta*, iii. 286. He wrote letters to Wodrow giving an account of the meetings of the General Assembly in 1703. Quarto iii. 52-5.

catch to observe any dissatisfaction at the present government, quhich I hope they shall not meet with & I blesse God ther is soe litle ground for as yet.

I had a line last post from Mr Campbel at Leyden quher he stayes. Ther is litle in it. He has gote none of your books. He is much pleased with Perizonius<sup>1</sup> and heard him declare in his publick lesson for Presbitry. If you have any word for Holland, let me have it per nixt. Mr Alexander<sup>2</sup> books are come, and he sells them by parcells to his great losse. He will not spoil our auction much. He is to have ane auction of the remainders at the Synod (quher by the way I shall to my outmost mind your commission). I think I have gote the best of his books quhich I wanted, such as Calderwoods Altare, Ptolemys Geography, Diodorus Siculus, several of the Variorum, Hottingers Historia ecclesiastica, and 4 or 5 more of his peices, Ushers Antiquitates, Ouens Theologumena, and a good many others; he has no ancients almost. I hope for a specimen of your book by our cariers, and, if you judge it needfull, a sheet evry week to let your freinds here see. I wish some of it had been here by the Synod, but nou I dispair of it.

Pray give my respect to Mr Webster, oblidging Mr Valange, Mr Freebairn,<sup>3</sup> Mr Simson (quher I could wish you would enquire quhat is become of Dr Balfours Travels<sup>4</sup> quhich was printed of almost quhen I was last at Edinburgh, and if it be to be had, send me one of them by the carier), Mr Sutherland, and my Lord Pitmeddan, quhom I should have begun with. I have Mr. Reid kindly remembered and Johny.<sup>5</sup> I wish either of them may send west

<sup>1</sup> Jacobus Perizonius, Professor of Greek at Leyden.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Robert Alexander of Blackhouse, a Glasgow Bailie, son of James Alexander, Minister of Kilmacolm. Wodrow (*Analecta*, iv. 77) calls him 'a good pious bookish man.'

<sup>3</sup> David Freebairn, a deposed Episcopal minister who had set up as a bookseller and publisher at Edinburgh. He was afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh. Plomer, p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> Balfour (Sir Andrew). *Letters . . . containing . . . directions . . . for travelling thro' France and Italy*. Edin., 1700.

<sup>5</sup> John Reid, bookseller and publisher at Edinburgh, and his son. Plomer, pp. 250-1.



the History of the Works of the Learned for December last, and this year quhat of it Mr Valange has. All the masters, my brother, and Mr Logan<sup>1</sup> give ther respects to you. You see quhat a confused and troublsome correspondent you have gote. I beseech you spare me not by post. I am, Dearest Sir, yours intirely,

Aprile 6, 1702.

Ro. WODROW.

#### XCVIII. For Mr ALEXR. STEVENSON at Air<sup>2</sup>

D. C., I received yours of the 6. from Mr Gordoun,<sup>3</sup> with your rich present. If I should enlarge on the obligations this layes on me you would perhaps count it flattery. You knou my humor never lay that way. I am for even doun plainness among comrades. I tell you I am extreamly sensible of your kindness, and shall endeavour to my pouer to make suitable returnes. To you I owe a very considerable part of my small collection. You may knou by yourself quhen you wer once posessed the humor that [I] am sometimes in by starts, that its noe small satisfaction to have such considerable additions as you make. Your shell I say nothing of having seen it before; it augments my number, and that with a very curious species too. Your pearls are realy extraordinary; I admire the variety of their shapes. Your long taper shell I knou not quhat to make of, unless it be some foot of a crab washen white by the sea: I have some tapering Entrochi that resemble it (unless you make it of the Belemnites kind). Your cockstone and elf arrou I will enquire about. I look on them quhen weel attested to be as great rarities as I have. Your ignotum proves, if I mistake it not, extreamly valu-

<sup>1</sup> George Logan, afterwards a well-known author, and a Moderator of the General Assembly. *D. N. B.* Several letters from Logan to Wodrow are in Quarto Letters iii.

<sup>2</sup> Answer not found.

<sup>3</sup> Probably William Gordon, a student of Theology at Glasgow in 1694, licensed by the Presbytery of Ayr in 1698, ordained Minister of Barr in 1699. *Fasti*, iii. 17. His MS. *Diary* is in Edinburgh University Library, and there is a copy of it in Wodrow MSS. Quarto, vol. 105 in the National Library of Scotland.

able, a real Actites, or eagle stone. I shall be glade to have quhat account you can of it, its manner of conveyance, &c. Your Achates I have not seen before and the other paper proves a kind of Quartzum, if I mistake it not. I have some of it from the north; let me have ane accompt of quhat you knou about it. Soe you have my present thoughts on your valuable cargo. I am glad to hear that to please me, as you term it, you are about to turn humble and veu your mother the earth. Many a good lesson has been learnd from her. I hope you shall have good success.

Quhen you command me I shall in retaliation affix my mind or eyes to quhat objects may give you satisfaction. I had sent you our *Corpus juris*<sup>1</sup> but next week the Principle is to reveu our books bought this year and put his name to them, but as soon as this is over, after the masters, you shall be the first that shall have it, and that as soon as possible, or any other book I can command. I have given your service according to direction. John<sup>2</sup> shall want noe good office lyes in my pouer. I am compleaning to him that he is soe infrequent in his visites. I hope he will mend. On way to engage him will be by your frequent dispatches to me. I hope your Edinburgh reservedness will wear of quhen you begin to breath the more free aire in the country. Accompts from hills and mountains, moss or mure, bank or syke, sea or shore, books, stones, coins, charters—in short any thing rather then nothing will be acceptable to your

Aprile 7, 1702.

R. WODROW.

My service to your father. Mind the stones with letters on the banks of the watter you spoke of.

#### XCIX. For Mr WILLIAM JAMISON at Edinr.<sup>3</sup>

D. C., I am not a litle surprized that my last long and tediousse letter came not to your hands. I gave it to the post Aprile 8. Wer it not that I hope by this time it

<sup>1</sup> Justinian's *Corpus juris civilis*.

<sup>2</sup> Stevenson calls him John Cochrane.

<sup>3</sup> Answered April 28, 1702. Quarto ii. 21.

is come to your hands I would recapitulate quhat was [in] it. But I shall doe it as soon as I knou per nixt you have not received it. I received yours by Mr Millar<sup>1</sup> as also another from Dr Sibbald. You have inclosed ane answer to the Doctor. I am glad to hear Mr Nicolsons Scots Library is come to toun. I have ordered the bearer to get one of them from Mr Valange and given him a line to him for that effect. You need not doubt but the masters will be for your buying Eusebius Demonstrationes and Præparat[iones]. As for the Greek Fathers on the Psalmes, you knou we have some of them in Greek, & most if not all in Latine besides a catena of them, if my memory fail not. You will be best able to judge of the necessity and usefulness of them upon a veu of the book or books, and I belive none of the masters will counteract quhat you doe in this affaire. I expect by post your animadversions on Nicholsons Library, and quhat other accompts you shall think proper for, Dear Sir, yours intirely,

Ap. 17, 1702.

R. WODROW.

#### C. For Doctor SIBBALD<sup>2</sup>

Honoured Sir,

I received yours of the 14. current and am glade to hear that Mr Nicholsons book is come down. I have writt to Mr Valange for one of them. I am extreamly impatient to see it. Its noe small satisfaction to hear that he deals squarly with us; feu writers beyond the Border hitherto have done us justice. I hope this will prevail with able hands among ourselvs to lay aside their too great modesty and let the wordle knou that we are not for ever to be baffled and misrepresented. I can say nothing as to quhat Mr Nicholson has advanced anent the dependance of this Church on the See of York till I see it, but I belive it will

<sup>1</sup> Robert Millar, Minister of Port-Glasgow, afterwards Minister of Paisley. He was the father of Andrew Millar, the famous London publisher. *Fasti*, iii. 166. Some letters from Wodrow to him are printed in the Wodrow Society *Correspondence*.

<sup>2</sup> The answer of April 24, 1702 (Quarto ii. 20) has been printed in *Analecta Scotica*, ii. 138-40.

be noe difficult matter for you to set that matter in its deu light, and I hope you will doe it in the *Historia literaria* that you writte of, quhich I passionatly long to see printed. The desing is great, necessary, and usefull to all Scots men, and wer it not to you that I am writing I would say ther is none in this kingdome so weel furnished with materials and soe eminently fitted for this work as your self. I knou the extreamity of modesty (pardon the expression) you are guilty of, and soe I say noe more of it but that I am extreamly satisfyed to hear from others that your hand is in it. I would fain hope the Parliament will encourage this work, but I can not but lament the unconcernedness, to call it noe worse, of our nobility and gentry to works of this nature, and though all the encouragement that reasonably could be expected should not be given, I would hope this good work will goe on.

You may be assured that wer I any way capable to give you any asistance in it it would not be wanting, but you must take the will for the deed. We have in the Library Fordoun, Knox History, and Calderwood in MSS. If you desire to have ane accompt of them acquaint me by post with the particulars anent quhich you would be satisfyed, and you shall have all the satisfaction I can give anent them or any other thing that lyes in my pouer. I have of my oun the continouation of Montrose History, writ, as I am told, by Gordon of Straloch,<sup>1</sup> B[ishop] Guthrys History,<sup>2</sup> Mr Will. Scot of Couper his Apologeticall narration, Trochridges remarks on the learned men of his time,<sup>3</sup> Mr Levingstouns peice of the same nature with his

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<sup>1</sup> I know of no evidence that this continuation was written by Gordon of Straloch. Wodrow's own copy in Wodrow MSS. 8vo, vol. 3 no. 2, is marked: 'Written by Bishop Wishart, 1651. It was first printed in *The memoirs of James, Marquis of Montrose, 1639-1650, by the Rev. George Wishart*, ed. by A. D. Murdoch and H. F. M. Simpson, Lond., 1843, pp. 439-91.

<sup>2</sup> Wodrow's MS. of 'Bishop Guthrie's observations upon the late troubles in the reigne of Charles the 1st' is in Wodrow MSS. Quarto, vol. 14 no. 2. It was printed in London in 1702.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, i. 283-98, as *Extracts from the Obituary of Robert Boyd of Trochrig, MDCIX-MDCXXV*.

life and that of Mr Rob. Blair.<sup>1</sup> If you want any thing anent these let me have your queries and I shall do quhat I can anent them. I can have access to all Sir Ja. Turners papers, quhich are in this place, but I belive of noe great consequence. I am, Honoured Sir, your oblidged humble servant,

Ro. WODROW.

Aprile 17, 1702.

CI. For Mr JOHN McMINN at Belfast <sup>2</sup>

D. C., I received yours from the post this night quhich was both acceptable and refreshing, not only as it came from you and as it caryes (to say noe worse) noe ill accompts of affaires, but as it is a forrunner of moe. You shall find me very punctual in corresponding. You may be assured that its very satisfying to me to hear that you have verball assurances of protection, and the continuance of the gospell in its purity. If the Lord shall in his great mercy make them real, his oun hand will be eminently seen in bringing about good to his oun by instruments they expected least from. It is a great mercy the Irish at this juncture are quit. We want not our oun fears that beside their innate malice against Protestants of all per-swasions, the hand of Joab, of that Nimrode in France, may be among them. I would fain hope that his diversions may disable him to give them any other asistance but money and fair words. I desire to be concerned in

<sup>1</sup> Livingstone's *Life and Memorable Characteristics* were published from Wodrow's MSS. in the Wodrow Society's *Select Biographies*, vol. i., 1845, and Blair's *Life* was published by the Wodrow Society in 1848.

<sup>2</sup> This answers McMinn's letter of April 8, 1702, and is answered on June 9, 1702. Quarto ii. 17. 35. He graduated M.A. at Edinburgh in 1700 and was a student of Theology at Glasgow in 1701. *Catalogue of Edinburgh Graduates*, p. 166; *Munimenta*, iii. 248. It is doubtful whether he is the same person noted in the Wodrow Society *Correspondence*, i. 87, as Schoolmaster at Liberton's Wynd-foot, who attacked Wodrow's *History* from the Cameronian standpoint in a prefatory epistle to Alexander Shields' *Life and death of James Renwick*, Edin., 1724. Wodrow, writing to him on July 30, 1725, uses the phrase: 'Having no personal acquaintance with you.' Wodrow Society *Correspondence*, iii. 219.

your dangers and fears and pray God may releive you of both.

As to our affaires here they are much as you left them. Ther is noe alterations that we may hear of in the officers of state. Its said Mr Carstaires is made Queens Chaplain but we long much to have it confirmed.<sup>1</sup> Its not yet knouen whither our Parliament will be dissolved or not. As to our Synod things looked once a litle grumly, but the scene altered befor they arose. Upon the Synods votting to delay the consideration of the intrinsick pouer of the Church, and the draught of a paper asserting the same, Mr W.<sup>2</sup> entered a dissent in open Synod in some harsh and ill chosen words, and was backed with one or two more. He pretended that this vote was a receeding from the matter to be asserted & its delay to ane indefinite time was a letting the matter fall. The dissent was not received, but tomorrou the Synod passed a vote declaring that their mind was noe wise to recede from the matter in the draught, the intrinsick pouer of the Church, quich they did adhere to, and by their practise wer at present in possession of, and they only found the draught not ripe, and this not a convenient time for going on in this affair, and this was inserted in their records; quherupon all present took up their dissent, that quich they entered the last Synod, and at this Mr W. was not present, but its hoped that he will likewise recede from his. We are not without our own fears that our sins and the ill timed zeal of some may bring us into difficultyes, but we keep our fears down as much as may be, least enimies insult.

I begge frequent, free, and large accompts of affaires with you, with your direction, and any copies of adresses, greivances, and such like, or any papers or pamphlets that are coming abroad.

My father and brother have you kindly remembred. Give my kind respects to all acquaintainces and comrades with you, to Mr McBrides two sones and their worthy

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<sup>1</sup> He was continued in this office by Queen Anne and afterwards by George I. *Fasti*, i. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Wylie.

father,<sup>1</sup> whom I have not the honnour to be acquainted with. I am, Sir, your affectionat comrade and humble servant,

Ro. WODROW.

Aprile 22, 1702.

## CII. For Mr LACHLAND CAMPBILL at Leyden <sup>2</sup>

D. C., I received yours Mar. 30 and resolved to defer as  
 \* MS. 'yet' long as I could and let \* this meet with you in Holland that you might have the better accompt of affaires here. Mr Peady <sup>3</sup> took care of all you committed to him. I have not yet heard of Mr Robt. Freebairn. I have gote here Hottingers Hist. eccles. to the 16. cent. If you can get the rest of it at any rate I would be glade of it. His *Historia orientalis* <sup>4</sup> I likewise have gote. Any of the rest of his peices not in my former commission I wish you may buy at quhat you would give for them your self. I only add to my former commission Noldius de particulis Hebraicis <sup>5</sup> at any reasonable rate. I am much oblided to you for your accompt of the university you are at. I hope you will add quhat further observes you have made since.

As to our affaires here, our neuse from England are soe variouse that I knou not quhat to write to you. The Queen has assured us of the continuance of Church goverment. Their is a great talk of a change in officers of state, but I doubt if it be before our Parliament sit the 26 of May. Queensberry is Commissioner to it if it sit, quhich by some is doubted. Mr Wiseman <sup>6</sup> was

<sup>1</sup> John McBride, Minister of Belfast and Moderator of the Synod of Ulster. Reid (J. S.), *Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, vol. iii. *passim*. There are letters from him to the Reverend Robert Wylie in Wodrow MSS. Folio, vol. 26 in the Church of Scotland Library. His sons David and Robert were students at Glasgow. *Munimenta*, iii. 173-4.

<sup>2</sup> This crosses with Campbell's letter of April 29, 1702. Quarto ii. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Campbell calls him John Peddy, merchant in Glasgow.

<sup>4</sup> Published at Tiguri, 1651.

<sup>5</sup> Noldius (C.). *Concordantiæ particularum Ebræo-Chaldaicarum*. Hafniæ, 1679.

<sup>6</sup> John Wiseman. *Fasti*, iii. 271.

ordained to Neu Monkland last Thursday. The Laird of Greenock<sup>1</sup> dyed suddenly at Edinburgh of the iliack passion on Friday was 8 dayes. The Assembly transported Mr Clerk<sup>2</sup> from Dirlingtoun to Glasgou; he is to be admitted this week. Proceedings of the Synod: vid. p. 67, 68.<sup>3</sup> Mr Jamison is at Edinburgh and is printing his *Roma Raccoviana*, and quhen that is over desings to answer Mr Sages last peice. Mr Nicholsons Scots Historicall Library is come out, and Dr Sibbald designes to animadvert on some parts of it, particularly some papers he produces to prove that Scotland was of old subject to the See of York, in a peice to be printed shortly under the title of *Historia literaria Scotiæ* in 2 vols 4to, quher ane accompt is to be given of all our Scots writters on all subjects. I hope you will not grudge ane hour nou and then to your affectionat comrad and servant,

Ro. WODROW.

Glas., Ap. 27, 1702.

#### CHII. For Mr JAMISON at Edinburgh<sup>4</sup>

D. C., I am nou indebted to you for 2 letters quhich I shall answer as breifly as I can to save some minutes of the time you improve soe weel to your oun, your freinds, and the publick, their advantage. You should have had a return to yours of the 28. of April befor this but I was out of toun, and the bearer gone befor I returned. I look on my self as happy that snappered in a thought as you think seasonable. I can easily extricat my self from any difficulty arising from your pretended barrenness of thoughts and expressions. Quhat you say of the *Noctes Glasguenses*<sup>5</sup> would have come better from me, who have profited soe much by them.

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Shaw of Greenock. Expenses in connection with his funeral in May 1702 are noted in the Burgh Records of Glasgow on August 8, 1702. *Extracts . . . 1691-1717*, p. 356.

<sup>2</sup> James Clark, who was transferred to the Tron Church, Glasgow. *Fasti*, iii. 474.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to Letter CI. <sup>4</sup> Answered May 11, 1702. Quarto ii. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Jamison had used this phrase to describe his evening conversations with Wodrow at Glasgow.



The Queries to the Presbyterians in Scotland <sup>1</sup> I long to see and I hope to have one of them by the bearer if they be vendible. I am sorry that soe feu have notticed Sages; for all his prolixity (quhich I belive scarrs many) I think he wants not severall usefull hints for us. Mr Alexander books are nou all in our auction quher feu wer sold and will continou there till sold. I sau none among them but a Lapide in Epistolas <sup>2</sup> quhich I designed for you, but quhen I say Jac. Watson <sup>3</sup> got it I knou you could easily command it. For the books you name for my self, I am soe exhausted that I dare venture on none of them. Any of them or any other you judge fitt for the Library you knou the masters will allou it. Tindals works we want. Quhen I am on this head, I have been importuned to get Lucas on Happiness <sup>4</sup> to the Library by Mr Carmichael <sup>5</sup> and wrote to J. Valange twice for it, but gote noe answer. I hope if it be to be had in toun you will buy it and send it west per first. I earnestly wish for a copy of Balfours Travels if they could be had. I did quhat I could at the Synod, and to my great regrate found but small encouragement. All asked the price, quhich I think is the most some look to in books, and 5s. is enough to make such start.<sup>6</sup> In short I dare promise litle except from our freinds Mr Millar, Wright, &c., who would take, you may be sure, whither I had spoke or not. I treuly sympathize with you under the prospect of your turning chapman and shall willingly ease you of any part of it I am capable of, quhen you come west. Soe much for your penult.

As for your last of the 5. current, I thank you for your hint at neuse and the accompts of your interveu with my

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<sup>1</sup> *Queries to the Presbyterians of Scotland.* By a gentleman of that country [Hon. Archibald Campbell]. Lond., 1702.

<sup>2</sup> Lapide (Cornelius a). *C. C. a L. . . . in omnes Pauli epistolas commentaria.* Various eds.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps John Watson, a student at Glasgow in 1698. *Munimenta*, iii. 165.

<sup>4</sup> Lucas (R.). *An enquiry after happiness.* 3 pts. Lond., 1685-96.

<sup>5</sup> Gershom Carmichael, Professor of Philosophy at Glasgow.

<sup>6</sup> This refers to Wodrow's efforts to find subscribers for Jameson's *Roma Racoviana*.

Lord Pitmedden. Let this give my most humble respects to him. I still retain a deep impression of his undeserved kindnesses to me when at Edinburgh and since. If his Lordship have any commands to lay on me he shall find none more ready to obey than I. He has a copy of a letter of Stralochs to D. Buchanan anent our Scots writers,<sup>1</sup> which if you could handsomely get a copy of, it were worth the while. By the by I hope you will mind Mr Blairs life. I long extremely for your remarks on Nicolson; I beseech you let me have your mind on the book and on any of the passage refers to his and my correspondence.

I have been at the Principle, who comes to Edinburgh on Monday or Tuesday next and will be the best carrier of your money I know of. I was advising him to cause transcribe some MSS. for the Library and somewhat was dropped anent my coming in to look after this. If you find occasion and think it worth the while you may propose this, but not as from me, that I come in in June for this end, and let me know immediately if any thing be agreed on. I know D. Sibbald will give what he has & I hope for some from the Laurs Library.<sup>2</sup>

Your trustee with great difficulty I got; receive it by the bearer. Your 2 papers I got.<sup>3</sup> I thank you heartily for them & wish Mr Reid may buy up what pamphlets he finds worth the while for me. The satyr is noble. The Essay for unity<sup>4</sup> is in a tolerable quaint style, and its expressions want not their own life. But I see little else in it except p. 13 a passage of Bellarmine by way of prophecy, which he applies to the strokes he fears are a coming on

<sup>1</sup> Extracts from this letter were printed in Nicolson's *Scottish Historical Library*, pp. 75, 118, and Buchanan's answer in *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, i. 43-4.

<sup>2</sup> I have no direct evidence that Wodrow made any transcripts for the University on this visit, but the proposal resulted in Thomas Ruddiman, Under-Keeper of the Advocates' Library, being commissioned to make some copies. In the Quaestor's Accounts for 1704 there is notice of a payment to him for transcribing 'the first and second vol. of Balfour's Annals and his Vitae Pont. St. Andreae.' *Munimenta*, iii. 436. See also Chalmers (G.), *Life of Ruddiman*, p. 37, where it is shown that he was paid for copying 'Extracta ex Chronicis Scotiae' in 1703.

<sup>3</sup> Jameson had sent 'two papers of a certain Episcopal writer.'

<sup>4</sup> See p. 206 n. 1.

the reformed Churches: 'ultima persecutio ecclesiæ quæ sicut erit omnium brevissima sic erit omnibus aliis terribilior et erit sub antichristo.' This I thought worth the transcribing since you tell me you read it not. My reflection on the whole shall be with Scot of Couper in his Apologeticall Narration that these of Wilsons gang<sup>1</sup> quhen they had any desings in their head they cryed out loud for unity and love, as about the 1606-1610, and quhen they have their designs then the[y] point out the reasonableness & beuty of submission. He seems antipapisticall & antiarminian, quhich is but rare in these of his coat.

Just quhen I am ending your trouble at this time I have your of the 6. from Math. Mclea<sup>2</sup> (for quhom I shall doe quhat I can) quher you talk of cloying me with letters. I beseech you let me not hear any more of this, for one evry post would be very acceptable, though I fear you cannot spare me soe much of your time. But I begg

\*MS. 'made' you may\* be as frequent as may be; you see I never spare you quhen occasion offers, and somtimes by post. As [for] that passage of Mr Nicolson's p. 123 anent our discipline, I think he does not contradict quhat he wrote to me, viz. 'I entirely acquiesce in your opinion in that matter.' He only blames the translatour (the author of the Foundamentall Charter) as appears by my letter, for concealing noe part of the good mind they had, &c. This is as I yet take it till I hear from himself about it, adding & carying this further then Buchanan meant it. I see nothing in this passage of his joining with the author. I think he seems to give him a check tacitly and supersedes giving his own opinion, quhich you knou he was not

<sup>1</sup> *An essay wherein national love and unity is recommended.* [By John Wilson.] Edin., 1702. Wilson is best known as Episcopal Minister of Kirkwall. He was deposed by the Privy Council in 1694, but in 1703 he returned to Kirkwall and resumed his ministry in the Church there. The General Assembly accused him of this in an Address to the Privy Council in 1703. *Fasti*, vii. 223; Register of the General Assembly, 1703, Sess. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Jameson wrote that Matthew McLay had left the College and wanted to go to Dr. Thomas Kennedy, the Glasgow physician. Jameson had 'quit with him' because he did not attend his classes, but now relents so far as to ask Wodrow to help him. I can find no more about him.

oblidged to doe. This is all I can say to reconcile this passage with his letter to me, till I write to him about [it], quhich I will not fail to doe per first lette[r]. I am,  
Dear Sir, yours intirely, Ro. WODROW.

May 8, 1702.

CIV. For Mr JOHN McLEAN, Preacher <sup>1</sup>

Sir, I received yours of April 20. quhich I longed much for, with your curiouse answers to my queries, for quhich I am extreamly oblidged unto you and Mr Beaton. I have inclosed a letter of thanks to him quhich I leave open that you may read it, and after you have closed it be pleased to give it him. I cannot expresse hou much I am satisfied to hear that ther is some hopes of encouragement to Mr Beaton by the D. of Argyles means, and I long to see the wordle oblidged with the considerable advances that he is able to make. I return you my hearty thanks for your 2 stones I received with yours. Your cilindricall on I take to be white marble and to have been the handle of some-quhat. Pray let me knou all you can about its locus natalis, &c. Your batts stone proves a Belemnites. I heartily wish for moe of them, with ane accompt of the place of their growth as particularly as you please. Your answers to my queries I will keep among my *κειμηλια*. I hope for the outmaking of your freinds promise to give me yet some more particular answers to them, quhich will add a neu obligation on me. I begg your further kind help to my collection of curiositys. As to the cases of the meeting ther are several importuning the meeting for coppies of them, quhich have been refused till they wer more compleat, but I expect within a litle that a liberty will be granted, and then I will take care with the first to have a copy transcribed for you. My service to all freinds and acquaintaince with you. I hope to hear as soon and as frequently from you as may be. I am, D. C.,  
your affectionat freind & servant, R. WODROW.

May 12, 1702.

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<sup>1</sup> No answer found.

CV. FOR MR JOHN BEATON <sup>1</sup>

Learned Sir,

I was soe rude and presumptouse as to intrude a feu undigested Queries upon you by my freind Mr McLean. This comes, Sir, to begg pardon, and to assure you it was only my love to the antiquities of our nation, and thirst after some satisfaction anent them, that made me soe bold. And to quhom should young beginners come but to such persons as you, who have through much diligence, fatigue, and long experience, vast treasures relating to our too much neglected primordia. It was the sense of my ignorance, of your vast reach, and the hopes of your communicative temper that made me soe forward. Of the two last I have ane evident specimen in the Answers I have from Mr McLean, for quhich this comes to render you my most humble thanks. Learned Sir, may I be soe bold as to begg, at any spare hour, your further thoughts anent them. I have noething to say for presumption but quhat is hinted at above. If I wer in case to doe you any service in this country, I cannot expresse the satisfaction I would have to be employed.

I have lately read a book just nou come out intituled *The Scots Historicall Library*, by Mr Nicolson, Archdeacon of Carlile. The book had been much more perfect if he had been acquainted with you. He has one passage relative to Carbre Lebhachaire quhich I give you in his own words that I may have your thoughts on it. P. 67 . . . Soe far the Archdeacon, whoes (or rather Mr Lhuyds, as I take it) incivility to you is belou your notticing.<sup>2</sup> I hope to have a long accompt of this MSS. and the rolls of I-colmkill at your laizour. Dr Sibbald acquaints me that ther is writting *Hist. Literaria Scotiæ* in 2 vols 4to, quherin

<sup>1</sup> No answer found.

<sup>2</sup> Nicolson had written: 'Mr. Lhwyd tells me that (in his last years travels in Ireland) he met with one Beatoun, a poor sojourning clergyman, who had pick'd up several fragments of old Irish manuscripts in the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland.' *Scottish Historical Library*, p. 67.

I belive some nottice will be taken of Mr Nicolson anent some papers he produces to prove the subjection of Scotland to the See of York. But I fear I have already en-croached too far on your pretiouse time. A further accompt of the Doctors work & any other thing I hear of worth notticing you may quhen you will command from your oblidged humble servant,  
R. WODROW.

May 12, 1702.

CVI. For Mr. ROBT. FLEEMING, Minister of the Scots  
Congregation at London <sup>1</sup>

Reverend Sir,

I received Mr Davidsons line <sup>2</sup> anent Mr Nicholson's misrepresentation of you,<sup>3</sup> quhich I had notticed befor I had Mr Davidsons letter, and designed to have writte to him anent this and some other escapes I had observed

<sup>1</sup> Minister of the Scots Church at Founder's Hall, London. *Fasti*, vii. 489. Answered June 6, 1702. Quarto ii. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Davidson's letter of May 4, 1702, is in Quarto ii. 22.

<sup>3</sup> The offending passage is in *Scottish Historical Library*, pp. 192-3: 'This [MS.] was lately presented to the College by Mr. Robert Fleming, a late preacher at Rotterdam, now at London, Mr. Knox's great grandchild; who having several of his said ancestors papers in his hand, pretends to assure them that this very book is penn'd by the person whose name it commonly bears.' Fleming objected not only to the charge of pretending that the MS. was in the Reformer's hand, but to the description of himself as Knox's great grandchild, and as a 'preacher' instead of 'minister.' Wodrow is not fully frank in this letter, for Nicolson borrowed two of the statements almost verbatim from Wodrow's letter of September 22 (*supra* p. 174), viz. that Fleming 'pretends [it] is Jo. Knox oun hand, quhich he offers to instruct out of some originall letters of Knox that he has. Mr. Fleeming is a great grandchild of Knoxes, or some such relation.'

But whereas there was not a touch of malice in Wodrow's mind, Nicolson, with a drier way of writing, seems to show some pleasure in scoring a point at the expense of Fleming, though, misunderstanding Wodrow's nature, he no doubt thinks he is doing so on Wodrow's behalf. He is especially guilty when he adds that Mr. Knox, the Moderator of the Synod of Merse, 'perhaps is Mr. Fleming's true ancestor as well as the transcriber of this book.' Fleming answered the charges in the Preface to his book: *The blessedness of those who die in the Lord; a practical discourse occasioned by the death of King William, Lond., 1702.*

in his Sc. Hist. Library. I never befor heard of the letter you sent to late worthy Principle Mr Dunlope. I fear it will nou be too late to recover a copy of it for your use ; houever I shall doe all I can to procure it. Hou Mr Nicholson has been informed ' that you pretend to assure them (the Colledge of Glasgou) that this very book is penned by the person whoes name it commonly bears,' &c., I knou not. That your MSS. was the Reformers own writing was the current tradition in this country. I still suspected the truth of this report (the origine of quhich I cannot help you to) cheifly on the accompt of the passage I took nottice of in Calderwood MSS. Hist. vol. 2, p. 399, quhich I comunicate to Mr Nicholson. You have it, Scot. Hist. Lib. p. 191 : ' I your serviture Rich. Bannantyn, &c. Though I still suspected the tradition, yet I was never fully helped out of my difficultyes till Mr Davidsons kind letter came to my hands. Hou Mr Nicholson has jumbled this tradition into the words of his book loc. cit., I knou not. I can say nothing for his vindication but quhat he has said himself annent Stryp's Mem. of Crammer (Scots Hist. Lib. Pref. p. 36) that you have been unfairly represented and the Archdeacons thoughts and pen have been a wandring. Houever I am soe much perswaded of his candour and integrety that I doubt not on my representing his mistake he will publickly revoek it, as he has published it.

In a letter to him in Sept. last I told him against our MSSs. being Mr Knox own hand, I have this to object, viz. ' some write on the beginning of the first vol. " In nomine," &c., quhich you sau quhen here. The hand seems pretty near that of the MSS. I shall not determine whither it be the same or not : a very criticall eye may find ground to distinguish them.' Soe far was I from dreaming that you urged that loose leaf as ane argument of the MSSs. being the Reformers hand write. Mr Dunlopes being frequently abroad, his throng of bussiness quhen at home and the litle time I had with him, have occasioned my not hearing of your letter to him. If it be to be found in his sones hands I desing to insert it (with your permission) or ane

attested abstract of quhat is in it relating to the MSS. at its beginning that none hereafter may fall into any mistake anent it. In case your letter be not found, may I begg quhat accompt you can give of the writter and conveyance of your valuable gift in a line by post at your laizour.

I gave Mr Nicholson remarks by way of answer to the arguments of the author of the preface to the Foundamentall charter of Presbitry for the spuriousness of Knox History, quhich he has not notticed. I wish he had passed the rest of my confused remarks likewise or at least represented them justly, and concealed my name, quhich I am sure will prejudice his book considerably, and make the wordle suspect the rest of the worthy gentlemen to quhom he owes his materials.

Thus, Sir, you have all the light I can give you anent the Archdeacons passage that relates to you. I wait for the honnour of a line from you befor I writte to him anent his mistake and as soon as I have his answer you shall knou it.

I will not presume to give you any accompt of affaires here. I doubt not but you have them from persons in this country and at Edinr. that are far better in case to give them then ever I can hope to be, only as to Mr Nicholsons Scots Hist. Library I heare that ther is a work under the title of *Historia Scotiæ literaria* designed at Edinr. in Latine in 2 4tos, quher he will be taken in task with respect to the papers he produces anent our subjection to the See of York, and perhaps some other things also. But judging you have accompt of this from better hands I say noe more of it. Mr Jamisons *Roma Raccoviana* et *Racovia Romana* is almost printed of. Begging pardon for this long scroll and my consuming soe much of your time you improve soe weel for better ends, I crave leave to subscribe my self, Reverend Sir, your very humble servant,

Ro. WODROW.

May 13, 1702.



CVII. For Mr WILLIAM JAMISON at Edr.<sup>1</sup>

D. C., I received your kind letter [of] May 11. I am just going out of toun but I will rather straiten my self in time then neglect answering you, tho it be but breiffly and confusedly. You need not doubt of my pains in engaging persons as occasion offers ; its your concern, & that is more then enough to engage me to the outmost. I cannot expresse my satisfaction in your communication anent our submission to English worship. Its of great importance and I hope you shall have occasion shortly to give a more publick accompt of the Doctors candid communication.<sup>2</sup> I am ashamed that I have been soe long in answering his last kind letter, but the truth is I have been soe much out of toun and hurried with trifles that I could never have soe much time, but as soon as I come to toun again, quhich will be (God willing) on Tuesday, I will give him all the satisfaction I can. I have noe such thoughts of the advantages of my coming in as you seem to have, unlesse the Principle and you endeavour to secure access to the Lauers Library. I hope before he conclude any thing anent this affair he will try both at D. Sibbald & the Curator of the Advocats Library if the University may have the benefite of a transcript [of] their MSS. I doe not much doubt of the first ; all my difficulty is as to the 2d. Let the Principle offer them a copy of quhat we have, particularly Melrosse Chronicle and Fordoun, but this last I belive they can have nearer themselvs. A tollerable assurance of their willingness is to be had least I come re infecta. Perhaps the Justice Clerk and Advocats moyen may doe somquhat in this case. For my

<sup>1</sup> Answered May 25, 1702. Quarto ii. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Jameson had written : ' The Dr. tells me that Sir James Balfures MSS. Annals are in the Lawyers Library, and that in them is word for word the treaty between Queen Elizabeth and our Lords of the Congregation in which the author of the Fundamental Charter pretends their submission to the English worship and rites was contained ; but no such thing is there to be found, nor any where else for ought he can learn.' Quarto ii. 25.

oun part at this time I have noe great mind to come in, being still urged to enter tryalls, quhich I have noe great mind to without half a years closse application befor hand, to quhich I would fain allott this summer. But if the College can not be soe weel served in another way, I will rather straiten my self then hinder a thing I think soe usefull.

I thank you for your further accompt of Lesleys Queries.<sup>1</sup> I hope for one of them as soon as may be. His fancy anent marrying ones sister I have not time to cheu, but you shall have a ramble on it pernixt. You knou Blount in his Oracles has somquhat comes near this. I belive the Archdeacons being made a Bishop<sup>2</sup> will put ane end to our correspondence. Begging the continuance of your instructive correspondence as fully, frequently, and freely as may be, I am, in hast, Dearest Sir, yours intirely,

May 15, 1702.

R. WODROW.

My humble respects to the Principle and kind service to Mr Reid, who I hope will mind my pamphlets.

#### CVIII. For Mr JAMISON at Edinr.<sup>3</sup>

D. C., I received this day (not coming to toun sooner) yours of the 15. and the Queries. For my heart I could not get [them] read as yet. Just nou Ja. Litljohn<sup>4</sup> comes with catologues from Mr Freebairn. You seem to insinuate he has a large letter but he has none as he sayes. Pray ridd me out of this difficulty. I have been with the

<sup>1</sup> This is the work noted above, p. 204 n. 1. Jameson had attributed it to Charles Leslie, author of *The snake in the grass*, but Wodrow in Letter CVIII reports that the work itself is by Campbell but that the Preface is by Leslie.

<sup>2</sup> He was consecrated Bishop of Carlisle at Lambeth on June 14, 1702. Nicolson's last letter to Wodrow, preserved in the Quarto Letters, is of September 6, 1703, which Wodrow answered on October 4. Both are affectionate. Perhaps the correspondence stopped as much from Wodrow's dedication of himself to his office as Minister of Eastwood as from Nicolson's appointment to the Bishopric of Carlisle.

<sup>3</sup> Answered May 25, 1702. Quarto ii. 31.

<sup>4</sup> A carrier between Glasgow and Edinburgh.

Principall who sayes nothing to me as yet anent my incoming. I knou not if he will, but I shall not be the first speaker. Mr Tran is pretty weel and conveens his classe. His arme is mending kindly enough. I hear you have some thoughts of giving a sheet or two to print in answer to the Queries, quhich I shall be glad to knou from your self. If it be soe, I am sure I heartily pray God may enable you to the work and blesse it to curb the imbittered pens of these envenomed pasquillers of our covenanted work of reformation. I hear the preface is done by Lesley, and the queries by the good Lord Neil Campbells son.<sup>1</sup> You shall have my thoughts at large per nixt on the pamphlet. Till then and ever, belive me to be, Dearest Sir, yours intirely,

RO. WODROW.

May 20, 1702.

My presentt throng and hast begg excuse for the shortness of this.

#### CIX. For Mr WILLIAM JAMESON <sup>2</sup>

D. C., I come nou to give you my overly remarks on the Queries, quhich I give you not as having any thing worth you[r] while, but as a specimen of my obedience to your commands.

Ch. 1. I think his first 5 queries suppose a manifest untruth—that the Presbiterians reject antiquity altogether in the contraversy about church goverment, quheras our adversaries have had the purest antiquity laid in their dish with a vengeance by many moe then ever they have thought fitt to answer as yet. His 6. query p. 4 is treuly surprizing, and ane evidence of a man blinded with prejudice. It may justly be retorted miracles did not cease till errour, gnosticisme, ebionitisme, &c., obteaned, therfor God approved these. As to quhat folloues, the Presbyterians can sheu severall instances in the

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 204 n. 1, and p. 213 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Wodrow went to Edinburgh with the Principal soon after this, so no written answer was required.

primitive pure Church of separation not on the accompt of apostolick bishops, for these are not hujus fori, but for the lordly domination & diotrephicall cariage of these that pretended to be apostolicall bishops.

Chap. 2d. Qu. 1. His second restriction seems to destroy his argument from the high-preist. P. 5. As to quhat he has about the morall lau, you knou its the opinion of many of the greatest of our divines that God can dispense with the morall lau, and, if this hold, you see all his argument falls. To passe his socinianizing in his 2d restriction,<sup>1</sup> that the Jeues never thought on loving enimies, &c., granting the morall lau indispensable, I see nothing in his assertion that has not been long since answered, for it comes just to this, whither the High preist or superiority of dominion in Church officers be morall, that is of perpetuall obligation, and to affirm this without any shaddou of an answer to quhat is said against it is dull stuffe.

Qu. 2d p. 5 & 6. He destroys all his desing by putting in 'laufull.' By quhat folloues, if we must not separate for personall faults and erroneouse doctrines, at one blou he sends us all back to Rome. Qu. 4, at the end, p. 7. I think he seems to make apostles a standing order in the Church. I think Judas was never a bishop, yet succeeded by Mathias. Though several make the apostles bishops after Christs death, I have met with feu that gave them a congé d'élire befor he dyed. P. 7. In his answer to the objection, he contradicts their darling, the principle of unity, quhich destroys archbishops, and after all sayes nothing in answer, for Rome will make her self, Ile warrand you, the Mother Church, head of all, and plead that all should come and worship the Beast, and sacrifice at this one altare.

In his 3d chapter their is litle I see that relates to Presbyterians. Quhat does, has been answered a 100 times.

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<sup>1</sup> MS. 'restertion,' perhaps an involuntary confusion of 'restriction' and 'assertion.'

Ch. 4. I think he misses the main charaterizing difference of ane apostle—to witness the resurrection of Christ, in quhich, to be sure, they are not succeeded ! If bishops succeed apostles in making all nations disciples (qu. 5, p. 16) even let us want them. We are converted to Christianity ; let all the bishops trip over to America, &c., & turn apostles of the Indians, and thus prove their succession to the appostles. P. 18 to the end. I think he sheues much ignorance of the sentiments of his adversaryes, who doe not pretend that the presbitry made Timothy ane evangelist, but only a minister of Ephesus, and though it wer granted they did, I see litle difficulty in asserting our pouer at this day to send out evangelists, and that Mr Sheilds was one, and our superintendents. In this I submitte to your riper judgment.

I find nothing neu in his 5th chap., only qu. 3 tells us that parish and diocese wer allowd in the first ages, that is, a parish minister and diocesian bishop wer one, and in evry parish a bishop, quhich is a large concession, if the author wer worth the notticing.

His 6. chap. I meddle not with, supposing you have Mr Fosters <sup>1</sup> judicious remarks on it, only I cannot but nottice hou he steps aside to meet with the great Mr Bruce,<sup>2</sup> and backs his charge against him with a great many scriptures. I belive I may say, if any man since the apostles time was called of God to the honnour of a minister Heb. 5. 4., he had this call, and through the withred hands of Mr R. Bruce wer moe speciall blessings conveyed then by all the diocesian bishops that ever wer in Scotland. He insinuatns Mr Bruce received ordination after 10 years, quhich you knou is false.

His 7 chap. has nothing that I see neu except his application of Mal. 2. 7. to the High Priest, quhich I think groundless, and contrary to the context, quher the cove-

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Forrester, Principal of New College, St. Andrews, against whom the *Queries* were directed.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Bruce, a famous Edinburgh Minister of the reign of James VI. His *Sermons* and *Collections for his Life*, by R. Wodrow, were printed for the Wodrow Society in 1843.

nant is made with Levi, quhich takes in all the tribe, methinks, or at least the preists. But granting it wer solide, I see nothing that can be deduced from it to our disadvantage.

His last chapter I belive he looks on as his master peice. ¶ to the first query, quhat if the Philip that baptized wer ane evangelist, of quhich you and I have been talking. Of his 2d, anent ruling elders, you knou my thoughts anent them; if we have noe expresse scriptures (quhich he impertinently requires for evry thing and yet makes use of humane writters himself) I am sure, our enimes being witnesses, they are needfull and usefull, and ther has been more said in defence of the scriptures aduced to prove them then ever they could handsomly answer. And perhaps we are more straitned from our own hypothesis, and the want of accompt of the primo-primitive antiquity then from any thing adversaries adduce. His 3d. query I alter thus: whither the first bishopes of England, the learnest of them since, doe not joyn issue with Presbitry against Episcopacy, that is its *jus divinum*, for that is all he makes the Papists oppose; whither Papists and Presbiterians join not issue against Mahomet and quhat is that to the purpose? As to quhat folloues, has not the Pope his commission from Christ, will a papist say, and that to be superiour to bishops? And their say is as good as the authors. And is not a parity among presbiters as effectuell a barrier against the Pope as a parity among bishops, quhich is either presbitry, or nothing against his holyness.

His 5 query may be easily resolved in the negative. All the branches of his last stroak may be easily evaded by telling that our Act of Parliament is not quhat we depend on as the Charter of Presbitry, but the Scriptures and the primo-primitive practice; that the inclinations of the people is a very proper moving cause for a civil judicatory to walk on, and noe wise exclusive of the *jus divinum* of the government, quheras Cæsars papistico-Erastian actings in taking on him to be the head of the Church was anti-scripturall, and wholly exclusive of the truth; and so

the episcopall clergy had noe salvo jure ecclesiae to act on, unless they turn all to mentall reservations, soe that supposing the variable inclinations of the people should actually turn, we have the word of God to turn to, to quhich presbitry is declared to be agreeable by a posterior act of the same Parliament that is cast in our teeth.

The viperouse preface I medle not with, because I knou not hou to referr you to it since it wants pages, and especially because I take it for granted that you are over-wearied already by this confused ramble. You see quhat a tedious obedience I give to your desires, though sensible of the losse of time they lay you under. I am, Dear Sir, yours intirely,

Ro. WODROW.

May 27 [1702.]

CX. For Dr SIBBALD <sup>1</sup>

Honoured Sir,

I received your oblidging and kind letter of the 24th of the last moneth. I am treuly ashamed that I am soe untimouse in returning my thanks for soe great a favour. The occasion of my tardiness was being out of toun much, and my waiting for the Archdeacons book, quhich I have nou at lenth gote looked over. I had some thoughts of writting to him anent somethings in it, particularly a misrepresentation of Mr R. Fleeming p. 192, about quhich I had a line from London, but on the neuse of his being preferred I have deferred this for a while at least.

I cannot expresse hou much I am oblidgd by quhat you have writt anent our subjection to the See of York. Your citations Fordon Lib. 8. 16. 26. 27 doe not agree to our copy. I wish I could fall on some way to collate ours with the copy at Edinburgh College, for I belive ther may be some differences as to the division of chapters, if not other things also. Your citations from Wharton and Florent Wigorniensis are very home.<sup>2</sup> The Archdeacon seems to

<sup>1</sup> No answer found.

<sup>2</sup> Sibbald cites Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 234, and Florentius Wigorniensis: 'Turstanus Robertum consecravit anno 1128,' etc.

suspect the papers he produceth p. 357, quhich seems to make him the more censurable for producing them. He suspects the 2 last papers most, and if these be found spuriose, the rest are (giving but not granting them to be genuine) rather evidences of the backwardness of our clergy to submitt to the unjust demands of Rome, then of any real submission, and soe can doe us noe hurt. I conceive something of this might be the occasion of the deferring of the consecration of the Archbishop of St. Andreues: vid. Chron. Melros. ad an. 1124. 'David ipso anno ante mortem ejus elegi fecit Robertum priorem de Scona in episcopatum St. Andreæ ejus ordinatio multo tempore est dilata. Calixtus PP obiit.' If the Cottonian papers should be found genuin we may suppose that [the] elect Bishop and rest of the Clergy opposed the Archbishop of Yorks consecrating the Prior of Scoon, and the debate it would seem has issued in the Scots clergy's favours, or at least if the Prior of Scoon has been consecrated by the Archbishop of York, the greivance has soon been redressed for vid. an. 1160, to make sure work the Abbot of Kelchou was consecrated nixt day after he was chosen: 'Ernaldus abbas de Kelchou electus est ad episcop. St. And. die St. Brien et die sequente consecratus est apud St. Andream a Willielmo Murafensi episc.'; and for annulling as it wer the former Popes bulls (if any such wer) he was Popes legate. See more ad an. 1164, 1165, and many other places.

I shall cause transcribe Gordon's continouation of Montrose History for you, if I come not in shortly to waite on you, quhich I have some thoughts of, and then I shall bring my copy in with me. Trochrigs remarks are in French and on forraigners mostly. Mr Blair & Levingstouns life, and remarks on the learned of his time I belive will be litle servicable to your designe. Mr Jamison has perused them and will give you accompt of them. Houever if I come in and you think it needfull, I shall bring in all with me.

The freedome you say you use with me, Honoured Sir, is the greatest obligation you can put me under. Since I



had the honnour of your acquaintance, I still did and still will count it one of my greatest happiness[es] to be any wise servicable to you. I am further oblided by your kind advice to prosecute the Irish and Saxon languages. I still had an inclination to any thing relating to our own history, but my avocations are so many that I can never expect to come any length in this study, far less to come near you, who have made the greatest advances ever any made in this necessary study. My station and other studies I am obliged to by it and called to in providence scarce spare me any time for that of our antiquities; its but a cursory glance that ever I expect to give at them. That you may be long, long continued for enlightning them, and others raised that may follow your noble example, is the sincere wish of, Honoured Sir, your very much obliged humble servant,

R. WODROW.

May 22, 1702.

CXI. For Mr Archdeacon NICHOLSON <sup>1</sup>

Reverend & Learned Sir,

I am taken at a surprize with the bearer Mr Milburn <sup>2</sup> his going away. I had the happiness of a line from you by him when he came, and though I have no thing worth your while, yet I cannot let him go without an acknowledgment of my ever remaining sense of your obliging favours to me. That he may not come altogether empty I give you trouble of a few trifles that now and then come to my hands. N. 1. are a few Entrochi not very ordinary here. N. 2. 2 or 3 Entrochi with a singular coat and cover, on which I would gladly have your mind. N. 3. A corbe or raven stone. The legend of thir stones are that the

<sup>1</sup> Answered July 25, 1702. Quarto, ii. 42.

<sup>2</sup> 'Henricus Milbourne Anglus' was a student at Glasgow in 1702. *Munimenta*, iii. 175. Probably he belonged to one of the Cumberland families of that name.

ravens bring them from Jordan, and their vertue fructify their eggs, quhich the country peaple take out of the nests and boyl & put them in again, that they may leave their nests.<sup>1</sup> Credat Judeus Appella.<sup>2</sup> N. 4. A feu of our fresh water pearle of different shapes and sizes.

I hope the parcell of fossills you designed for me are by this time on their roade hitherward (as Mr Paton tells me). This comes with my hearty thanks for them. I have latly gotte a coin of your K. John with the inscription on both sides as you have it, English Historical Library pt. 3, p. 268, only with this difference that his head is in a circle not in a triangle. If you want it for your collection you shall have it per nixt.

I have had ane overly veu of your Scots Historicall Library quher I am surprized to find my name mentioned soe publickly. I wish it may not prejudge your undertaking and make the wordle suspect the rest of the learned gentlmen from quhom you have had some of your materials. 'Your worthy freind', 'vir lectiss.', &c., from soe great a pen as yours wer titles too ready to raise my young blood, and make me think of my self above quhat I ought.<sup>3</sup> But I knou they are without ground, and your mistaking of me soe far give me ground to suspect that you might have fallen into several other mistakes throughout your book, quhich as soon as I have looked over my notes and reconsidered, you shall have with a great deal freedome by post, or a private hand if it offer.

By your last prints I find your patent for being Bishop of Carlisle passing the seals. I pray God may give you all the qualifications of a treu Apostolicall Bishop and make you ane eminent instrument for his service in his Church. You knou my thoughts of your designed office, but I am sure I am a sincere though unworthy freind to your person, and I am heartily glad that Her Majesty

<sup>1</sup> Nicolson identifies it as a child's marble!

<sup>2</sup> Let the Jew Appella believe! Horace, *Satires*, v. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Nicolson calls Wodrow 'my worthy friend' on p. xxxix, and 'vir lectiss.' on p. 248\* n. k.

advances such weeldeserving and moderate persons to places of eminency in the Church. I am, Sir, your unworthy freind and oblidged humble servant, R. WODROW.

May 25, 1702.

Let me have your direction per nixt in case I give you the trouble of a line by post.

## CXII. For Mr JAMISON <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I just nou receive yours of the 25. I cannot meet with the Principle he is soe throng. I shall be passive in the affair of coming in, quhich, considering my circumstances, I hope you will think sufficient. Mr Tran grou's daily better, God be thanked. I wish you had told me some of the odd things you insinuate anent the books you have need of. I thank you for your physicall observation anent the cattis of Caitness.<sup>2</sup> I have not soe much philosophicall faith as to beleive your informer to have be[en] deuly searched in this case. I shall be glad to have Doctor Sibbalds opinion on it. Your letters shall be transmitted per first. The shortness of this, I hope, will apologize for the tedium of the inclosed from, Dearest Sir, yours intirely, R. WODROW.

May 28 [1702.]

Since the writing of this the Principle has spoken to me to goe in with him on Teusday, quhich, according to my promise to be passive, I consented unto. Soe, for any

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<sup>1</sup> Wodrow went with the Principal to Edinburgh and received Jameson's answer 'by word of mouth.'

<sup>2</sup> Jameson had written: 'Its told me and pretended by sensible persons to be very true that no male cats live in Kaitness, and yet the femells bring forth store of young, being impregnated only by eating at some time of the year some 5 corns of barlie stipped or sodden in sweet milk.' Quarto ii. 31.

thing I yet knou, I expect the answer of this by word of mouth.

CXIII. For Mr JOHN FORREST at Edinburgh <sup>1</sup>

Sir, I received yours of the 25. current from the bearer. Mr Skirvins <sup>2</sup> quarrell with Sedulius was only as to the price, quhich his scholars grudged at. He is very weel satisfied with the designe of a vocabulary for the use of the youth, and if my opinion in this matter wer worth the notticing, I knou nothing more usefull for schools then a weel digested vocabulary; at least I found nothing soe usefull to my self in atteaning and reteaning the small pittance of Latine, Greek and Hebreu as this kind of helps I composed for my oun use in all the 3 languages. I expect to wait on you nixt week at Edinburgh quher Mr Skirvine likewise desings to be, and then we shall discourse at more

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<sup>1</sup> Forrest was co-editor with John Gullon of the edition of Sedulius sponsored by Sir Robert Sibbald, which was published at Edinburgh in 1701. Forrest had graduated at Edinburgh in 1701, and John Gullon in 1699. Paterson in his letter of May 10, 1701 (Quarto i. 119) wrote: 'Sedulius is come out. But it wants the Prolegomena Sir Robert design'd to prefix to it. They were judg'd too long, and in many things not so necessary, by the Editors, two young men who have printed it on their own charges, and have put all that was judged absolutely necessary into a Preface. Sir R. gave them all the assistance he could in correcting the text, and they have been at no small pains in collating all the editions with that ancient MSS. of it in the Advocates Library. They have also illustrated and cleared all the difficulties, and made it fit for the use of schools by short notes, which they were very well qualified for performing. Their names are Mr Gullen and Mr Forrest. Mr G. hath pursued the course of his studies for above 14 years. He is absolutely Mr. of the Greek as well as Latin, for which, as well as for his theological learning and many other things, perhaps he will not easily be match'd by any young man in this kingdom. The other is likewise a very good humanist.' Paterson adds that it is sold 'bound in calf for two and twenty pence and in sheep for twenty.' In this letter and in his letter of May 26, 1701 (Quarto i. 128), Paterson adds that it is already taught in the University and the Canongate School, and is to be taught in the High School, at Leith, and in schools in Perthshire. Forrest may be the schoolmaster of Leith who published a third edition of John Monro's *Artificiosa methodus docendi linguam Latinam* at Edinburgh in 1711.

<sup>2</sup> George Skirvine, Rector of the Grammar School of Glasgow.

lenth on all these heads. Till then and ever belive me to be, Sir, your oblidged humble servant, R. WODROW.

May 28 [1702.]

My humble service to your fellou laborer at Sedulius, quhose name I have forgote.

#### CXIV. For Mr LACHLAND CAMPBLE at London <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I received yours without date and without direction soe that I was long straitned quhat to doe. Houever I have directed it to Mr Bells shope, quher I hope it may find you. I have sent you a letter of credite for 14  $\frac{1}{2}$  sterline, quhich you are to receive without deduction of the exchange, as you see it bears, or if my comission run not to soe much, you have liberty to lift quhat of it you need. This I have ordered for your ease, not knouing the rates of the books I comission. I shall take all imaginable care of your books from Holland and lay out all that expenses come to, but I suspect you may be almost as soon here as they. For quhat I can learn Mr Hamilton <sup>2</sup> waits for a convoy, quhich will not sail these 3 weeks; he had better have come with you for London.

As to your kind overture anent our Roman inscriptions I am not soe fond of having my name knouen in Holland as to engage in a correspondence with Grevius; <sup>3</sup> I knou my insufficiency for soe great a task. Houever I will fall on a way to transmitt the inscriptions if possible to him.

<sup>1</sup> Answered June 6, 1702. Quarto ii. 33.

<sup>2</sup> This is William Hamilton, afterwards of Airdrie and Preston, Minister of Bothwell in 1709. After graduating at Glasgow he studied theology at Leyden and wrote letters from there to Wodrow on November 28, 1701, and March 30, 1702. Quarto i. 142, ii. 14. The latter is enclosed with the letter from Campbell which Wodrow here answers.

<sup>3</sup> Joannes Georgius Grævius, Professor at Utrecht, had asked for copies of the Roman inscriptions in Glasgow University Library for a new edition of Gruter's *Inscriptiones antiquæ*. This edition was published at Amsterdam in 1707.

For our neuse here I referr you to Mr Lockarts <sup>1</sup> letter. As soon as this comes to hand, pray let me have a line by post with your London neuse, and after that I hope for another with the accompt of quhat you have bought for me in my comission. I begg ane accompt of William Fuller <sup>2</sup> for he is quite a stranger here, and we knou nothing of the scuffles that are printed anent him. Let me have quhat accompt you can of the neu edition of the Testament with the scolia of the Greek Fathers at Oxford.<sup>3</sup> Pray let me have ane accompt of the Memoirs for the Curieuse <sup>4</sup> said to be done by Mr Kirkldy, with quhat of it is come out, if the desing be going on; as likewise of [the] repute and author of the Post Angell,<sup>5</sup> of the present state of the Socinian contraversy at London, & that with the Deists, and that between Wake and Atterburry about the pouer of convocations. Your excellent converse at London and elsquher will furnish you with sufficient light in these and many other things quhich come not in my head.

If you goe to Oxford, pray give my most humble service to Mr Lhuyd. I wrote to him by Mr Paterson and long for the honnour of a line from him. If he have any fossiles that he can spare for me I knou you will take a care of them. Pray give my respects to Mr Ridpath & let me knou quhats become of the additions to Buchanan.<sup>6</sup> Let this

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Lockhart, who had just reached London from Holland with his fellow students William Hamilton, Lachlan Campbell, John Dunlop and Alexander Tran. All were Glasgow students who had continued their education at Utrecht or Leyden. Lockhart wrote to Wodrow on May 4, 1702 (Quarto ii. 24), but Wodrow's answer has not been preserved. Lockhart was ordained Minister of Ochiltree in 1705. *Fasti*, iii. 61.

<sup>2</sup> An impostor who exploited the fears and prejudices of the times by discovering alleged Jacobite plots and writing pamphlets to prove that the pretended Prince of Wales was a supposititious child. *D. N. B.*

<sup>3</sup> Ἡ καινὴ Διαθήκη. *Novum Testamentum, una cum scholiis Græcis e Græcis scriptoribus . . . desumptis. Opera . . . J. Gregorii. Oxonii, 1703.*

<sup>4</sup> *Memoirs for the curious: or an account of what occurs thats rare, secret, extraordinary . . . through the world.* Vol. i. nos. 1-2. Lond., 1701.

<sup>5</sup> *The Post-Angel (or, Universal Entertainment).* [By J. Dunton.] 4 vols. Lond., 1701-02.

<sup>6</sup> I have not traced whether these were published. Campbell's letter of June 18, 1702 (Quarto ii. 38), gives a detailed account of the works that Ridpath was planning.

give me service to Mr A. Bell. If he have any of the books that are in my commission, let Mr Jamisons books quhich he sold be part payment. As many of the books as you can let them be in sheets for better carriage, quhich I wish may be by land, though it should be more expensive. I am, etc.,

R. WODROW.

May 29, 1702.

CXV. For Mr ROBERT PATON at Carlisle <sup>1</sup>

Sir, I received yours of the 30 of May only this morning. The reason was I have been at Edinburgh nou near these 5 weeks. You may be sure otherwise I had not neglected to answer your kind letter. I wrote to you with Mr Milburn and inclosed one to the then Archdeacon. I sent with the same hand some fossiles and a raven stone, all quhich, I hope, are long since come to your hand. As soon as I can meet with a double of ane elf arrou, quhich I hope for shortly, I will not fail to send it. Receive at presentt a feu Icolmkill stones by the bearer. This comes to return you my thanks for the care you took to transmitt the Scots Historicall Library, for quhich I will return thanks to its author as soon as I knou he is come from London, and give him by post (if you cannot help me to a privat hand) my remarks according as he is pleased to desire me. In the mean time I hope you will give my most humble respects to him, and my hearty thanks for his present, as soon as you have the honnour to wait on him. All your acquaintances here give their service to you, particularly Mr Dunlop. Pray [let] slip no private hand coming hereaway. I am your assured freind,

R. WODROW.

July 6, 1702.

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<sup>1</sup> Neither the letter of May 30 nor an answer to this is preserved in the Quarto Letters.

CXVI. For the Right Reverend the BISHOP OF CARLISLE  
at Salkeld near Penrith, Cumberland <sup>1</sup>

Most Learned Sir,

Having the occasion of the bearer Mr Lye,<sup>2</sup> who told me he was to wait on you at Penrith, I could not but thank you for the honnour of a line the beginning of the last moneth. I cannot now for want of time give you any of my remarks on your Scots Historicall Library, but as soon as I am any way fixed in this place you shall have them by post. I have been abroad at Edinburgh and in the country most of this summer else you should have had them ere this time. Houever you are at noe losse, for any thing I have yet remarked is scarce worth the troubling you with, but since you are pleased to make them a kind of test of the freindship you honnour me with, you shall have them without flatry or abatement.

Mean while the Reverend Mr Fleeming at London is dissatisfyed with the passage relating to him and threatens a publick animadversion in his preface to his Sermons on [the] Kings death (quhich its like you have ere this time seen). He is angry that you have said he made use of the loose leafe in our Knox to proove it was the Reformers doing. This you knou I made use of as ane argument to you against this in some or other of my letters. I should be glad to have your mind anent this (as soon as your conveniency alloues) by post, with your further commands to, Learned Sir, your very much oblidged humble servant,  
Sept. 14, 1702. Ro. WODROW.

CXVII. For Mr LACHLAND CAMPBELL at Kyntyre <sup>3</sup>

D. C., I received yours from the bearer without date, quhich I impute to your hast. Your earnestness for accompts of affairs is enough to oblidge me to give you any slender hints of things I get here, and quhen I have

<sup>1</sup> Answered September 21, 1702. Quarto ii. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified.

<sup>3</sup> Answered October 10, 1702. Quarto iii. 42.



done soe ther is neither commiseration nor generosity in the case, but gratitude and part payment of the debt I contracted quhen you wer in England and Holland. This I name, not for want of sense of former obligations never to be forgote, but as quhat bears most bulk at first veu ; but by this time I see moe and moe, and particularly this last letter, quherby you give me opportunity to expresse my sense of your kindness, and the hope of one from you once a moneth. I am, &c.,

R. WODROW.

Oct. 5, 1702.

CXVIII. For the Reverend Mr ROBERT FLEEMING  
at London <sup>1</sup>

Reverend & Worthy Sir,

In July last quhen at Edinburgh I received your kind and oblidging letter, quhich helped me out of all my doubts and confusions about Knoxes MSS., quhich befor I had Mr Davidsons hint and your more distinct accompt I would fain have supposed to have been the Reformers hand ; but still the write 'in nomine Dom.', &c. (anent quhich you have been soe unjustly represented) made me suspect it, tho I had by tradition from my predecessor in this station that it was Knoxes hand. Being divided between the tradition and the contrary date of the same hand with the book 1581, and knouing nothing of yours to Mr Dunlope, I had thoughts severall times to have written to you anent this affair. Yea, quhen I wrote to Mr Nicolson, after I had objected the forsaid write 'in nomine' & '1581' against it being Knoxes oun hand, I expresly told him I designed to write to you anent it, quhich, by the way, put him in the road of consulting you quhen printing his book just beside you. Under my desings to write to you, the thing that stoped them was, in short, I kneu not hou to accost a person of your charecter, lying under the unhappiness of being utterly

<sup>1</sup> Answered November 5, 1702. Quarto ii. 49.

a stranger to you, till at lenth Mr Davidsons line gave me the wished for opportunity.

After your kind letter Mr Campble brought the valuable present of your excellent sermons and incomparable poem.<sup>1</sup> Then this coming from your hands nothing could be a greater obligation on me, unless it be your vindication of me from any share in your misrepresentation, shall I call it, or rather abuse. And you do doe this in soe kind and oblidging a strain in condescending to put me into the number of your freinds (quher I must disclaim the title of worthy) that all I can say most fall far short of expressing my gratefull sense of soe many favours, one after another. All that I can doe under all this is earnestly to begg that you may let me knou quherin I can best expresse my thankful resentments to you. I need not tell you I would count it my happiness to be in case to serve you here. I hope you see that you have bound me over to this, and doubt nothing of my willingness to it.

Never was a wish more seasonable then yours that the Presbiterians may be wise and unanimouse at this juncture ; though it be 4 moneth since you wrote it, yet its necessity and suitablness groues on our hand. Enimies are waiting for our halting, and it may be our freinds are feuer then some of us think. Division & trusting to much to unknowen's have still been our ruin. I pray God we may learn in time to be wise, and not to lose the substance for the shaddou. Our Synod is to sit here tomorrou : some want not their oun fears that things may run to unwarrantable hights. I wish they may be groundless and prevented by calmness & moderation, and I would fain hope they shall.

Our members for Parliament look very unpromising in many places. We have our oun thoughts of heart anent the designed union, & its the earnest prayer of several here that the Commissioners of our side may be directed of God to stand by our religieuse and civil rights and libertys,

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<sup>1</sup> The poem by Fleming was issued with the Sermons, but with a separate title-page: *Fame's Mausoleum: a Pindarick poem, with a monumental inscription, sacred to the glorious memory of William the Great.* Lond., 1702.

and aprove themselves to God, the Goverment, and their Country.

May I begg the favour of a line from you by post at some spare hour. I must acknouledge præsumption here, but it proceeds not from any want of sense either of your character or your throng of more weighty affairs, but meerly from my passionat desire of having some accompts hou things are a going in the religiouse, civil, and learned wordle. I knou persons of the largest capacitys are still most communicative, & I cannot but drau a good omen from this maxime in the case in hand.

Your coosine Dr Sinclair,<sup>1</sup> my very good freind, is this day come to this place from Norwich & gives his respects to you. Soe does my father and brother to quhom I suspect (by the title Reverend) you designed yours. My brother, Messrs Simson & Hamiltoun remain very sensible of your kindness to them quhen a traveling. Messrs Hasty and Broun<sup>2</sup> have you kindly remembred. May I presume by this to give my service to Mr Davidson and Mr Ridpath, to whoes noble designe to retreive our Scots history I should count my self happy if I could be any way serviceable. I am, Reverend Sir, your very much oblidged and most humble servant, Ro. WODROW.

Oct. 5, 1702.

#### CXIX. For Sir ROBERT SIBBALD<sup>3</sup>

Honoured Sir,

I come nou to begg your pardon for my long silence. I have been much abroad since I left you. Houever I have caused transcribe Sir Ja. Turners Reflections on Buchanan for you. I have payed for 53 sheets at 3 sh. Scots the

<sup>1</sup> Robert Sinclair, M.D. of Utrecht, Professor of Mathematics at Glasgow, 1699, and the first 'Extraordinary' Professor of Medicine at Glasgow, 1703. Smith, *English-speaking students at Leyden*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Alexander Hastie and David Brown, Ministers in Glasgow. *Fasti*, iii. 462, 399.

<sup>3</sup> The answer to this, of October 15, 1702 (Quarto ii. 47), was printed in *Analecta Scotica*, ii. 141-2.

sheet quhich comes to 7*l*. 19*s*., for paper 17*s*., in all 8*l* 16. You will find it very exact for I can say in the writers favours that I collated 20 sheet without soe much as on escape. I hope nou to have the great happiness of a line from you by post as frequently as your more weighty concerns will allou. I need promise you no suitable returns, you knou the person you have to doe with, but such as lyes in my pouer shall be willingly made. I have met with nothing worth your notticing here this long time, only a copper coyn, of Julius Cæsar <sup>1</sup> I suppose. On the one side is a head and the legend is FLAVIUS CÆSAR TR.—MOB.; the reverse is a circle of laurel, within it VOT. X.; the legend 'Cæsarum nostrorum' and somquhat more I cannot read.

I hope for some rich communications from your noble forraigne correspondence and your oun excellent discoveries. Pray, Sir, goe on in your noble work relating to the retriving our Pictish antiquitys,<sup>2</sup> and your *Historia literaria*, some of both quhich you wer pleased to communicate with me at Edinburgh to my great advantage. Dear Sir, we are uncertain hou long we have such ane useful ornament as you are among us, therfor tho things be not in such a perfection as you or your freinds could wish for, yet let us not be deprived of the substance by your delay. Pardon this freedome; it floues from sincere desire after that quhich to me seems a public good, quhich I knou you will not disapprove.

Pray give my kind respects to worthy Mr Sutherland. I long to hear from him, and designe quhen ever I get any thing worth the troubling him with, to give him a line. Your Turners MSS. shall be sent in by the first sure carier. If you have got these 2 or 3 sheets of the *Cronicon Kinlossense* <sup>3</sup> that I want, transcribed by any body, let him that

<sup>1</sup> Sibbald reports that Sutherland and he think that it is a coin of Flavius Julius Crispus, the eldest son of Constantine the Great.

<sup>2</sup> Sibbald's MS. *Historia gentis Picticæ* is in the National Library of Scotland.

<sup>3</sup> This is the *Historia abbatum de Kynlos*, by Joannes Ferrerius, published by the Bannatyne Club in 1839 from the MS. in the National Library of Scotland. Wodrow's transcript is in Glasgow University Library.

brings Turners MSS. have them. Hoping for a long accompt of the affairs of the learned wordle (to quhich I am soe much a stranger) by post, I am, Honoured Sir, your very much oblidged humble servant,

Ro. WODROW.

Oct. 6, 1702.

CXX. For the BISHOP OF CARLISLE<sup>1</sup>

Learned Sir,

I just nou received yours of the 21 of Sept. from Mr Milburn. Since my last I have seen the Reverend Mr Fleeming his book, quhich then I had not seen. I am heartily sorry that 2 of the best of my freinds have fallen out, & I shall be extreemly concerned if I be found to have had the least hand in it. I am sure I never designed to deceive you or in the least to misrepresent Mr Fleming. Freindshipe, yea gratitude highly oblidged me to deal candidly with you both, & I am sure I endeavoured it to my outmost. But you must allou me to say that I never presumed soe far as to think that you would have honnoured me soe far as to have named me in publick among the persons you had your asistance in the work from. Not that I am any way consciouse that I have willingly misled you, but that I fear your book may be mistaken by prefixing such authority as mine to it. But to the mater in debate. I had by tradition, and till of late I thought that Mr Fleeming had said that the MSS. he soe oblidgingly presented to us was the Reformers oun hand; and the occasion of the mistake was that Mr F[leming]'s letter that came along with the present had never come to my knowledge, and my informers, quhom I had noe ground to suspect, had mistaken Knox the Reformer for Knox younger of Melros in the narration they had from worthy Mr Dunlop. He was frequently abroad, and soon removed after I came to this post, soe that I never had occasion (having noe doubt anent the thing) to talk with him about our MSS. But though I did (till by himself better informed)

<sup>1</sup> Answered October 22, 1702. Quarto ii. 48.

think that Mr F. supposed that MSS. to be the Reformers hand, yet I never supposed he made use of the loose leafe to prove this; and, if my memory fail me not, I made use of it as ane argument against its being the Reformers; and being straitned betwixt the tradition and the loose leafes evidence, I insinuat I was to write to Mr F. about it, as being uncertain anent it. If my ill wording of my mind have hindred you to take it up, I am heartily sorry for it; but if my opinion from tradition as to its being the Reformers hand from the loose leafe was shaken, to be sure the clearer sighted Mr F. would far less have made use of that as ane argument. That I had any thoughts at our first meeting that Mr F. made use of the loose leafe as ane evidence for its being the Reformers hand, I cannot perswade my self, and crave leave to suppose that my thoughts then wer only that\* he said it was the Reformers hand, quhich indeed through my invincible ignorance was my mistake. \*MS. 'the'

For your terming him preacher, and his drauing from this somthing like a disouning the Belgick Churches, & your making a grandfather to him of the Moderator of the Synod of Merse, I am not personally concerned in them. I presume to say that I am utterly against all heat on either side, and am with your self for moderation and calmness on all hands. Wer I at London with you both, I suppose I could soe far prevail as to the matter between you. I knou you are both hearty lovers of truth & candor, and I am the more concerned for your mutuall agreement that our MSS. came unsought and by way of present from Mr F., and since I expect not (at least in hast) to be soe happy as to enjoy both your companys at London, I hope for some good accompts from that place anent this, whither I suppose you are gone or a going by this time about more considerable affairs, and whither I have desired Mr Paton to forward this to you, if you be not at Carlile.

I should nou come to give quhat occured to me in reading over you[r] Hist. Library that I would have altered, added, &c., in a 2d edition—P. 41. You referr to Turners

MSS. as in our Library, quher as its only in my oun possession, & noe copy of it in the Library. P. 53. I crave leave to add to your descriptions of Orkney and Shetland a late peice of Mr Brands<sup>1</sup> printed last year, quhich I belive you had not then heard of. I would goe at this rate with notticing things not worth your while to read, but the private hand that brings is just a coming of, soe I have only time to subscribe my self, Learned Sir, your very much oblidged and very humble servant,

Oct. 10, 1702.

Ro. WODROW.

CXXI. For Mr L. CAMPBEL at Kyntyre<sup>2</sup>

D. C., I received yours from Mr Lockhart of the 21. of October, and also the former you speake of quhich was left here for me and noe direction hou to return you ane answer. I am several times at a losse this way in having noe occasion to return my thanks to my freinds for their kind letters, by either the bussiness or negligence of the bearers, who neither call for ane answer, nor leave word quher to send it. I hope you will doe me the favour of helping this in your bearers as much as may be. You desired me to cause make a box to hold your London and Holland books that are by me. I have deferred it till I let you know that your London books are in a little box, quhich I belive may doe as weel for them as another, and these in the creil will cary weel enough in it. Houever if you continou in your desing of having altogether put in a box, I shall take care to make on.

Nou I come to your last oblidging, curiouse, and instructive letter quhich I received with your kind present of the human tooth and fossile nuts, both quhich are extreamly curiouse, and are their value much heightned by your distinct and acurate accompt of them and oblidging reflections, with most of quhich I intirely joyn. I

<sup>1</sup> Brand (John). *A brief description of Orkney, Zetland, Pightland-Firth and Caithness*. Edin., 1701.

<sup>2</sup> Answered December 18, 1702. Quarto ii. 55<sup>B</sup>.

should be glad to know what observations Mr Freu<sup>1</sup> made upon the skull that this tooth was taken out of. The shape of the tooth makes me to suspect it not to be human. I have a tooth just of its shape with the same gutturs alongst it, got at Lochlomond, only its near three times as bigg. That Mr F. found it in a buriall place I cannot doubt, but I would propose this crude thought to you and him, whither it may not be the tooth of some horse or other animal, quhich might be buried with some person of quality, as is the custom of the Muscovites and some other of the Northerns, or the head of some beast that might be sacrificed at some bodys death, quhich you know was a very ancient custome. The shape seems to me to be of the marine kind, quhich augments the difficulty. That ther are and wer some persons of larger stature then others is past doubt, but such a proportion of body as this tooth would require can scarce be digested with me. I dare say the gyant would in a moderat calculation be three times my hight, the tooth being more then 3 times the biggness of mine. Allouing a proportionable thickness, he must have been a good jolly fellow. If the skull shall be found to have been proportionable he must have been a mere dunse, if the maxime hold treu that half witted people and fools have great heads. I shall be glad to be helped out of all thir difficultys by quhat further accompt you can get of Mr Freus observations, and your peircing reflections on them. I suppose all the declention of human stature by luxury we can allow will not be sufficient to solve this. Your own curiosity noe doubt will suggest that you enquire into the antiquity of that buriall place, the depth of the earth it was found in, quhich varied in different ages, if ther wer any ashes or other large bones found by it, &c.

Befor we leave this ossiouse subject I must acquaint you with a relation I had lately from Mr And. Rodgers<sup>2</sup> of a woman in his paroch within these 7 or 8 years, that against

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<sup>1</sup> Campbell calls him: 'Matthew Frew in Kilwinning, a famed ingenier for cole works, now in this country as undertaker in the building of some bridges.'

<sup>2</sup> Minister of Galston. *Fasti*, iii. 40.



she reached 80 years lost all her teeth, and continued soe for some years, and quhen near 90 got a compleat case of neu teeth, and soe literally verified the proverb : old folk are twice bairns. The person Mr R. kneu, so ther is no ground to doubt of the thing. Whither it may give any light to your tooth I leave you to determine. If all concurring circumstances of the chaft and skull shall make yours human, I knou not but the same reviviscent vertue that gave the woman a neu case might push out one or all of some other body to the lenth and largeness yours is of.

Its high time nou to thank you for your curiouse nutts. They are pretty frequent in mosses hereabouts, but else-quher I have not found them. For quhat I yet see mosses need not for the most part be attributed to the Flood, either the universall or a partiall on, and pity its that we cannot drau their origine from Noahs flood, else by our nutts we should pretty weel determine the time of year quhen it began, about quich you knou ther is some contraversy. Houever the losse is not great. If we will not belive the plain scripturall accompt that we have of it, its but just we are misled by our oun fancys. One reason why I think most of mosses are modern is ane observation of Mr Simsons in the paroch of Renfreu, or the nixt to it. People wer digging in a mosse lately and some 2 or 3 ells beneath the surface of the ground in clean mosse (as they term it) the[y] found a sink, syre, or canal laid with stone in several places and a little bridge over it, quich plainly sheues that ther has been a road at that place, quich afterwards was covered with mosse. I conceive in most places quher ther are now mosses, ther have been woods, quich, being unfrequented, the grasse greu long, and either in the winter by rains, or by some partiall inundation or eruption of water or all three, the grasse rotted and greu into that black sort of earth we call mosse, and this encreasing evry year (the neu grasse in the spring grouing throu the old and in the winter withering and corrupting) the treas at lenth wer affected with it and had their louver parts corrupted, and soe with their oun weight and the force of the wind fell, and many yet are found ther,

and soe its noe wonder we meet with nutts ther also. But the locus natalis of your nutts will not admitt of this solution, and for quhat I yet see must, with shells, formed stones, &c., be referred to the generall deluge. And if Mr Woodward's hypothesis wer a little reformed from his unreasonable fancy of things subsiding according to their gravity after the earths dissolution to a mussilage or pot-tage, and some other sphalmata proceeding from his want of ocular observations and taking things on trust from others, laying aside these I say, I look upon it as most satisfying and preferable to either Steno,<sup>1</sup> Ray, or our friend Mr Lhyuds hypothesis. But the truth is we are not ripe for raising hypotheses as yet, and quhat ever lenth the last century has brought this kind of study, yet we want observations and experiments sufficient to found theoris on.

You see quhat a lenth your curiouse reflections have led me into, and quhat a tedious letter you brought on your self. This kind of philosophical, crude, and undigested rapsody, with my hearty thanks, is all the returns I make to my lythoscoping freinds. Pray let it not terrify you from going on in your subterraneouse searches, but rather goe on from your own ocular observations to correct my escapes and set me right.

I send you some queries of Mr Adaires, quhich I hope you will communicate with the curiouse and observing gentlemen, ministers, and others, and let me have your own and their answers to them now and then as you have occasion. I hope you will give my most humble respects to Mr Freu, and let [him] have a sight of the queries. If I knew any way to oblige him and gain his acquaintaince and correspondence, I would readily imbrace it. However I know you will happily supply this want by your own couriouse, inquistive, and communicative temper.

You see I have noe room left for neuse, and Mr Lockart has promised to give you them at lenth. I referr you intirely to him. Per nixt you shall have all that occur

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<sup>1</sup> Steno's hypothesis is given in : *Nicolai Stenonis de solido intra solidum naturaliter contento dissertationis prodromus*, Florentiæ, 1669. An English translation was published in London in 1671.

then. I have sent in 10s. 8d. to Mr Campble<sup>1</sup> at Edinr. for the expenses of your London books, for quhich we shall reacon quhen we meet. Pray let me have ane accompt of any things that wer singular at your Synod. I am, &c.,

R. WODROW.

Nov. 9, 1702.

CXXII. For Doctor SIBBALD<sup>2</sup>

Honoured Sir,

I received yours by post of the 30. of Octob. on the 6. instant with your excellent discourse on the great Buchanan,<sup>3</sup> for quhich this comes to return my humble and hearty thanks. I have perused it and compared it with Tessiers Eloges des hommes seavans tirez de l'histoire de M. de Thou on his life, and I find you have all that he has amassed together on Buchanan, unlesse it be ane accompt that he has of Nicholas Bourbon that famouse French poet, who, he says, preferred the being author of Buchanans version of the Psalmes to being Archbishop of Paris. He cites likewise Burnet in his first tome making Buchannans poem on the Dauphines mariage with our Queen to be one [of the] most perfect peices of Latine poesy. I belive ther is some errour of the printer p. 16 'Moderator seu preses renuntiatus fuit anno ætatis 1659.' I have many times heard he was Moderator of some assembly, but I could never learn any certainty about it, or any good proofes of the truth of this. I should be glad to have quhat accompt of the time and occasion of this you can give me. I should be glad to have your thoughts anent the passage Lib. 19. 'Ecclesia Scoticana subjudicatus ritibus et ceremoniis ecclesiæ Anglicanæ,' about quhich I expected somquhat in his life, either for his vindication or the sheuing him in the wronge. I want your kind help in thir 2 very much,

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Gilbert Campbell, whom Lachlan Campbell mentions in his letter.

<sup>2</sup> Sibbald's answer of December 2, 1702 (Quarto ii. 53) was printed in *Analecta Scotica*, ii. 143-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Commentarius in vitam Georgii Buchanani*. Edin., 1702.

and as to the last I expect somquhat in your Defence of our libertys and independency, quhich I am impatiently longing to see. I hope you will give your self the trouble to send it by post quhen it comes out, if another occasion offer not. I have no further to add anent Buchanans life but my fears that a set of men about you that have made it their work to misrepresent you in all your noble desings for the publick good take occasion to reflect on quhat you have in the title page 'non magis decorum,' &c., 'statuam ponere quam habere,'<sup>1</sup> as savouring of your equaling Buchanan, quhich I doubt nothing of in our history and many other things. This perhappys may only proceed from my great concern for your reputation; whither ther be any ground of my fears I leave to your self wholly to judge.

I have met with nothing here remarkable lately but a head of a securis in stone, quhich I suspect to be Roman. Mr Adair thinks its Pictish; he will give you as good an accompt of it as I can. I have just nou fallen on Sir James Turners remarks on Ophlahartys Ogygia<sup>2</sup> or Irish Chronology, of 6 or 7 sheet of paper, quhich I designe, after I have looked over it, to cause take a copy of it; and then you may if you please command my copy and look it over, and if you think it worth your while I shall cause transcribe it for you. I hope to have a line by post from you as soon as your laizour permitts with quhat neuse you have late had from the Republique des Lettres, and your further commands to Honoured Sir, your very much oblided and very humble servant,

Ro. WODROW.

Nov. 13, 1702.

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<sup>1</sup> The motto on the title page is: 'Neque magis decorum et insigne est, statuam in foro Romano habere, quam ponere.' Pliny, Lib. 1, Epist. 17. Sibbald's answer says on this point: 'Since Buchanan had no statue I think impartiall readers will construct it that his learning and his fame thereby made a statue and ornament for his country.' Wodrow's criticism is justified if the context of Pliny's Epistle is considered, but he complicates matters for himself by reversing the order of the verbs.

<sup>2</sup> The original and a transcript of Turner's Remarks are both in the National Library of Scotland. O'Flaherty's *Ogygia, seu rerum Hibernicarum chronologia* was published at London in 1685.

CXXIII. For Mr JAMES SUTHERLAND <sup>1</sup>

Sir, I had not soe long deferred my thanks for your kindness at Edinr. had I had any thing to acquaint you with worth the trouble of a post letter. This day I had a letter of the B. of Carlisle by a private hand of the 22 of October, quherin he tells me that he had sent a small parcel directed for you to my hand, quhich quhen I enquired for, the bearer gave me a letter from ane acquaintaince of mine at Carlisle telling me that he had gote the forsaid parcell from the Bishop to be sent to me, but finding a sure hand there going for Edinr., sent it streight thither. I thought I was oblidged to acquaint you with this, that if the parcell happen to miscary, and you have advice anent it from the Bishop, the fault may not lye at my dore.

I have gote litle addition made to my collection this summer, only I had the head of a securis (Mr Adair thinks its Pictish) lately brought me. It was found within a mile of this place to the westward. Its 8 inch long,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  broad at its edge, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  at the other end. The stone is somquhat singular and resembles the chone kind most, but its harder and rings like a mettall. Mr Adair will give you quhat farther accompt of it is needfull.

I had lately sent me from Kyntyre some nutts gote about 16 or 20 foot under ground betwixt 2 bedds of sand in a bed of coal slate, and a tooth said to [be] taken out of a human head, found in ane old burial place in Kyntyre called Kil-colm-kill.<sup>2</sup> Its of a prodigiouse size, more then 2 inch long & a litle more then ane inch broad, soe that if the persons that took it out of the burial place and from a human skull wer not curiouse and inquisitive persons, and assured me of its being human, I would be ready to suspect the relation.

I hope at your laizour for a large accompt of your addi-

<sup>1</sup> Sutherland's answer of December 24, 1702 (Quarto ii. 54) was printed in *Analecta Scotica*, ii. 359-61.

<sup>2</sup> Lachlan Campbell placed it as 'about 2 miles from my brother Dugald's parish church in Southend of Kintyre.'

tions to your coins & museum since I saw you, and what other accounts you please from you[r] learned correspondents. If you have any doubles of shells, formed stones, &c., you can spare from your collection, I need not tell you they would be acceptable to me. Any doubles I have, you know it will be a kindness to call for them. I am, Sir, your obliged humble servant,

R. WODROW.

Nov. 13, 1702.

CXXIV. For Mr ROBT. FLEEMING, Minister of the Scots congregation at London<sup>1</sup>

Reverend and worthy Sir,

I received yours of the 5 of November last post. You should not have had the trouble of this had I not at the same time received a line from the Bishop of Carlisle, with which I judged it my duty to acquaint you. I had in a former line told him that I was much concerned that you and he were fallen out, and should be more if it should be found I had any hand in it. I told him his mistake in representing you as proving our MSS. to be Knox's own hand from the loose leaf, and that I never dreamed you had made use of it for that end. I told him that if I was shaken in my opinion against its being the Reformers' own hand from the loose leaf, to be sure the clearer sighted Mr Fleming would never have made use of it as an argument for it; that I had told him I was to write to you about that affair, and in fine that I was against all heat on either side. The Bishop tells me that he is going to London, and that he will make it his business to wait on some of our great men at London who may bring him into the acquaintance and conversation of Mr Fleming, to whom (unless further provoked) he will return no publick answer, being in his temper and heart, as far as he knows them, for the things that make for peace.

<sup>1</sup> No answer found. The next letter of Fleming preserved is of July 30, 1706 (Quarto iv. 54), in which he writes: 'I have never yet heard either of or from the Bishop of Carlisle as to the old controversy between him and me.'

I thought it my duty to acquaint you with quhat related to you in the Bishops letter, and knowing that you are as much for peace as he can be, I cannot but expect a good issue in this congresse of two soe calm spirits. You have justly and fairly vindicate your self, and if once you wer in conversation with that learned person (if he be not altered since he was here) I am hopefull you will have a great deal of satisfaction in it, and find that ther has been more of mistake then designe in that passage of his book that relates to you.

You have laid a neu obligation on me by the good neuse you sent me.<sup>1</sup> I wish they may not highten the edge that seems to be on some among you to rescind the Tolleration Act; if the accompts we have hold, they are making good steps to it. Your fears anent the paper of our Synod are but quhat severalls here had, but I would fain hope ther may be lesse ground for them then may appear at first veu. One of the ends of that draft in their bounds was to take of a dissent that was given in at the former Synod, and to hinder a rupture amongst the members of the Synod; the ground of both noe doubt you have heard of, and it has already had this happy success to affectuat both. Another designe of it was to lenify and calm a party among us that have never joyned with the established government, because they thought the ministry had never asserted the right of the Church in any judicatory since the happy Revolution, and seemed in soe far to be on the same bottome with their Erastian predecessors. I am far from homologating with them in all this, but its the thoughts of some that more of this nature might have been done these 14 years. Houever several of the people are satisfyed with quhat the Synod has done, and come and hear.

Its hoped that it will inferr noe distrust abroad, since its expresly termed the government established by lau, and since the like was done both in K. Ja. the 6s. time 1580,

<sup>1</sup> Fleming referred 'to the successful campaign we have had in Flanders, but especially about the attempt of Vigo' (the destruction of the French fleet in Vigo Bay).

and ratified, and in his sons time. I doubt not but you have heard that the Synod of Lothian have done the same thing with ours, and its supposed most of the Synods of Scotland will take the same measures. I am sorry at the length that of Gallouway has gone. They have not satisfied themselves with an assertion of the Churches rights, but gone on to swear and subscribe not only the Nationall but the Solemn League and Covenant to the astonishment of all hereabouts. I shall not pretend to censure what a Synod has done, but I cannot but think that severall will be ready not only to charge them with imprudence, but with folly in swearing that which imports the consent of the 3 Kingdomes.

The Principall, my father, brother, and Mr Jamison give their kindest respects to you. Mr Jamison is busily answering Mr Sages last peice. Dr Sibbald has printed lately the great Buchanans life, with the censures of the learned on him, and dedicate it to the Bishop of Carlisle; and last week he has printed 4 or 5 sheets on the liberty and independency of the Kingdome and Church of Scotland, from antient records. This last peice is against the papers in the Appendix to the Bishop of Carlises Scots Library. Its very close and home. There are severall things in [it] relating to the authors Jus Regni and his Chronicle which I hope the learned Mr Ridpath will consider in his prefatory discourse to the continuation of Buchanan, which is much longed for here. I am, Reverend Sir, your very much obliged and very humble servant,

Nov. 16, 1702.

Ro. WODROW.

CXXV. For Mr A[RCHIBALD] F[OYER] <sup>1</sup>

Dear Sir,

Yours of the 26. I just now receive. I passe your insinuation that I have refused you books I had to give you, which truly I am not conscious of. But I must be content and ly under all your tart challenges, which are

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<sup>1</sup> No answer found.



fully made up by your communication of your tho'ts upon the 3 important heads you insist on.

As to usury in my own practise, my tho'ts never went much upon it; having little or no occasion to practise it, this makes me think I shall be the more impartial in what I say. At present I see no more difficulty than to lend money, if I had it, to a merchant at 6 per cent, then to send it abroad my self and get a moderate gain in the goods it should produce. The person I lend my money to trades with it, and gets advantage (you will grant) lawfully enough, and for that advantage pays me 6 per cent. I see nothing here but a mutual voluntary contract, and if the Scriptures that seem to forbid usury be not to be understood of immoderate gain, I cannot see but the[y] virtually strick against all trading. If the prohibition to the Jewes be illimited (which I do not incline to think) there are, you know, peculiar reasons from the constitution of their government, brought by those that are on the affirmative for this. And if the Lord permitted usury from strangers, it seems to say that the reason of the prohibition to the Jewes themselves was from somewhat peculiar in the Jewish œconomy. I desire to know, if this prohibition were still binding, why we have not some plain prohibition of it under the N.T.

As to your 2d head, after [2] or 3 times reading it, I see not how you differ much from the received opinion anent admission to the Lords table, except in the matter of right, of which just now you allow that nothing can debar from the sacrament but scandal and ignorance in foro soli. So do all. You say its said the childrens bread is not to be given to dogs, and you agree that without a frame suitable none should approach, which is much the same. The only difference is that you make the person judge of his inward qualifications, & there is none that I know of will pretend to judge of another mans frame, but only of his knowledge and freedom from scandal. Now as to the right to communicate, I would never differ from any on the account of words. If by right you mean that which comes under mens cognizance, I yield to you that

all baptized persons that have knowledge and are free from scandal have this right ; that is to say a minister cannot weel hold them back ; and yet ther is one case that occurs quherin I think this will scarce hold. I suppose a person is lately guilty of some great sin only knouen to the minister and himself, quhich to reveal would prove a scandal. The minister deals with his conscience, finds him obdured and unconcerned. He is not bound to discover it, since only they two knou of it. Ther he justly rests. In the meanwhile the unconcerned person seeks a token. I humbly think in that case you would not give him one. But to return, I suppose this right that is outward is only catachrestically soe called, & the only proper right is inward, proceeding from a real interest in the covenant, one of the seals of quhich the Sacrament is. Nou ministers can have no infallible assurance of another mans want of a right, if he have knowledge and ane outward blamless conversation. Upon the whole I doe not see the use of your distinction about your right and frame in your examination, for I conceive you cannot have a frame unless you be in a state of grace, and your state is still the first thing to be looked to ; and the sense of a right to communicate to me seems to flou from a discovery of a good state and a good frame jointly ; and if we want either, I cannot see quhat clearness we can have to communicate. Yet I am farr from thinking that a *πληροφορία* is required here. I suppose we are to think on the louest marks of grace, and the easiest evidences of the presentt exercise of it (quhich I take to be a frame) and quhen our hopes that we are in a good state & in exercise of grace are greater then our scruples and fears, tho they doe not dispell them, I think we shold come to the table to get our doubts scattered by appending the seal.

This is quhat occurs to me on the head, & on the whole I suppose you doe not much differ from me. You see I have noe room to consider quhat you say on the Revelation at this time, nor the question about the subordination of the magistrate to the mediator, quhich I conceive is cheifly tossed between us and the Independents. I have a doubt

hou secret sins strick against Gods declarative glory, quhich I must have your thoughts about. Markius in Apocalyps.<sup>1</sup> I have not. The Queries I have, but Mr Jamison is a[t] presentt using them in his answer to Sage, quhich by this time is a good lenth. I begg you may send me your 3 sheet against Episcopacy; if you have not another copy but one, I shall return it at quhat time you appoint. You tell me your hand is heavy, but your write is good, and your letters no trouble but a great kindness to, yours as before,

Ro. WODROW.

Dec. 28, 1702.

CXXVI. For Mr LACH. CAMPBELL at Kintyre <sup>2</sup>

D. C., I received yours of the 18 of the last moneth from the bearer with the Saint Marys nut and oyster stone. The chrystall you speak of the bearer knoues nothing off; the other two wer sealed and unbroken, soe I suppose you most have forgote to put up the christall you speak of with them. I knou not hou to expresse my thankfulness for soe considerable presents as you are pleased to make me from time to time of quhat you call tryfles. But the virtuosi would give them quite another name. I had occasion to let a very considerable person see the tooth I had last from you. He was one as much seen in the study of nature as many I knou, and his verdict of it quhen I had given a hint of your acurate and weel attested accompt of it, was that it was worthy of the best repository in Europe. You see quhat far better judges then either you or I think of your tryfles. Pray hencforth let them have a better name.

Your oyster stone is certainly curiouse, but I fear that ane infidel in naturall history may pretend that it has gote in fortuitously to the oyster quhen it has been sometime or other gaping and open, soe that I should be glade to

<sup>1</sup> Marck (Joannes a). *J. M. in Apocalypsin Johannis commentarius*. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1699. The Queries are those referred to *supra*, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> Answered February 10, 1703. Quarto ii. 59.

knou if it was lying only beside the meat of the fish within the shell, or realy included in some of the meat of the oyster & covered with some tegument or other.

Your nut is very curiouse in its kind, quhich is a rare kind of molucco beans. Hou they come our lenth is not yet agreed among the literati. Ther is a paragraph in some vol. or other of the Transactions anent them,<sup>1</sup> and its ther hotely argued whither they come to us by the north east passage, soe much in vain sought for by our navigators, or the longer cut by the Cape of Good Hope, &c. Treuly the difficultys are soe great from the ice on the one hand, and the lenth of the passage on the other, that for my own part I would either seek them grouing somquher nearer home, quhich has not yet been discovered, or bring them here by some subterranean meatus, whoes mouth may be in Pictland Firth or some other whirlpool, quhich are frequent enough in our north seas, or attribute them to the general flood, since quhich they may have been preserved in the bouels of the earth and through time washed out. But enough of this ravery. Let me have all the vertues that this nutt has among you : some truth is somtimes to be gote out of the heap of traditions & idle storys that goe of such things as this. I have nothing further to desire concerning the tooth but only these two gentlemens observations of the scull, and ane accompt of their assurance that it was humane.

I have gote your mapps and shall secure them with your books an get the books you desire from Mr Dicky. I should be glad to have a further [account] of the grounds of Mr Mckainys deposition.<sup>2</sup> Our Synod nemine contradicente agreed to the draught of ane assertion of the presentt established Church goverment in such terms as I think will give noe just occasion of offence. We have been

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the reference is to *An account of . . . beans frequently cast on shoar on the Orkney Isles, with some conjectures about the way of their being brought thither from Jamaica. By Hans Sloane. Phil. Trans., vol. 18 (for 1694), p. 398.*

<sup>2</sup> John M'Kenzie, Minister of Kilcalmonell and Kilberry. *Fasti*, iii. 58. Campbell says he was deposed 'for levity, heterodoxy, ignorance, etc.'

followed by most of the Synods in the kingdome—Edinr., Galloway, Dumfrice, Fife, Stirling, &c. I heare at first they made a mighty noise at London, but I hope its nou much over. The best lauers of the kingdome have been consulted, and approved of it, and among us it has entirely healed the differences among our selves, and severall of the wild people are satisfyed and coming in. I hear the Assembly is to sitt & its said Tarbet is to be Commissioner.

Things look very dark with respect to the Dissenters in England. The Act against occasionall communicating is with great difficulty passed the Lords, only by a vote or two, with some small amendments. The Toree party cary all. The verses in the dialogue between Pasquin and Marforio<sup>1</sup> are by some thought to be calculate for this juncture

PASQ. I can make it out  
That tho 500 used to sit and vote  
(At least 400 senatours and odd)  
Theyr nou reduced to four.

MAR. To 4 ?

PASQ. To 4 indeed,  
One M., one S., two H. H. and noe more  
The nation represents, and thats but four.  
The rest are Os and noe number make,  
Unless from these you doe the unites take.

MAR. Hou can that be ?

PASQ. If you desire to knou,  
Ned will inform you, Jac. will tell you Hou.

The 4 are Musgrave, Seymors, Harley, & Hou,<sup>2</sup> as no doubt you knou, and these are said to lead all. Quhat way they are running you will see from all their addresses to the Queen, quherin the[y] still take occasion to bespatter the last reigne. Ther was a motion made lately to resume all the grants made in K. Williams reigne and it carried

<sup>1</sup> They were reprinted in *Poems on affairs of State*, vol. 4, Lond., 1716, pp. 56-7.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Christopher Musgrave, Sir Edward Seymour, Robert Harley (afterwards first Earl of Oxford) and Jack Howe.

odds of 200 to 40 nots. It was started that it be a clause to the Committy that drau that bill that all the grants made in King James reigne be likewise revoked. It caried in the negative by a great majority. They have granted and past the land tax, their quota the same it was last year. Yesternight we had ane accompt that upon the pressing instances of the Dutch, and at the desire of the Queen, they have added ten thousand moe men, 50,000 in all, on condition the States forbidd all commerce with France even by letters, quhich all the provinces except Utricht have agreed to already.<sup>1</sup>

We have a report that the Dukes of Ormond, Devonshire, and Sommerset have laid down their places in discontent at the proceedings at court, and will be followed with moe. I shall take occasion to tell you 2 storys here that goe current of Candavish or Devonshire. It seems he is very brisk and \* bold for liberty and the established succession. Its said that for 3 weeks or more after K. Williams death ther was noe mention made of the Dutchess of Hannover<sup>2</sup> in the publick prayers. The reason is said to be that Compton Bishop of London came to court and offered faintly to change the forme of publick prayer and put in the D. of Hannover. The proposall it seems was as faintly received as proposed, on quhich for some weeks the Queen was only named, and Prince George,<sup>3</sup> and noe more till Devonshire came in to the Queen and told her briskly that evry body was grumbling that prayer was not made publickly for the declared heir to the croun. He was answered that if the Counsel wer for it it should be done, but not otherwise. The Council wer called and wer point blank against it till Devonshire rose and puting his hand to his sword said he would cause the D. of Hannover to be publickly prayed for, and let him see the person that durst avou a direct opposition to ane Act of Parliament; upon quhich it was voted and caried the form of prayers should be altered, quhich was done.

\* MS. 'at'

<sup>1</sup> See Trevelyan (G. H.), *England under Queen Anne*, vol. i. p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> The Dowager Electress Sophia, mother of George I.

<sup>3</sup> Prince George of Denmark, Queen Anne's husband.

Its further said that the Queen one day was walking in the park and turned weary & hote, upon quhich Devonshire offered He[r] Majesty his hand, quhich she took and sayd, 'My Lord, don't I goe weel?' 'Yes M.,' sayes he, 'faster thean ever your father did.'

But to return. Things seem to be in a great ferment. Tarbet carys all befor him in our affaires and has ecclipsed both Queensberry and Seafeld, who, its said, will not long enjoy his offices. Noe body knoues quhat to say of our Union. Its generally said it will break. The Justice Clerk, [the] Treasurer Deput, who are both turned off, my Lord Phesdo, and Sir David Cuningham<sup>1</sup> have left the Treaty and are come down. Our Jacobites are very high and conceive great hopes from England, and the clergy are the hiest flyers of any. Its reported that not long since ther was a proposall made by Tarbat to the Bishop of Glasgow, Paterson, by orders from the Queen, to call the clergy together and adresse the Queen and acknowledge her right and congratulate the success of the last campaignge. The Secretary assured the Bishop of a pension and of a favourable reception to the adresse. He according called them together, quher all but two wer for the rightouse heir, as they term him. Quhat truth is in this I shall not determine, but it seems odd that noe addresses have been made by these people as yet, and unlesse this be at the bottome of it that the[y] are not satisfyed with Her Majestys title, I can discover noe other reason.

Its thought our Parliament will sit, and its said that a toleration is to be given to the Episcopall clergy and some are for running higher at Court. Quhat tolleration they can have further then quhat they have had all this time, to preach having taken the oaths, I cannot see, for a tolleration of the Hirarchy and Bishops seems to be a contradiction. Its said the Bishops rents are by Parliament to be applied to the support of the clergy.

The Duke of Hamiltoun remains firm to his principles of

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<sup>1</sup> Sir John Maxwell, Lord Pollock; Adam Cockburn, Lord Ormiston; Sir James Falconer, Lord Phesdo; Sir David Cunningham of Milnraig.

liberty and property notwithstanding prodigious offer[s] made to him in England,<sup>1</sup> and Tullibardin and most of his party have left him. He has gote 30,000 £. sterling of the Earl of Mackelsfeilds estate, that is, a 3d part of it. Its thought if he continoues firm his favourers even in this Parliament will be moe than ever.

Forrainge affairs look very dark. There are great fears the Turk will fall out with the Emperour, who is extreemly lou in Italy.

By this time I think I may suppose you are wearied. I hope you will continou your care in picking up curiositys for me as they come to hand, and let me have a long line per nixt with ane accompt if your tryalls are yet over. Mr Logan and Mr Milne will be licensed nixt presbitry day. If you direct to me as before it will come to, D. C., yours intirely,

RO. WODROW.

Jan. 14, 1703.

#### CXXVII. For Doctor SIBBALD <sup>2</sup>

Honoured Sir,

I received yours of the 2d of the last moneth by post. I must begin this with excusing my self for being soe long in returning ane answer to soe kind a line. I have been these 2 or 3 moneths soe taken up with the Library accompts and catalogues and other things that I have run in a great debt with my freinds. The losse is very inconsiderable to them and particularly to you, but it lyes very heavy on my self. Houever I hope the necessity of diversion will be ane excuse.

I shall be glad to have Dodwels One altare,<sup>3</sup> if you have fallen on it. I long to see Reymers Letters to the Bishop

<sup>1</sup> For evidence that he received money from France to be distributed in the Jacobite interest, see Trevelyan, *Op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 225 and n.

<sup>2</sup> Sibbald's answer of February 1703 (Quarto ii. 59) was printed in *Analecta Scotica*, ii. 144-7.

<sup>3</sup> Dodwell (H.). *A discourse concerning the one altar and the one priesthood insisted on by the ancients in their disputes against schism.* Lond., 1683.



of Carlisle.<sup>1</sup> Pray let me knou if they be to be hād at Edinr. As to Buchanans being Moderatour, I have found it as you say that anno 1567 he was Moderator, in our copy of the Acts of the Assembly. You tell me of 3 copys of them you have seen. I should be glad to knou if they be any of them the original, or if all tra[n]scripts. Mr Sage insinuat quhen we bought ours from him that it was the only copy in the kingdome. If I could procure a collation betwixt any of them and ours I would be very glade of it.

I should be glad to have your further thoughts anent Buchanans passage anent the lyurgy. I have ane old copy of one in MSS., but its late, and ther is a prayer in it for Prince Henry and Prince Charles. I cannot reconcile Buchannan with Sir Ja. Balfours MSS., quherin I read that ther was nothing touched anent religion in the Treaty of Leith.

I am satisfied anent the passage of Pliny in your title to Buchanans Life. I received your peice upon our liberty and independency. I think treuly the book is as home and close to your scope as can be, and extreamly seasonable. I belive its unanswerable, and will serve sufficiently to quell these haters of our independency, and to stope their tongues and pens from bespattering us, till they say somquhat in answer to you, quihich indeed I cannot see quhat they shall found. In short I could wish for nothing better done on the head then this of yours. Only your dedication is thought by some to savour somquhat of a party. You represent the Episcopall clergy as groaning under heavy pressours, and feu to pity them. I shall not enter in the disquisition of the pressours they ly under, least you re-criminat and say I am needlesly discovering my self of a party. But I am sure their pressours that I ever heard of wer but flea bites to the scorpions quherwith they oppressed others. But that quihich disatisfyes these I speak of most

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Rymer published two *Letters* to the Bishop of Carlisle on his Scottish Historical Library in 1702, the first to prove the legitimacy of Robert III., the second to dispose of the legend that the 'auld alliance' between France and Scotland dates back to the time of Charlemagne. A third *Letter* was published in 1706.

is that you make that order of men the only defenders of the Scots liberty and independency, quheras it has been sheuen of late, and very pungently too, that our libertys and independency wer never encroached upon till the hierarchy was set up, and they have been tools at all times for enslaving us. And if the ancient primitive party had been continoued in Scotland that at, and a litle after our first Christianizing we enjoyed, we might have been free from all the pretences the See of York have on us. It is not knouen quhat great feats any of the clergy have done for our liberty and independency, either by mouth or pen, quheras Sir Thomas Craige<sup>1</sup> and severall other quhich could be instanced on our side have appeared very vigourously. They confesse Sir George Mckenzie, your self & some other of the layity have done much, but quhat that order of men have done worthy their being named and all other laid aside, they cannot discover. All I have used in your defence was that you used this as a strong argumentum ad hominem, and these quhom you have to do with are not of the same thoughts with the objectours.

Its not so satisfying that you have singled out Mr Dodwell to dedicate this too, a person that sends a good part of Scots to hell at one breath, of such rigide principles that his credite is run very lou among any of a healing moderate temper. To this I answer that I knou you are noe Dodwellian in principle, and tho you joyn not with him in sending the Presbiterians evry man to the place of torment, yet you value him for other peices of learning, and are obliged to acknowledge the particular favours he has done you.

You see hou free I am with you. I shall be glad to knou your mind as to these 2 points, particularly the first, quherin I my self am most straitned, and till I knou your mind further in it, most crave leave to wish you had left it out. I hope you will give me your neuse from the republique of letters, and any other that you think may be safe, and let

<sup>1</sup> In his treatise *De hominio*, of which a translation by George Ridpath was published under the title: *Scotland's sovereignty asserted, being a dispute concerning homage*, Lond., 1695.

me knou in quhat forwardness your *Historia literaria* and *Historia Pictorum* are. I am, Honoured Sir, your very much oblidged very humble servant.

Ja. 18, 1703.

CXXVIII. For Mr L. CAMBELL <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I received yours of the 13 of Ja. on the 30. with your curiouse fluor impregnated and discoloured with metallick steems quhich I missed in my last, for quhich I heartily thank you. You add a neu obligation by communicating your discoverys of MSS., then quhich nothing can be more acceptable to me. I beseech you let me have that MSS. anent the Duke of Hamiltoun,<sup>2</sup> or a copy of it at any rate. I have a copy of Mr Livingstons and his remarks on the Christians of his time, quhich ends with Mar. Meknaught. I have likewise Mr Blairs life quhich ends at the beginning of the 8 chapter. Pray let me knou if the copy with you goes any further.

I have litle of neuse to acquaint you. We had on Saturnday last Ja. 30 a preaching by Mr Jo. Hay<sup>3</sup> in Provost Bells<sup>4</sup> lodgings. The rable and some collegians disturbed them and broke all their windoues, till the magistrates and Principle dispersed them. This noe doubt will be magnified at court; houeever, a just information was dispatched nixt post. Mr Hays text was Lam. 4. 20. He made King Charles a martyr for episcopacy, and to be murdered by the sectarians. He pretended to refute a sermon of Mr D. B.<sup>5</sup> quhich he heard the sabbath befor,

<sup>1</sup> This crosses with Campbell's letter of February 10, 1703. Quarto ii. 59<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Campbell gives the title as: 'The manifold attempts and practises of the Hamiltons and particularly of the present Duke, now General of the Scotch army, to get the Crown of Scotland discovered in an intercepted letter from a malignant here in London to his friend in [Scotland]. London, May 23, 1648.' It was printed at London in 1648.

<sup>3</sup> Probably John Hay of Inchnock and Gayne, formerly Minister of New Monkland, but outed after the Revolution for refusal to take the oaths. *Fasti*, iii. 271.

<sup>4</sup> John Bell, several times Provost of Glasgow before the Revolution.

<sup>5</sup> David Brown, Minister of Blackfriars, Glasgow.

quherin Mr B. proved prelacy had noe foundation in the scripture. He said that this was ane upstart opinion, and defended by none in the primitive times but the heretick Aerius who was burnt. This last particular anent Aerius you knou is a terrible blunder in matter of fact.

I hear Bishop Burnet lately wrote down to some of his episcopall freinds here that he found the Queen was not inclined to alter Church goverment here, soe advised them to send up ane addresse for a tolleration with as many hands at it as possible. Accordingly ther is a clerical & laicall addresse gone up to court. They both desire that ministers of the episcopall perswasion may be settled in parishes where most of the heritors & inhabitants desire it. I hear the 2 Rosses, Bishops of St Andreus & Edinr.,<sup>1</sup> and severall of the leading of the clergy could not be perswaded to subscribe that of the clergy, tho Bishop Paterson and others made a great deal of use of the Queens being soveraigne de facto tho not de jure. The other addresse is subscribed by a great many hands in Fife, Stirling, and Angus shires. I hear the ministers of Edinr. consulted our freinds at Edinr., particularly the Advocat, whither they should counter addresse, or quhat they should doe. He advised them only to make strickt inquisition into the informalities of the addresse, and according they have gotte certain information, and can prove quhen put to it the forsaid contests de jure and de facto, that they made school boys under age to subscribe, made others drunk, and told a 3d sort that it was ane addresse only for supply to the clergy, and soe made them subscribe it without ever reading of it, a full accompt of all quhich is dispatched to court.

Mr Logan and Mr Mill should have been licensed this day by our Presbytery, but Mr Logan is gone to my Lord Lauderdalles family. He only wants his popular sermon, quhich I belive he will come west and deliver nixt Presbytery day. Pray let me knou if you be ye[t] licensed, or hou far you are on in your tryalls.

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<sup>1</sup> Arthur Ross, Bishop of St. Andrews and Alexander Rose, Bishop of Edinburgh.

The episcopall ministers had a meeting the night before, quherin Mr Fullertoun <sup>1</sup> opposed their preaching in toun, or at least openly. He told them this was ane incensing of the people and giving them ane occasion of making a riot. He advised them to goe out to Barroufeild and preach there. Houever they would not hearken to this seasonable advice, and some think this was done ex proposito to get opposition made to them and thus a pretence that without a legall tolleration by Parliament they cannot preach without danger of their lives. Houever the sober part of mankind here are surprized at this odd step of theirs that nou they should keep the day of King Charles death, quhich they never kept (except in one Church at Edinr.) quhen Episcopacy was established by lau and they had all at their disposall; the occasion of quhich, I suppose, was that Scots men wer slandered with the death of that prince quherupon, as you no doubt knou, its declared Act I. Par. first Charles 2. that noe Scotsman quhatsoever had a hand in the execrable murder of the late King Charles the I. of happy memory. Soe that keeping of that day universally was then thought to be a taking with the slander that Scots men had sold and killed the King on this occasion.

Ile give you ane accompt of a story that goes current among us. The Queen should have lately asked Secretary Johnson <sup>2</sup> why the Presbyterians in Scotland did not keep the day of her grandfathers death. 'Why treuly' says he, 'M., they doe not keep the day of our Saviours death or birth, yea, noe set days that are not in Scripture.' 'That is more than I kneu' said the Queen. 'I perceive its matter of principle with them and not of pick.' I am, yours affectionately,

Ro. WODROW.

Feb. 1702 [1703].

<sup>1</sup> Probably John Fullarton, formerly Minister of Paisley, deprived after the Revolution; afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh. *Fasts*, iii. 165; Keith, *Historical catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*, Edin., 1824, p. 524.

<sup>2</sup> James Johnston, son of Archibald Johnston, Lord Warriston. He was Secretary in the reign of William III. and the title stuck to him after he was superseded. He became Lord Clerk Register in 1704.

CXXIX. FOR MR LACHLAND CAMPBELL <sup>1</sup>

D. C., I received both your letters from the bearer with your curiouse shell, quhich is yet the odder that it was found in a mosse. Your elf arrou is very weell shaped. Its very hard in my opinion to determine any thing anent thir stones. I wonder to find Gordon of Straloch in his Atlas on Aberdeen and Bamfe representing them as peculiar to these bounds.<sup>2</sup> I have a great many shapes of them and many odd storys anent them. One I have of ivory, and another of agate, but for ordinary they are of flint and shaped like yours. I should be glade to have any accompt of weel attested cures performed by them. I was once in the fancy that they might be caried up from the surface of the ground by a whirl wind, and from it get that horizontall motion that is storyed of them, but our freind Mr Fluyd's opinion seems to me the most probable, that they are old Pictish, Danish, or Roman arrou heads.

As for our neuse, you will have the forraigne almost as soon as this can reach you. The French have taken Fort Keil, but seem to have given over hopes of joyning Bavaria, quho has gote a victory over Count Slick,<sup>3</sup> and killed some 100s of his men. In England the Queen has created 5 or 6 neu noblemen to cast the balance in the House of Lords nixt session. At home the Parliament is adjourned to the 6 of May, quhen its thought it may sit, if quhat they call the Country party be not over strong, and then its said it will be adjourned to Agust.

You will have ane accompt of the Assembly by some of the ministers before this reach you. Houever, you shall have a hint here to refresh your memory. The Commission, befor the Assembly sate down, took off the Synod of Fife's

<sup>1</sup> No answer found.

<sup>2</sup> In Blaeu's *Geographia*, vol. 6, Amstelaedami, 1662, p. 104: 'Lapilli genus his locis peculiare.'

<sup>3</sup> Fort Kehl on the Rhine was captured by the French under Marshall Villars on February 10, and General Schlich was defeated at Scharding on March 11, 1703.

sentence of deposition against Mr Graham for Baxterianisme. The ground of their procedure was they found noe Act of the Church for deposing persons for any of the Arminian tenets, nor precedent. Therupon they dreu up ane overtour with ane enumeration of the Arminian errors to be transmitted to the Assembly ther to be passed to ane Act, and the sentence of deposition anexed against these ministers that vented or published them or menteaned them.

Nou as to the Assembly : Mr Williamson opened it with a very free sermon quherin he asserted the Churches pouer, the divine right of Presbitry, the inconsistency of Prelacy with the word of God & inclinations of the people, the prelates terrible persecution, the binding obligation of the Covenants, &c. Her Majestyes Letter was fair and she recommended that they should live in peace and moderation with respect to these that dissented from them in point of discipline. Their answer was drauen in comuni forma, only quhen they come to the forcited passage they tell the Queen that peace and moderation was still their principle as weel as temper ; as to these quhom Her Majesty was pleased to take nottice of as differing from them in discipline, they heartily wished they differed from them in noe other thing, tho that in itself be indeed a matter of the greatest weight, yet they differed from them not only in their Confession of Faith toward God but likewise in their loyalty to Her Majesty.

The Assembly had some transportations before them, and the affair of the North and planting the Highlands before them. They drew up a very weel worded and honest adresse to the Queen,<sup>1</sup> quherin they represented their greivainces anent the growth of popry, the encroachments of the prelaticks, and the prevalency of profanity ; and another very particular and free adresse to the Councill quherin they at some lenth specify and particularize the encroachments of papists & prelatists on the established

<sup>1</sup> The Address to the Queen was printed in *Principal Acts of the General Assembly 1703*, Session 9, pp. 16-18 ; the Address to the Privy Council drawn up in the same Session was not printed in the *Principal Acts*.

Church. Quhen all this is over and they are reading the overtures 1700 & 1701 anent excommunication and elders subscribing the Confession of Faith, they are surprized with a sudden dissolution by the Commissioner in the ordinary termes, upon quhich a great many protested and many more adhered after prayers, quherin the Moderator was very free and plain. He asserted that they had mett in the name and by the authority of Christ Jesus, the only head of the Church, and they parted in the same name. He prayed God might reward the Commissioner for any kindness he had done the Church, and that he might be pardoned for his suddain and surprizing dissolution of that judicatory of Christ, and the dispensation sanctified, and its sad consequences stoped.

Ther are two things said to alleviat this fact of Seafields : 1. that he had it expresly in his instructions to dissolve the Assembly if any thing anent the intrinsick pouer wer tabled ; 2ly, that at the Committy of Overtures some (Mr R. W.) proposed that the elders might be oblidged not only to subscribe the Confession of Faith but the Act 1647.<sup>1</sup> This the Commissioner gott nottice of, and quhen in Assembly these overtures anent the subscribing the Confession some (Mr R. W.) desired they might be read slouly over again that the members might speak their mind anent them, this the Commissioner thought was said with a designe to table the addition of the Act '47, quhich he thought directly against his instructions and soe dissolved them. Some two or 3 dayes after, the Commissioner sent for Mr Wilie and some others and told them he was unhappily led into that mistake of dissolving the Assembly by a surmise that somequhat was coming in before them that would have cost him his head.

As to the rising rabble, mobb, or quatever else we term it that we had here at Glasgou on the 9 of March,<sup>2</sup> I will

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Act of February 11, 1647, which included the clause : ' That the judicatories of the Kirk be preserved in their integritie and authoritie.'

<sup>2</sup> There is an account of this riot in Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland from the Revolution to the Rebellion*, Edin., 1861, pp. 273-4.



give you my private opinion under correction. I am as much as any against rabbles and risings without countenance of lauffull authority, yet it to me seems reasonable that quhen inferiour officers of justice are out of the road of their deuty and slack in the execution of laues, its private persons deuty to remonstrate and seek for redresse, and quhen none can be had, and all proper means are used, I cannot see but the pouer of defending them selves, their libertyes, property, religion, and the standing laues of the realme devolves itself naturally on private persons, or the people. Hou farr this may be applyed to the case in hand I shall leave you to determine, after that you have considered that the Sabbath before Mr Fullartone, not qualified, had preached in Provost Bells, and the magistrates guarded them with the toun officers ; that quhen complaint was made to the Privy Councill against Mr Fullertoun as unqualified, noe redresse was gote, but ane immorall person sent west in the end of that nixt week, by name Burgess,<sup>1</sup> not qualified, to preach here to a feu mostly (without breach of charity) profane persons for strife and contention (and as they themselves acknouledged, and wer accordingly instrumented on it) to be the occasion of a rable ; and, I belive I may say, 30 of the 40 there wer enimies to the Government and professed Jacobites ; and (quhich is most of all to be considered) quhen sermon was begun in the Churches, and throu the peacable temper of some the heat of the most zealouse was cooled, and noe opposition was to be made that day, and all in peace, these Bells sent out 2 souldiers they hired to cleange the streets of children and boyes that wer looking on ; these souldiers struck some of the boys and children & chased them a good way till their carrier was stoped by 2 men, who seeing they had begun the broyl, fell on them and took their swords from them, and thus the fray began. Further the designe of the reflecting part among them was not to hurt far lesse to kill any that wer in the meeting, but only to make a litle noise

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<sup>1</sup> Alexander Burgess, Minister of Temple, deprived in 1690. *Fasti*, i. 348.

(since the offence was so plainly given) and let the worlde see that they wer not to be coued into the slavry of prelacy by a shamm tolleration founded (as was pretended) on the Queens letter, but indeed contrary to our claim of right. And indeed it has allarmed all the West and put such ane edge on the spirits of peaple that the nixt Sabbath severall thousands from all quarters wer near this place in case any persons should offer to preach against lau, quhich its hoped may open the eyes of the managers of affaires about Her Majesty & make them spare any innovations contrary to the claim of right that declares Prelacy ane intollerable greivance. Nou hou farr risings of this nature against persons acting against lau, and by way of precaution, are justifiable, I leave it to better hands then mine to determine. Houever, the Goverment have seen it fitt to passe ane indemnity and amnesty of all past, and soe this affair is at ane end. I am, D. C., yours, &c.,

Ro. WODROW.

Aprile 1, 1703.

I was licensed Ja. 6. I am glad to hear you are past. We have both adventured out with the storm in our face. The Lord help us cleanly through it!

CXXX. For Doctor SIBBALD <sup>1</sup>

Honoured Sir,

I would have much sooner answered your kind letter of Feb. quhich [I] received a good while since by post, had I had any thing considerable to have acquainted you with. But nou having the opportunity of our freind Mr Cummin, I have taken this occasion to send you a copy of Sir Ja. Turners remarks on Ophlahartis Ogygia. I heartily thank you for your accompt of the Acts of the Assembly. That quhich was in the Earl of Craufords library I have nou in

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<sup>1</sup> No answer found. The next letter from Sibbald to Wodrow in the Quarto Letters is of November 11, 1707.

my posession. Its but the minutes and short abstracts of their procedure, as Mr Cummine will tell you. Ther are several other valuable papers bound up with it quhich I most acquaint you with at some other time, being at presentt soe hurried with the Library bussiness and other affaires that I cannot enlarge on them.

I have seen Mr Dodweels One Altar since my last. Let me knou if Mr Freebairns son <sup>1</sup> be yet come home and have gote one of them for me. I am heartily glad to hear of the Society of Antiquarys <sup>2</sup> among you at Edinr. Its the concern of our nation to have it continoued & I wish the ensueing Parliament would take nottice of & encourage it. I long to see Reymers two letters with your Society's remarks on them. They have happily pitched upon you to drau up ane inventory of our MSS., quhich is soe very necessary. Any asistance I can give to that or any other thing your Society is engaged in I shall with all my heart give it. I should be glade to hear who are the members of that worthy Society. I hope a litle time hence I shall be in case to give you a litle longer trouble in a line by post. I[n] the mean time I begg some accompt of the further proceedings of your Society and some neuse from your learned correspondence, and quhat ever else you shall think fitt to comunicat to, Honoured Sir, your oblidged humble servant,

Ro. WODROW.

Ap. 19, 1703.

My most humble respects to my Lord Pitmeddan, Mr Sutherland, and Mr Adair.

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Freebairn, who had been to Holland to buy books. For an account of him by W. J. Couper, see *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 15 (1918), pp. 106-123.

<sup>2</sup> W. Smellie in his *Account of the institution and progress of the Society of Antiquaries*, Edin., 1782, prints an Address by the Earl of Buchan, in which he gives a short account of this Society and refers to Sir James Dalrymple's *Collections*, Edin., 1705, as a work sponsored by the Society. Among the Sibbald MSS. in the National Library of Scotland there is 'An account of the manuscript histories recommended to Doctor Sibbald by the Lords Fountainhall and Rankilor and Sir James Dalrympell to be perused by him and for him to give a full account of them.'

CXXXI. For Mr EDWARD LHWYD, Keeper of the  
Ashmolean Closet at Oxford <sup>1</sup>

Dear Sir,

Having the good fortune to meet with Mr Thomson in this place I could not slip the occasion of acknowledging my continouing sense of your oblidging favours quhen in this place and since. I had your letter by Mr Connell, summer was a year, and I had a parcell of curiouse fossiles from Mr Sutherland last summer. I never had ane opportunity of making a return till nou. I had still thoughts of making my acknowledgments by post but I had nothing worth your postage, but after this, if any thing occur worth your while with relation to your noble designe, you may assure your self I will not spare you.

I received by Mr Thomson <sup>2</sup> a letter from our freind the Bishop of Carlisle with two of your proposalls for your Archailogia Britannica.<sup>3</sup> The designe is noble and great and neu, and wer it not to your self I am writing, I would say there is none in Brittain but you able to through it. But you knou its not my temper to incline to flattry ; only you may assure your self I will doe all in me lyes to encourage your work in this part of the wordle to the outmost of my smallpouer. I knou your freinds at Edinr., worthy Dr Sibbald and Mr Sutherland, &c., will doe their outmost there. I knou not hou many cotypes I can disperse here, but 7 Ile engage for. I hope to be in case to prevail with my freinds here for moe, but Ile take my venture of these at first veu.

<sup>1</sup> Lhuyd's answer of December 10, 1703 (Quarto ii. 69), was printed in *Analecta Scotica*, i. 339-41.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified. Nicolson says that he (Thomson) and his fellow travellers are 'members of our Universities.'

<sup>3</sup> The first volume (all that appeared) of this important work was published at Oxford in 1707. Lhuyd's letter to Wodrow of December 22, 1703 (Quarto iii. 70), is worth quoting: 'English booksellers have a method of setting persons in the coffee houses to decry any book that an author prints at his own charges, that so all may fall to their own hands for little or no consideration. This they call damming a book; and 'tis so common that very few ever escape it. For this reason I should be very glad that some quantity of these copies were taken off in your kingdome and Ireland where 'twill be indeed of much more use than in these parts.'

Your frend Mr Thomson goes early to morrou for Edinr. and I have been late with him this night, soe that I can give you litle or no accompt of any thing here almost. I have begun a sort of collection here of things tending to the carrying on of natural history of stones, shells, &c. I have gote together severall hundreds of one kind of stuff or other, but I want a help to classe them and to knou them. I long extreamly for the 2d edition of your Lithophylacium quhich you put me in hopes of.

Please to receive inclosed ane elf arrou, the only thing here I could think on that could be inclosed in my letter. I should be glad to knou of some way to convey some things to you, and then you should have any thing singular I can meet with in this country. May I begg the honnour of a line by post with ane accompt of your discoveryes or any thing you judge fitt for me, and quhen ane occasion offers, I must presume to begg your helping on my small collection here out of your rich treasure at Oxford. I could wish you would please to send me Queryes <sup>1</sup> for our Highlands, Western Isles, &c., and let me knou quhat service I can doe you here. I am sure you shall find none more willing though feu lesse able then your very much obliged and very humble servant,

Sept. 10, 1703.

Ro. WODROW.

I send not the elf arrou.

P.S. I have sent you the impression of ane old seal was lately digg up out of a grave in Tyree. Its in ivory. I should gladly knou your thought on its age, &c. I read only *Sigillum doucis de . . .*; his name I cannot read.

## CXXXII. For the BISHOP OF CARLISLE <sup>2</sup>

Reverend Sir,

I received yours of the 7 of September by Mr Thomson

<sup>1</sup> Lhuyd's Queries for the Highlands were forwarded to Wodrow by Sutherland in his letter of December 24, 1702, printed in *Analecta Scotica*, ii. 359-61.

<sup>2</sup> The letter of September 7, 1703 (Quarto ii. 66), is the last letter from Nicolson to Wodrow preserved in the Quarto Letters.

and his fellow traveler, quhom I enterteaned with such things as this dull place affords. I wish both on the accompt of the gentlemens merites and your recomendation that I had somquhat to have enterteaned them with that was worth their while. I had returned ane answer to your oblidging letter by them had they been to return by Carlisle, and nou having the occasion of Mr Paton, I could not but take hold on this opportunity of acknouledging the fresh sense I have of your many oblidging favours.

I plainly see that Mr Fleemings way of answering lyes open to reflections, but I cannot imagine that its worth the while to trouble the publick with them. I cannot but promise my self a happy issue of this unhappy difference quhen you shall discourse him upon it.

Mr Lhuyds proposalls I received with a great deal of satisfaction, being fully persuaded that he's abundantly qualified for this performance. I wrote to him by Mr Thomson and will doe my outmost to procure subscriptions here for him.

Mr Paton tells me you \* are desirouse to have ane \*MS. 'your accompt hou our publick affaires are running here. I am sensible you may have this from far better hands at Edinr., but since you are pleased to require it from me I knou not hou to refuse your commands. You knou this poor nation was miserably distracted before King Williams death with quhat they called a Court and Country party, and much grated by that unhappy bussiness of our colony at Darien. You knou quhat a lenth this division run in Queen Anns first Parliament, and hou almost half of the members left the house and questioned the legality of that Parliament, and refused to pay the cesse laid on by the part that remained acting. Quhen this present Parliament was called ther was strange work among us in choising of Commissioners, and a great many wer chosen that never took the oathes to our late King, and I think near 20 noble men came in and sate that befor had been non jurants under King Williams government. Quhen they sat doun all sober persons wer under great fears. The first thing resolved was that all business relating to religion, liberty, and trade

should be discussed before any supplies wer granted. This was caried by a great plurality of votes, and their motives wer varieuse. Ther wer many intirely on the Revolution principles that joined here out [of] a sincere aim to have the libertyes of the country advanced, and the Convention of Estates and King Williams Parliaments and consequently the setlment of Queen Ann ratified, and with a designe to give cesse after these wer secured. Others no doubt had other aims—to exasperate the Queen and imbroke us. Upon this resolve there wer six Acts presented—an Act recognizing the Queens authority, quhich was passed with a great struggle because the cause anent her administration quhich included the last Parliament was cast to it; an Act ratifying the claim of right and declaring it treason to speak against it; an Act for taking of the prohibition of wines; an act ratifying Presbiterian goverment. All these passed. But the Act of Security was the main bussiness and there both sides fought evry inch of ground. Ther are certainly many usefull clauses in it; but that of arming the country and disbanding all the officers of the army over a leutennant at the Queens death, and the clause excluding Hannover materially by declaring we shall not have the same successor with England till evry thing be adjusted anent liberty and religion and till you give us the same liberty of trade to your plantations that natives have—these are suspected to have come from the hand of Joab, and look as Monsieur had his hand in the pye. And it was remarked that ther wer about 27 members, nonjurants in the late reing, that sometimes joyned with the Court quhen they thought any thing they proposed might serve the designes for the P[retended] P[rince] of Wales, and nixt time wheeld about to the Country, as in the debate about rescinding the Act in favour of the family of the Steuarts made 1681, and the matter of arming the country. These gote the name of the Flying Squadron, such as Hume, Aberdeen,<sup>1</sup> and a great many northern Commissioners and burroughs.

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Home, 6th Earl of Home; George Gordon, 1st Earl of Aberdeen.

The Act for the tolleration of the outed clergy I shall not insist on, but I can assure you that the greatest abettors it had wer of the Flying Squadron, and I may say, and am sorry to say it, that too many of these that desired to be tollerated are knouen enimyees to the present establishment. There has been a great deal written pro and con about that head, quhich I doubt not but you have seen, and soe I may noe more of it.

Its looked on as a step of great prudence in Queensberry, for some doubt of his instructions in this matter, that he touched all the rest of the Acts but that of Security ; and I doubt not but it will gain a great many hearty freinds to the Queen. I suppose the passing of the Act for Peace [and] Warr, has gained already most part of the moderate in the Country party ; after all we want not our own fears—certainly a Frenchified party are very bussy among us, and the arming of the North is noe good omen. I pray God may continou peace and truth among us and avert our fears and deservings. I am, Right Reverend, your very much oblidged humble servant.

Oct. 4, 1702 [1703.]

You knou the hand without subscription. Receive the copy of a seal from Tyree.

### CXXXIII. For Mr ROBERT WYLIE <sup>1</sup>

Reverend Sir,

After I have as seriously as I was capable of pondered the call of the parish of Blantyr and consulted God and men for light and direction, I am nou come to this issue to return it back to the Reverend Presbitry from quhence I received it, and I have presumed to give you the trouble of it till the Presbitry meet. I thought it my deuty as soon as ever I came to any determination in this matter to return the inclosed call that I might not in the least be ane occasion any longer of keeping that place (for quhich I will ever retean a hearty respect and kindness) in a desolate

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<sup>1</sup> No answer found.



condition. I am satisfyed in this that the parish will be (& I pray it may speedily) planted with one that I hope [will] be a greater blessing and far more usefull then ever I expect to be there or any quher else. I am very sensible of the kindness of the Reverend Presbitry. I crave leave by this to return my most hearty and humble thanks. The personall obligations you have laid me under are to many to be insisted on, especially to your self, the gratefully sense quher of I shall be still ready to discover to the outmost of my pouer. I am, &c.,

R. W.

[c. Oct. 20, 1703.]

I am appointed nixt Lords day to supply E[astwood], soe that I hope the Presbitry will not take it ill that their appointment is not fulfilled. I thought to have came my self and waited on the Presbitry, but my throng of bussiness is at presentt such as cannot allou me.

#### CXXXIV. For My Lord BLANTYRE <sup>1</sup>

My Lord,

I doubt not but by this time your Lordship has had ane accompt from other hands that I returned the call of the Parish of Blantyr to the P[resbytery] of Hamiltoun. I could have wished to have been the first that had given your Lordship the accompt of this, and designed to have done soe yesterday had I heard your Lordship was in toun, and my presentt hurry of bussiness has hindered me from doing my self the honour to wait on your Lordship at Cardonell. I am very much satisfyed in this that neither your Lordship or the parish can be at any losse by this, and I perswade my self that that parish will (I pray it may speedily) be planted with one that will be far more usefull to them then ever I could expect to be to them or any other. I belive your Lordship will easily perceive that it was a great pressour to me to be involved in such circumstances as I could not shou the sense I have of the obligations I ly under to your Lordship and the family of Pollock

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Stewart, 5th Lord Blantyre. No answer found.

too. It was weighting to me to think that I should be necessitate either to disoblige the one or the other, but may I humbly suppose that your Lordship will not take this my determination in evil part, since to be sure the parish of Blantyr will sustean noe losse, and my difficultyes wer cleared up as to Eastwood by the peaples extraordinary forwardness and unanimity ; and your Lordships abode is not at Blantyr, quhich makes the circumstances alter very much. I humbly crave leave to say that quhat I have done proceeded from the forsaid reasons, and from noe disrespect for the parish of Blantyr, for quhich quhile I live I will cary a great respect and kindness for their civility and kindness to me ; and far lesse does this flou from any want of deu regard I owe to your Lordship. I hope your Lordship will not once suppose me to be guilty of soe great ungratitude, & if your Lordship will be pleased to put any peice of service in my hand for your Lordship or yours, I will endeavour to sheu hou much I am, My Lord, your Lordships very much oblidged and most humble servant,

October 20, 1703.

R. WODROW.

The tender regard I will ever bear to the Parish of Blantyr makes me presume to begg your Lordship will speedily think upon their supply, and propose some fitt person to be their minister.

#### CXXXV. For My Lord POLLOCK <sup>1</sup>

My Lord,

I received yours last week, with the affecting accompt of Mr Maxwells <sup>2</sup> illness, and on Friday I had ane expresse

<sup>1</sup> This answers a letter of December 7, 1703 (Quarto iii. 88), printed in *Letters from Lord Pollock to the Rev. Robert Wodrow*, Edin., 1835, pp. 5-6. It was answered, not by Lord Pollock, but by Robert Maxwell, whose letter of December 14 was printed in *Private letters now first printed from the original MSS.*, Edin., 1829, pp. 10-12.

<sup>2</sup> James Maxwell of Blawerthill. There is a note on him in Fraser's *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok*, Edin., 1863, vol. i. p. 432. He had married Anna Stewart, daughter of Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, the Lord Advocate. 'Mrs. Margaret' is probably Margaret Maxwell, sister of James Maxwell of Blawerthill. She married in 1706 Robert Stewart or Steuart, Regent and afterwards first Professor of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh.

from Glasgou from Mss Margret with ane accompt of your Lordships desire that I should come in. My earnest desire to have seen Mr M. and my willingness to obey your Lordships desire made me come in to Glasgou on Friday with a desing to have come east on Saturday. But quhen I came I met with your Lordships letter to Craigends <sup>1</sup> with the accompt of Mr Maxwells death on Dec. 9. After this I still continoued in my purpose to have come in to toun had not Craigends diswaded me, and further I was under a Presbiteriall appointment to supply Houstoun, Mr Fleeming <sup>2</sup> being very lou. For all this, had Craigends been soe free as to have told me of his incomming, I would have come in with him.

My Lord, this providence is very weighting to me upon moe accompts then I can nou name, and its suddenness heightens all. I knou none (excepting your Lordship and Mss Maxwell) quhom this stroak soe nearly concerns as my self, and I am perswaded it would be both needless and unfitt for me to expresse my sense of it to your Lordship. The wound is but yet green, and the losse I knou will appear the greater the longer its thought on, and that not only to your Lordships family and to me in particular but to the whole country side. I will not presume to give any alleviating considerations; it should be enough to me that the Lord has done it. I knou your Lordship is far above any thing of this kind that I can offer, but my heart bleeds for his desolate widou. Its noe small satisfaction to me, nixt to her being I hope under the kind supports of her graciouse God, that shee is in the midst of her worthy freinds, who will suggest all the supporting considerations that may be.

I designed to have come in to morrou to Edinr. to have waited on your Lordship after this sad emergent, but as yet I can fall on none to supply the parish nixt Lords day, quhich was vacant yesterday by my being at Houstoun.

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<sup>1</sup> Sir William Cunninghame of Craigends.

<sup>2</sup> William Fleming, Minister of Houston. *Fasti*, iii. 140. Wodrow's sermon at Houston on December 12, 1703, is preserved in Wodrow's MS. *Sermons abroad* in Edinburgh University Library.

If I can find any, I think to come in some time this week ; if not, Ile come in nixt week. I shall mind the other particulars in your Lordships [letter] to me and take all possible care anent them, & it is and shall be my earnest request to God that your Lordship and all concerned and particularly my self may attein to the sanctified improvement of this sad losse, and that all respectively may be supported under it. My most humble respects to my Lady and Mss Lillias and Mss Maxwell. I am, my Lord, your very much oblidged humble servant,

Dec. 13, 1703.

R. WODROW.

CXXXVI. For My Lord POLLOCK <sup>1</sup>

My Lord,

I had not been soe long in writing to your Lordship as to the other particulars in yours to me of the 7, had I not all this time had thoughts of coming in, till I received Mr Roberts line by your Lordships direction. This and the Library accompts quhich I have been taken up with this week, and the visiting of the parish quhich I think to begin on Munday, and the fears I have that my incoming might rather revive then alleviat Mss Maxwels sorrou have made me lay aside the thoughts of it, at least till some time hence. I am most sensible of your Lordships good wishes as to my encouragment in this place. I have mett with no thing but discretion among them hitherto. I had ane interveu with the wild people here : we parted peacably and in good termes, but I suspect that a litle forbearance, discretion, & visiting them nou and then will have more weight with them, then reasoning and arguments.

I am sorry my Lady is not soe punctually answered as she should be, quhich I dare say is not Mss Ponts <sup>2</sup> fault, for its most greiving to her, but the cariers are not punctuall in sending out word quhen they come to Glasgow, and

<sup>1</sup> The answer of December 28, 1703 (Quarto iii. 91) was printed in *Letters from Lord Pollock*, pp. 6-8.

<sup>2</sup> There is an anecdote about her in *Analecta*, i. 54. She died in November, 1704. *Infra*, p. 281.

somtimes one somtimes another being made use of makes it somtimes hard to find them quhen she sends in. I suppose my Lady will doe best to fix upon one person, cause and agree with him and lay strict orders on him to send out the letters as soon as he comes to Glasgow. All possible care shall be taken in time to come that things come seasonably in.

As to the coach, I sent in William Lauson<sup>1</sup> severall times, and this day was at John Giles my self. The timber work of her is just finished and he has solemnly engaged to have her ready within a moneth and at the furthest against the first of February. William Lauson does not doubt but she will be usefull to your Lordship for the country, but wishes your Lordship had a charret for Edinr. If ther be any neu fashion in the lining or any thing relating to that your Lordship desires to have altered from your directions quhen here John Giles desires to knou.

Allan Dougall continoues after the same way for the most part as quhen your Lordship sau him under terrible injections and the depths of melancholy by day and horride dreams by night. The worst thing in his case seems to me his great aversion from deuty of all kinds, and pretends he is under insupportable pain and terrour quhen he offers to pray himself, or quhen he hears the Bible read, or family exercise performed. He is much weaker in his body of late and almost still keeps his bed.

I have had severall meetings anent the nomination of elders in this congregation. In my judgment I inclyne to have deacons as weel as elders, the scripture warrant being to me as plain if not plainer for deacons then elders, and their work as plain. Yet I love not to be singular nor have any hand in innovations. I knou the elders include the pouer of the deacons and may doe their work, and since it has been thus in this presbitry, I love uniformity soe much as to come over much for it. The Session have desired me in the first place to signify their earnest desire of your Lord-

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<sup>1</sup> Admitted a burgess gratis of Glasgow in 1705 as servitor to Lord Pollock. *The burgesses and guild brethren of Glasgow*, Edin., 1925.

ships concurring with us, quhich I gave them some assurances of, and indeed they motioned your Lordship befor I droped any thing anent it. They desired me to acquaint you with the names of the rest that we may have your thoughts anent them before we goe any further, and if your Lordship knou any others that we have missed I hope you will acquaint me. They are John Jamison in Lintoch, Rob. Rouan in Byers, John Steuart, Heugh Biggart. In Eglingtouns land we are much straitned and can find none but John Faules, Jonet Muires son, and Alexr. Maxwell, ane elder in Cathcart who is coming to the Davilands in the spring. For the Shaues and that quarter of the parish they have named John Mearter, Will Niving, John King in Bogels Brigg, and John Ferguson in the Aldhouse, who is to remove to the Darnley, and for Pollock toun Thomas Lock.<sup>1</sup> The number may seem too many, but their work will be the easier, and I doubt they will not be all brought to consent. I hope your Lordship with your first conveniency will let me have your mind anent all thir by post. I shall afterwards acquaint your Lordship with my success in dealing with them and take your advice befor we come to doe any thing in publick anent this affair, that concerns this place soe much.

My most humble respects to my lady, Mss Lillias, and Mss Maxwell. That God may bear up your Lordship & all concerned in the late surprizing stroak, and make up all wants by the sweet supports and communications of himself is and shall be the fervent prayer of, My Lord, your Lordships very much oblided and most humble servant,

Pollock, Dec. 24, 1703.

R. WODROW.

By a letter from Kyntyre I have ane accompt that the Clans in the Highlands and the Isles are in great expectation of some change, and keeping great cabbals, and are weel provided with armes and ammunition. We have much

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<sup>1</sup> There is an Address by Thomas Loch 'To the parents of the children in Eastwood' in Wodrow MSS. Quarto, vol. 82 no. 6, in the National Library of Scotland, in which he states that he has served there (perhaps as a preacher) since 1681.

talking about a plott discovered by Queensbery quherin T. & A.<sup>1</sup> are concerned. I should be glad of quhat anent this and other neuse your Lordship shall see fitt to communicate.

CXXXVII. For My Lord POLLOCK <sup>2</sup>

My Lord,

I received yours of the 28 of December by post, quhich I had answered ere this time had I had any thing here worth your Lorships nottice to acquaint you with. I have with all caution enquired as to R. Rouand his being ane elder in Mr Fishers time <sup>3</sup> and find that none mind it here. I should be glad to knou whither your Lordship enclyne to have the names of these I mentioned in my last read out and their edict served befor your Lordship come west, or since its so near, to have it delayed till March. I find them all somquhat stiffe, but I hope most will be at lenth broken.

Allan Dougall continoues just as befor and all I can say cannot prevail with him to perform deuty. He has some dayes since made a kind of testament quhich quhen I was last with [him] he would needs let me see. He constitutes his wife executrix of it with advice of your Lordship and leaves all to William, Allain, John Jamisons, & [George] Maxwell to be divided among them as your Lordship finds them deserving.

I received yours of the 24. yesterday between sermons from a servant of Major Pollocks.<sup>4</sup> The coach in Giles hand is nou in a good forwardness and nothing is to doe

<sup>1</sup> Tullibardine and Atholl. This refers to the Scotch plot, revealed by the double-dealing Simon Fraser of Lovat, which led to Queensberry's dismissal. Trevelyan, *England under Queen Anne*, ii. 237-40.

<sup>2</sup> The answer of January 24, 1704 (Quarto iii. 94) was printed in *Letters from Lord Pollock*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>3</sup> The suggestion is that he would be tainted with Episcopacy if he had been an elder in the ministry of William Fisher, the Episcopal Minister of Eastwood, who was outed after the Revolution.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Pollock of that Ilk, created Baronet on November 30, 1703. He gained his commission as Major in 1694. On September 15, 1703, he is named Major of a troop in the Earl of Hyndford's Dragoons, raised on the accession of Queen Anne. Dalton, *English army lists and commission registers 1661-1714*, iv. 47, v. 208.

but painting and covering her sides with leather. In 6 or 8 dayes she will be finished. There is noe wood here fitt for her perch soe your Lordship did best to cause speak for one att Edinr. Some things in her carriage will be needfull to be seen to quhen the perch is put in that cannot [be] helped here, and her glasses likewise, soe your Lordship may according order the time of calling for her. I have spoken to Andreu Sheilds and David Kennedy,<sup>1</sup> and all care will be taken in both the particulars.

The Colledge and Toun of Glasgou are intirely agreed by the magistrates putting through a proclamation discharging any to enter the Colledge with armes, and the masters extruding Carmichaell the author of all.<sup>2</sup> I hear nothing but John Maxwell<sup>3</sup> is abundantly orderly and profites tollerably. I have seen him twice of late and he shall want noe help nor advice I can give him. I thank your Lordship for your neuse. Our clans are yet very crouse and bigg in their hopes & told [I am told ?] lately since the taking of the Frazers. I am, My Lord, yours, &c.

Jan., 1704.

#### CXXXVIII. For My Lord POLLOCK<sup>4</sup>

My Lord,

I thought it my deuty by this post to acquaint your Lordship of the death of Allan Dougall; he removed yesterday in the morning. He raved all the last week and laid speech on Teusday morning. His terrours quite left

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Schiells was admitted a burges gratis of Glasgow in 1707 as servant to Lord Pollock. David Kennedy, wright, was admitted burges and guild brother in 1703. *Op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> For this riot see 'Minut of the meeting between the Magistrates and Masters of the College on occasion of the last tumult Jan. 5, 1704.' *Munimenta*, ii. 380-2. There are two students named Carmichael in the Matriculation lists for this period: John Carmichael entered in 1701 and Andrew Carmichael in 1703. *Munimenta*, iii. 173, 176.

<sup>3</sup> There is a John Maxwell entered as a student at Glasgow in 1702. *Munimenta*, iii. 176. The John Maxwell referred to is probably the brother of James Maxwell of Blawerthill. He succeeded Lord Pollock in his estates and his baronetcy in 1732. Fraser (Sir W.), *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok*, i. 94.

<sup>4</sup> No answer found.



him befor he took this delirium. I told your Lordship in my last somquhat of the tenour of the testament he has made. George Maxwell is at presentt absent seing some freinds (as they say) in the south. It is surmized ther may be heats and differences between the other 3, and Kath. Anderson <sup>1</sup> its said favours Allan Jamison and has disposed some of the money in cash to him. I cannot be positive in this but have it only by information. I thought it best to acquaint your Lordship with Allains death that if your Lordship see any thing fitt to be ordered anent his affairs before your home coming, it may be done.

I received a line from Mr Robert last post quherin he signifies your Lordships desire that the coach may come in against Wendsday or Thursday nixt. All care shall be taken to have it ready against then. Its not yet painted out and the collours most have some time to dry, soe that perhaps it may be Fridays night before it can come in, though Giles assures me of it against Munday's night nixt. Houever it will certainly be in sometime the nixt week. William desires your Lordship may order the pearch to be looked out and provided against he come in, if your Lordship think fitt.

I have nothing singular to acquaint your Lordship from this place. Allain is to be buried to morrou. On Teusday or Wendsday last one John — a rich maltman in Glasgow fell over a stair head and broke his neck and dyed in a minute. By a letter from Fort William <sup>2</sup> I have accompt they have taken one Father Monroe <sup>3</sup> a Jesuite of

<sup>1</sup> Widow of Allan Dougall.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to a letter from William Brodie of January 24, 1704 (Quarto iii. 100), printed in *Analecta Scotica*, i. 62-5. In his next letter of March 6, 1704 (Quarto iii. 102), Brodie reports that Father Monro has since died.

<sup>3</sup> This appears to be 'Robertus Monro Rossensis' who was entered as a student of the Scots College at Rome in 1668. The entry continues: '13 Aprilis 1671 profectus est ad missionem ubi fuit multis annis et ibi febre laborans a militibus dum ad carcerem ducebatur in itinere mortuus est.' *Records of the Scots Colleges*, Aberdeen, New Spalding Club, 1906, i. 118. He could hardly have been titular Archbishop of Glasgow then when there was no such office. The leading Scottish Catholic official at this time was Thomas Nicholson, appointed Vicar Apostolic of Scotland in 1694. Brady, *Episcopal succession*, iii. 456-7.

63. years and titular Archbishop of Glasgow, and another preist. My most humble respects to my Lady & Mss Lillias. I am, My Lord, &c.

Feb. 18, 1704.

CXXXIX. For My Lord ADVOCAT <sup>1</sup>

My Lord,

I have sent in this expresse to acquaint you with your sister My Lady Pollock her illness. I referr your Lordship to the enclosed accompt writt by Doctor Baird.<sup>2</sup> I have writt likewise to my Lord Pollock quhich I leave to your Lordships prudence to deliver to him and have ordered the servant to come first to you that you may take your own method to acquaint him with this surprizing illness. Your sister Mss Lillias would have writt but she is soe farr out of order that she laid it on me, and gives her kindest respects to your Lordship. Both your sisters stand much in need of your sympathy and prayers, of quhich nothing doubting, I begg leave to subscribe my self, My Lord, your Lordships most humble servant.

June 11, 1705.

CXL. For My Lord POLLOCK <sup>3</sup>

My Lord,

I know this and the incoming of the horses will be very surprizing, but we judged it fitt here to acquaint your Lordship with the case as it really is, and I hope you will not indulge suspicions that we extenuat matters. For the accompt of the desease and my Ladys state of health I leave it intirely to the Doctors line inclosed. For matter of fact knou that my Lady these 2 last dayes has compleaned much of a sore head, and the trouble in her eyes increased,

<sup>1</sup> No answer found.

<sup>2</sup> James Baird, son of John Baird of Selvadge, Minister of Paisley. *Fasts*, iii. 165; *Analecta*, iii. 59-63. Wodrow there gives an account of him which suggests that he did not follow his father in piety. *Ibid.*, 62. He was a student of medicine at Leyden in 1682, but it is not known where he graduated M.D. Smith, *English Students at Leyden*.

<sup>3</sup> No answer found.

yet noe extraordinary change could we observe till this morning between 7 & 8 in the morning she was suddainly seized with a fainting fitt and out of that fell to ane epileptick fitt and out of one into another severall times for upwards of ane hour or more. We gote out Doctor Baird and by bleeding and a clyster she has gote a great deal of ease and is much better nou about one of the clock, and hath recovered he[r] senses and speech. She is under very much of Gods presence on her spirit as appears by severall sweet ejaculations: 'O Lord my soul hath said unto the thou art my God;' 'O Lord thou art my salvation;' 'Why art thou cast down O my [Soul], I shall yet hope in God.' And quhen we ask hou she is she answers 'waiting and hoping.' I hope your Lordship will not disorder your self by too hasty coming west, for I hope the worst is by, and I trust in God that the outgate is begun.

Your sister Mss Lillias and the Lady Hartwood<sup>1</sup> have you most kindly remembred and begg that you may not wrong your self by to harsh constructions in this affair, for we have given you the full accompt of it and told the worst of her case as weel as the best. I am, My Lord.

June 11, 1705.

CXLI. For My Lord POLLOCK at Edinr.<sup>2</sup>

My Lord,

At the desire of Mr Simson and several other of the neighbouring ministers at Paisley Fast I am desired to give your Lordship ane accompt that the call from Traqueir is come to Mr John & lodged in his hands.<sup>3</sup> Mr Simson is in

<sup>1</sup> I cannot find who was Laird of Hartwood at this time but James Stuart of Hartwood was Commissioner of Militia for Lanarkshire in 1689, and this may be his wife or widow. He was a staunch Presbyterian and was fined in 1684 for not taking the oath of allegiance. *A. P. S.* ix. 286. Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings*, 1830, iv. 46, etc.

<sup>2</sup> There are several letters from Lord Pollock in 1705 in Quarto iv., but none that directly answer those of Wodrow. This, however, is an answer to Lord Pollock's letter of July 12, 1705 (Q. iv. 23) printed in *Letters from Lord Pollock*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>3</sup> John Simson, called to Troqueer on June 21, ordained on September 20, 1705. Simson and his friends hoped that he would be appointed as colleague and successor to his aged father at Renfrew.

a great concern quhat to doe. We desire to knou quhat your Lordship would advise in thir circumstances. It will be a hard matter if Mr Simson shall losse both his sons throu the overpouering influence of J. on Dundonald. By your last to my Lady I find that he has more influence then my Lord Rosse & your Lordship can have. This with Mr Johns unwillingness to setle there without a unanimouse call makes us afraid of the issue. And this parish of Traqueir as I hear is a very desirable post. We would gladly knou if your Lordship would advise us to goe on in a call without the dissenters or delay till we see quhat time and further fair means may doe. We would gladly have your Lordships mind if your conveniency can allou by Munday's post that we may consort matters on Munday at Paisley befor the Presbitry meet on Wendsday. I[f] your Lordship direct for me, I shall have some body at the post-house to call for it, and comunicat it to the rest.

Andreu Paul desires me to let your Lordship knou that he or a frend of his would gladly take that maelin that Allan Barr in the Haggs has, and he desires to knou if your Lordship has disposed of it. I desired him to enquire at Andreu Sheilds, but he insisted I should acquaint your Lordship, quhich I have done. I wish the Lord may direct the Parliament and send us a good accompt of them. I am, My Lord.

July 13, 1705.

CXLII. For Mr GEORGE LANG, Minister of the Gospell at Loughbrickland in the County of —, Ireland <sup>1</sup>

Reverend and Dear Brother,

I received your kind letter of the 23d of July last. I wrote ane answer to your last I received in summer or harvest 1704, quhich it seems has not come to your hands. I am most willing our interrupted correspondence be re-

<sup>1</sup> Answered October or November, 1706. Quarto iv. 59. In an earlier letter of January 10, 1699 (Q. i. 48), Lang gives an account of his theological course at Edinburgh, so it would seem that he was a student both at Edinburgh and Glasgow, though his name does not appear in the records of these Universities.

neued and I hope you'll not passe any occasion you can meet with coming to this country, and if it be not the bearers fault you shall have an answer.

I was settled in this place Oct. 28. 1703 & this worthy family is no small satisfaction to me. I stay with them till my house at the kirk be finished. I blesse God for your peace and plenty. Pray let me know how you are situated with respect to the Government, the Parliament and Deputy, for we are all alarmed with accounts that the Tory party are like to make incroachments on the Dissenters. I could gladly wish to know what is become of the ministers that refused the oath last year, and if you have full liberty in your judicatories, and what you do with your delinquents, since I suppose you have no legal establishment to oblige them to compare; and let me know any singular cases of discipline you have before your presbyteries or synods, for I suppose you have no national meeting.

You see I furnish you with abundance of matter for correspondence. I have nothing singular from this kingdom to acquaint you with. Our harvest, blessed be God, is much over, and tho we have no great plenty yet I hope there shall be no great scarcity either. Our Parliament has sit long and done little. They are much divided. Yet they have agreed that the Queen shall have the naming Commissioners for a treaty with England, and D. H. went in with the Court to that vote; and they have addressed Her Majesty that the English Act declaring us aliens &c. and prohibiting our product may be rescinded before the treaty begin. I suppose after they have given the Government some respite, they may rise within a week or two.

I congratulate your marriage with that gentlewoman you speak of. I regret the loss of so many worthy ministers, particularly Mr Milling<sup>1</sup> whom I knew. My Lord and Lady

<sup>1</sup> John Milling, M.A., Edinburgh 1690, entered student of Theology at Leyden 1696; Minister of the Scots Congregation at Leyden 1696-1702; died in Ireland on June 17, 1705. He wrote letters from Leyden to Alexander Wodrow in 1697-8. Quarto i. 30, 35. He was succeeded at Leyden by his brother Robert Milling, who matriculated at Glasgow in 1698, and at Leyden in 1698 and 1706. *Fasti*, vii. 547; *Munimenta*, iii. 165; *Leyden Album*.

have you kindly rememberd. Pray give my most humble respects to the kind Mr McBride and Mr McKrakan <sup>1</sup> if they be near you, and to all our comrads and colledge acquaintaince. Worthy Mss Pont gote home to glory in November last with a full gale of assurance. Let me knou quhat neu books or pamphlets are come out with you. My father & brother give you their kindest respects. Pray let me hear frequently from you. I am, D. C., your affectionat brother and servant.

Sept. 7, 1705.

CXLIII. For Mr JOHN SIMSON, Minister at Traquire near Dumfreice <sup>2</sup>

D. Comrad,

I received yours of the 27 of the last moneth with the answers of the Presbytry to Mr McMillans greivances, for quhich I thank you. I am very weel satisfyed with them. I think they are whiggish abundantly and he can desire noe more in reason from them. This comes only to desire a full accompt quhat is become of McMillan and Hepburn <sup>3</sup> and if they be yet both preaching, and hou far they are folloued, and what the Presbytrys they are concerned in are about to doe with them. I would be straitned quhat to doe with the children the[y] baptize. If ther be any neu papers passing either in print or write pray let me have

<sup>1</sup> Alexander M'Cracken, Minister of Lisburn in Ireland. There are several of his letters to Alexander Wodrow of 1703-4 and to Robert Wodrow of 1709 and subsequent years in the Wodrow Quarto Letters. There is a note on him in the Wodrow Society *Correspondence*, i. 29, and numerous references to him in Reid, *op. cit.* vol. iii.

<sup>2</sup> No answer found.

<sup>3</sup> John McMillan, Minister of Kirkcudbright, and John Hepburn, Minister of Urr, were the leaders of the Cameronians or Society People in Galloway. The *Grievances* were printed in *A true narrative of the Proceedings of the Presbytery of Kirkcudbright against one of their number*, n.p., 1704. The Minutes of the Committee appointed to confer with 'these people who separate from the communion of the Church in the bounds of the Synods of Dumfreis and Galloway,' 1705, were printed in the Hist. MSS. Comm. *Report on the Laing Manuscripts*, ii. 101-9. There are notes on McMillan (who was the founder of the Reformed Presbyterian Church) and Hepburn in the Wodrow Society *Correspondence*, i. 51, 66. See also *Fasti*, ii. 301, 392.

them, and quhat expense you are at in buying or causing transcribe them shall be refounded to you or your order—their reasons, protestations, declarations, &c., quhat ever is a going, any thing rather than nothing. I am the more concerned in this kind of papers because I have soe many of that gang here. I knou not if you heard quhen last here of the fall of James Biggart into fornication. He is one of the most knouing of mountain men that ever I conversed with and was in some measure a father to & the chiefe manager of all their affairs in this parish. I am not a litle straitned hou to deal with him if he subject not to discipline, but I hope he will.

I have noe neuse to give you from thir bounds. I sau your parents last week; they are very weel. We ordeaned Mr Menzies<sup>1</sup> at Erskin last Wendsday. The call from the Colledge to my brother<sup>2</sup> was put in his hands Wendsday was eight dayes, and the Presbytry is to cognosce on the transportation Wendsday nixt. I suppose it will be referred to the Synod or Assembly quhich shall first sit, for the Presbytry will be but weak quhen the toun ministers are removed, and he and his quarter and the magistrates are resolved to stick by other to the last. Mr McAla's<sup>3</sup> call is not yet come.

Pray let me have a long accompt hou all goes with you. My humble respects to the Reverend Mr Vetch.<sup>4</sup> I doe not mind any other of your compresbiters I have the happiness to be acquaint with. D. Comrad, write frequently to, D. B., your affectionat freind & servant,

Nov. 19, 1705.

R. WODROW.

Let me knou if you have come to any determination about your presses, and if youl part with them, your price, and if you can get a book and a letter conveyed to the B. of Carlilse.

<sup>1</sup> Walter Menzies, Minister of Erskine. *Fasti*, iii. 193.

<sup>2</sup> He was called to be colleague and successor to his father as Professor of Divinity at Glasgow but died before this took effect.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Macaulay, Minister of Inchinnan, called to Stirling in 1706.

<sup>4</sup> William Veitch, Minister of Dumfries. His *Memoirs* were published at Edin., 1825. *Fasti*, ii. 265.

CXLIV. For Mr LACHLAND CAMPBELL, Minister at  
Cambeltoun in Kintyre <sup>1</sup>

D. Comrad,

About 8 or 10 day's since, being at Glasgow, I heard you wer fallen ill, quhich was not a litle affecting to me. I was sorry likewise to hear of your colleague the Reverend Mr Boece <sup>2</sup> his indisposition. Tho I have not the happiness of his acquaintaince yet I knou soe much of him that I am perswaded his sickness and much more any dangerouse sickness will be ane insupportable losse to you, the place, and the land. Let me therfor knou by the first occasion hou you are both. I am very impatient till I hear better accompts of you.

I have nothing remarkable from this place, and as litle from the Reipublick of Letters, for I am turned a quite stranger nou to these dominions. I here ther is a great many penns drauing against poor Buchannan at Edinr. The Laird of Wissau (Hamiltoun) is at the presse in folio against him.<sup>3</sup> Some wonder at it since he wants Latine and most certainly fight in the dark. All he knowes is his mother tongue, and makes use of the pitifull English translation. Perhapps on of his remarks may be quhat you have perhapps observed in that English author:<sup>4</sup> 'Gillespicus Comes Argatheliæ' quhich he makes 'Giles Spick, E. of Argyle.' This and some such learned criticisms may come to make a volume against Buchanan. I hear one of his remarks is founded to on his freinds translation & rule. Somtime about William the Lyon

<sup>1</sup> No answer found.

<sup>2</sup> James Boes or Bowes, Minister of the Lowland Charge at Campbeltown. *Fasti*, iv. 52. There is a vivid account of his powers of evangelical preaching in *Analecta*, i. 20.

<sup>3</sup> It was not printed, but a folio MS. 'Animadversions on Buchanan's History' among the Ruddiman MSS. in the National Library of Scotland, which a note by Ruddiman connects with William Hamilton of Wishaw, is probably the work referred to.

<sup>4</sup> I cannot find these mistakes in the translation of Buchanan's *History* published at London in 1690, so perhaps this refers to the MS. translation 'interpreted by ane English gentleman,' which is now in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. *George Buchanan: Glasgow quatercentenary studies*, p. 517.



Buchanan speaks English thus : ' The E. of Rothsay, the E. of Carrick and the E. of Cumberland ' did soe & soe, and our Scots critick is, to prove voluminously that in the days of yore ther wer noe E. [of Cum]berland long after Williams time. If the gentleman had been at Grammer School but half the time that some spend there he would have seen in Buchanan : ' Comes Rothsay, Com. Carrick, et Regulus Cumbriæ.' Such will be [the] fate of such as see with other folk's eyes. If the summ be like the earle-penny I fear he be a fool in folio. But perhapps ye may [see] through his desing, quhich is to gratify a certain family of his name<sup>1</sup> and make out its great antiquity from the name Cague. The great gun yet remains, one Crauford of Drumsuy<sup>2</sup> that I hear is Queens Historiographer. He has writt some play's at London and has gote a way of banter against all that are not Tory. I was with him accidentally some moneths agoe, but kneu not his character. He fell a bantering Buchanan at a strange rate. I had noe great mind to engage with a stranger, and yet I modestly ask his observes on Buchanan that made him banter him soe. All I gote was that his History was a rable of lyes from one end to the other, and write with a desing to retrench the prerogative, and it deserved to be burnt, and his Jus regni was treason, and he had nothing good about him but feu scrapes of verses. I told him bigg words would never stain Buchanans credit without strong arguments ; he told me he would prove him a lyar from one end to the other. I said I would belive it quhen I sau it done, and not till then, and unless he made it out that Buchanan falsified the memoires he had, he will never be a lyar ; if all he has agree with Fordoun, Boethius, and Major, and others he had access to, they and not he will be the lyars.—Soe much for this scuffle.

Pray let me have all your neuse from your freinds at

<sup>1</sup> See Addenda.

<sup>2</sup> David Crawford of Drumsoy. His quarrel with Buchanan was chiefly on account of the latter's treatment of Mary, Queen of Scots. He defended Mary in *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*, Lond., 1706, and attacked Buchanan in the Preface to that work.

Edinr. or Mr Lhuyd, if you have heard from him since I sau you. If you have gote any thing for my collection of naturall curiosity's, I shall be glad to knou. Since time & my station will not allou me to prosecute that, I am nou upon another collection that seems more proper for my presentt imployment, and that is of the curiositys, if I may say soe, or rather remarkables of Providence.<sup>1</sup> I have frequently thought it a pity that noe endeavour have been used to preserve and retreive many remarkable passages of Providence quhich might make *Magnalia Christi Scoticana*, to equall *Mathers Americana*.<sup>2</sup> Mr Liviston has done somquhat this way at the end of his life, from quhich Mr Fleeming has extracted his Appendix to the Fulfilling of the Scriptures.<sup>3</sup> But I wish some of abilitys, time, and diligence would take a scripturall methode, i.e. classe them under their proper heads fulfillings of, threatnings of, promises, answers of prayer, accomplishment of prophecys, confirmations of points of truth, or the like. And I belive this land might furnish as good materialls for this as any other place under the sun. All I am upon is to satisfy my oun curiosity and Athenian spirit, and if you have any thing of this kind to communicate it will be very acceptable. Particularly ther is one very odd story of one Nisbit, ane adulterer, that about a year since went over passenger to Ireland in a veshell of one of your name in Kintyre, and being guilty of adultery and murder, was pursued by ane apparition of a man in fire for many hours quhich left them not till they offered to throu Nisbitt over board.<sup>4</sup> I hear Mr Camble is a man of good credite and I

<sup>1</sup> Wodrow's *Analecta*: or materials for a history of remarkable providences was published by the Maitland Club in 4 vols. in 1842-3. He began this collection as early as 1701.

<sup>2</sup> Mather (Cotton). *Magnalia Christi Americana*. Lond., 1702.

<sup>3</sup> [Fleming (Robert) the Elder.] *The fulfilling of the Scriptures, or an essay shewing the exact accomplishment of the word of God in his works of providence*. n.p., 1669.

<sup>4</sup> This is referred to in *Analecta*, i. 82, but unfortunately Wodrow did not give the account there, but merely says: 'See my brother's letter.' The letter was in Wodrow MSS. Quarto, vol. 19, no. 57, but I do not know where this volume is.

wish you may enquire about it, and if you can, get me ane attested account of it in all its circumstances under his own hand, for I love to have thir things weel attested. And any other remarkable passage of Providence in any of the former heads or the like you have mett with or heard of from good hands will be most acceptable. Mr Boues I belive might furnish you with severall things of weight of this nature. Pray give him my most humble respects, and let me hear frequently from you. Any thing from you will oblige, Dear Comrad, yours, etc. R. WODROW.

Feb. 4, 1706.

CXLV. For Mr GEORGE RIDPATH at London <sup>1</sup>

Dear Sir,

I doubt not but it will be a surprize to find thir lines directed to you from a stranger, but the occasion of it was much more surprizing to me and the rest of your freinds here. Please to knou that my D. B. Mr. A. W. received yours of the 23 of Feb. and comunicated it to our freinds in concert for corresponding with you, and noe doubt would have answered you, but it pleased the Lord in the depths of his providence to lay him under sickness in the close of March. Physitians took it to be a feaver, and on the 8 current in the crisis and turn he was removed from us very surprizingly in a quarter of ane hours time.<sup>2</sup> Dear Sir, our freinds are fast hasting home, and its comfortable within a litle we shall get to them, for if we belive that Jesus dyed and rose again, even soe them also that sleep in Jesus will God bring with him. I desire among other things to learn a lesson of sympathy with others under their losses from this allaruming dispensation, and as I earnestly begg your sympathy, soe I allou my self to

<sup>1</sup> This was printed from the original letter (Quarto iv. 48) in *Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club*, vol. i, 1837, pp. 385-8. The letter from Ridpath to Alexander Wodrow, to which this is an answer, was also printed there, pp. 383-5.

<sup>2</sup> There is a collection of epitaphs and memorial verses on Alexander Wodrow in Wodrow MSS. Folio, vol. 35, no. 56.

sympathize with you under your perplexing losse of your worthy son, quhom I have heard my brother speak much of. I don't love to revive your sorrou nor encrease mine oun by insisting any further on thir heads. The Lord help to presentt work and deuty.

I judged it my deuty to acquaint you with this sad reason of our silence in Glasgou. I would have done it sooner but the perplexing thoughts and multitude of other necessary bussiness that fall in on the back of such occasions hindred me. I must oun my unfittness to keep the correspondence you wer pleased to enter into with my D. B., and yet our freinds here have laid upon me to renew their desires to you to have it kept up. Its pity a publick spirit is soe far decayed and you knou soe litle of our affaires and we are such strangers to matters with you. Things have been otherwise in our best times, and ther are severall here would gladly doe all they could to revive the old spirit. And you may assure your self of all the accompts we can give you from this part of the country and all the encouragment you shall judge reasonable.

The scene of affairs, I suppose, will be much opened before this reach you, and the desings of both partys will begin to appear. I assure you we are mightily concerned to knou hou things are going at this criticall juncture, quhen our all is at the stake, and we hope as frequently as possible to have your accompts of matters. Its greivouse to us that some of the best principled of our Commissioners are not come up, and that ther are soe feu of these that are come soe throuly acquaint with our constitution, liberty, and trade. Ane incorporating union is quhat we deprecate, ane intire union, if by it we losse our Parliament, Privy Councill is quhat we cannot goe into, for we see litle security from preliminary stipulations. If soe be, once we are embodyed with England we may soon viis et modis be soe weakned and dispirited and afterwards hectored and coued to altering the preliminaries. I wish our Commissioners doe nothing that may lay a yoaik upon this poor land, and be a step to arbitrary pouer to mount the saddle again, and I pray God may suffer them to doe nothing that

may afterwards bind up our hands from asserting our religiouse and civil libertys, and menteaning a work of reformation. I am intirely of your mind as to the absolute need at this juncture of carying on our civil liberty with our religion, & I have of a long time judged it a work usefull and worthy of you or some of your freinds to make it out that in all the alterations, ups and douns in Scotland, our religiouse properly was never levelled at but our civil rights wer overturned, and civil rights wer never overturned but religion suffered. I see severall hints at this in several papers you are given as the author of, but I heartily wish it wer done by its alone at some lenth. I am heartily sorry you have suffered soe much on this accompt. Certainly your rule is safe in the generall to judge by things, not persons and partys, but it was said by some you had not a full information of things. But I am much a stranger to this head and say noe more of it.

Mr Jamison remembers you most kindly and is sorry for the trouble you have come to on his accompt. Mr Spreul I belive has sent you his thoughts on our trade.<sup>1</sup> We have nothing in the Library that I knou of (and I kept it 5 or 6 years) on the Union except Craige,<sup>2</sup> quhich you have. I have several manuscripts anent our history civil and ecclesiasticall, quhich shall be the subject of another letter, if the Lord will.

This country is in a sad taking, in a great flame, especially the south with Mr Hepburn and one Ferquhair<sup>3</sup> that has joyned him, and the north by the encrease of popery

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<sup>1</sup> John Spreul, alias Bass-John, so called because he had been imprisoned on the Bass Rock during the religious persecutions. Wodrow's *Sufferings*, vols. iii. and iv., *passim*. He was a Glasgow merchant, author of *An accompt current betwixt Scotland and England ballanced*, Edin., 1705, the work sent to Ridpath. There is a letter from Ridpath to Spreul of August 18, 1705, in Wodrow MSS. Quarto, vol. 30, no. 154, and a letter from Alexander Shields to Spreul in Quarto 30, no. 148.

<sup>2</sup> Craig's treatise *De hominio*, a translation of which was published with a preface by Ridpath in London, 1695, with the title *Scotland's sovereignty asserted*.

<sup>3</sup> James Farquhar, Minister of Tyrie in 1701, and afterwards Minister of Nigg. *Fasti*, vi. 70.

and the prevalency of the old malignant spirit. But I belive your freinds at Edinburgh are better in case to acquaint you with these things then I, and if they should fail you may have quhat informations this place affords.

The Reverend Mr Fleeming honnoured me with some letters 2 or 3 years agoe about ane unhappy bussiness quhich I hope is nou ended. Pray give my most humble respects to him. I have feu other acquaintances at London unless it be Mr Walter Steuart,<sup>1</sup> merchant, & Mr A. Bell, to quhom I give my most humble service. Your advice about the altering the addresse is highly reasonable, and therfor you may direct for my brother as before for some time, and it will come safe to me, or for Mr J. L., R. A., J. H., J. Sp.,<sup>2</sup> and they will come safe to the hands of, Dear Sir, your most humble servant,

Ro<sup>t</sup>. WODROW.

Glasgou, Aprile 17, 1706.

CXLVI. For Mr GEORGE SERLE at the Gen. Post Office,  
London, B.<sup>3</sup>

Dear Sir,

I am nou in your debt for two, on by Mr Naismith of the 19. of Aprile, and another by post of the 27. That of the first date came last to my hand. I thought to have writt by my good freind Mr A. Boyd, but unfortunatly he was just taking his horse quhen I had the happiness to meet

<sup>1</sup> Mr Steuart, merchant, went bail for Ridpath in 1712. *Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club*, i. 375.

<sup>2</sup> In lieu of this, the original letter printed by the Abbotsford Club has 'to Mr Robert Jameson, to the care of James Lindsay at the coffe-house.' 'J. L.' therefore stands for James Lindsay; 'J. Sp.' is John Spreul; 'R. A.' perhaps Robert Alexander of Blackhouse; for 'J. H.' I cannot suggest a name.

<sup>3</sup> In his letter of April 27 Ridpath had written: 'You had best inclose in a cover for Mr Serle'; so this letter is really written to Ridpath to an accommodation address. The letters of April 19 and April 27 referred to were printed in *Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club*, i. 388-93 from the originals in Quarto Letters iv. 49, 50. Ridpath's answer to this letter, of May 25, 1706, and a subsequent letter from him of June 21, 1706 (Quarto iv. 51-2), were printed in *Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club*, i. 393-7. By an unfortunate error the editor has there described them as from Wodrow to Ridpath although they are undoubtedly from Ridpath to Wodrow. The error doubtless arose from the fact that they are copies in Wodrow's hand.

with him. I shall as soon as I can get a sure hand obey your desire, but because I suppose you may have frequenter occasions of a private hand then I have, and one more exact in such things, I would willingly receive quhat you write of from you, and I shall labour to keep to your directions. If you think my direction at the Coffehouse not soe proper you may direct for me to be left at Mr John Peady, merchant, his shope at the head of the Salt-merkat, Glasgou, and if you think fitt nou and then to alter the direction, you may somtimes direct for Mr Robert Jameson to the care of Mr Peady as before. I shall think on some other directions to furnish you with.

I should begin with ane apology for my silence ; in short, I have been these 3 weeks soe much abroad at a Synod and comunions that I could not command soe much time as to return you my thanks, and quhen I am begun to write I really knou not quhat to say. I am surprized to remarke the security, shall I say, or stupidity of all ranks in this poor country. Tho all might see we wer never at a more criticall juncture, yet noe concern, noe care. Peaple feed themselves up in hopes that tho matters should get a wrong cast at the treaty all will be mended at our Parliament. But I tremble at the thoughts of ane errorr in the first concoction. The secrecy (as some tell us, by oath) among the Commissioners looks odd, as if the Parliament members should knou nothing till they come to the House, and such fine important matter wer to be concluded or huddled over in ane afternoons sederunt. And I most tell you further that not a feu that are taken for men of sense and piety are like to goe in to ane incorporating union, and I forsee if Gods goodness prevent not, it may very easily take in Parliament. A great many are soe litle mindfull either of religion, liberty, or soveraignty that all are ciphers to a liberty of trade with you, and quhen that is granted I am at a losse as to a great many fine things they promise themselves by it, and treuly, considering we want and most for some time want established factorys abroad, since we want ships and a stock for trading in any considerable way, and quhich is worse, we

want honesty one to another in dealing, and a selfish spirit overruns all, I see noe great things I can promise from a liberty in trade it self, without both a distinct kingdome and Parliament, and better limitations then we yet have, and regulations better suited to the temper of the inhabitants and situation of the country. I have a great many melancholy thoughts of living to see this antient kingdome made a province, and not only our religiouse and civil libertys lost, but lost irrecoverably, and this is the most dismall aspect an incorporating union has to me, that it putts matters past help. Though many a time we have been over run and our civil and religiouse rights invaded, yet at the nixt turn we had them restored some way, as 1572, 1638, 1688. But nou, once lost, ever lost.

I am sensible to quhom I write and that you knou thir things better then I can ever pretend to, and perhappys may see some of my fears ill grounded, and I should be very glad to be undeceived. I find feu moving for suitable instructions to our representatives from shires at such a nice juncture; some are to wise to submitt to any light but their oun, and some to simple to understand them quhen given, and quhich is very heavy to some, a spirit of prayer in a Godly remnant is very much restrained. Quhat the end of these things will be I knou not. I just unbosome my fears to you, and your accompt of matters with you does very much confirm me in them. I suppose the surprizing turn of affairs abroad may give things another veu since your last, and I hope you will continou to give me your sentiments with all freedome. I have gote these 2 papers upon the Union you speak of. Patersons <sup>1</sup> is very dull; the essay said to be by Mr Hodges <sup>2</sup> relishes very much here. I wish he had strenthned his reasonings with more authoritys, and I long to see quhat my freind desings against the Parliament. Never was ther more

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<sup>1</sup> *An inquiry into the reasonableness and consequences of a Union with Scotland.* [By W. Paterson.] Lond., 1706.

<sup>2</sup> *Essay upon the Union; shewing that the subjects of both nations have been, by the union of the two crowns, justly intituled to all manner of privileges which the insuing Treaty can give them.* [By James Hodges.] Lond., 1706.



need of freedome and plainness then nou, and I pray God may blesse all endeavours used to open the eyes of these concerned in soe momentouse a bussiness.

You may see quhat a correspondent you have gote that can give you litle but fears and wishes, and indeed wer it not that I am earnestly concerned to have the correspondence on your part kept up, I have nothing worth your while to write. I should be glade to knou in quhat forwardness your desingned history of Scotland is, and if I can serve you in any thing relating to it. I hope you will not spare me. Quhat MSSs. I have relate mostly to that period from the 1560-1610. I have a very full accompt of the procedure of the meeting of Linlithgou against the ministers in about 30 sheets. I have Mr Will. Scot of Coupers Apologeticall narration that you see cited by Petry. I have Mr Ja. Melvils History. They contean about 50 sheet a peice. I have another anonimouse History written in these times by ane old minister, as its preface bears.<sup>1</sup> I have the Acts of the Assemblys from the '60 to 1610, and a copy of their minutes written about that time, and sevrall other papers a[nd] letters relating to the civil history, and quhich is a mixture of both, I have Anales Scotiæ a Reformatione ad obitum Jac. 6t by Mr Archibald Simson, Minister of Dalkeith, of about 50 sheet in a Ciceronian stile.<sup>2</sup> I shall leave these I have relating to after times to another letter, and in the mean time I should gladly have your opinion of the passage of Buchanan lib. 19 anent the agreement between the Church of Scotland and the liturgy and ceremonys of the Church of England at the Treaty of Leith, quhich Sage in his Fundamentall charter made soe much noise about. Begging pardon for this long trouble, I am yours most affectionatly,

May 30, 1706.

R. W.

<sup>1</sup> This MS. is in Wodrow MSS. Octavo, vol. 4 in the National Library of Scotland. A note in Wodrow's hand says that it is John Row's first draught of his History. Row's *History of the Kirk of Scotland* was printed for the Wodrow Society in 1842.

<sup>2</sup> Wodrow MSS. Quarto, vol. 13 in the National Library of Scotland. It is unpublished.

CXLVII. For Mr JOHN SIMSON, Minister at Traquire <sup>1</sup>

D. Cd., I received yours of the 26 of Aprile in the beginning of this moneth. I thought to have made you a return at Air by Mr Reid <sup>2</sup> your correspondent at the Synod, but I could not get soe much time, and since that time the comunion of Glasgou and severall other things have hindred me from answering you. Your return to my last two I have not seen. I never had one scrib[l]e from you except that quhich came with the Presbyterys answer to the querys of McMillan. D. B., our freinds are fast leaving us and we have the more need to make much of them that remain, and among many other weightyer lessons I may learn from my D. Bs. removall, I allou my self to value these he had a respect for, and my oun comrads the more, and you in particulare, and I would think my self very ungrate if I should neglect any thing came from your hand. Formerly yours wer most acceptable, nou more then ever.

R. McAlay, I fear, will not be long here and quhen you, your brother M., and he & D. Sanders <sup>3</sup> are away, I need not tell you thir bounds begin to turn melancholy. We shall never meet all on earth, as somtimes we have done sweetly. I pray God we may meet in heaven, and that in the mean time we that remain may be kept at our work, and faithfull and honest in such a dark time. And your accompts of affaires in your bounds (for quhich I thank you) tho ther wer noe more, make it a dark time.

I desire to sympathize with you and heartily joyn in your proposalls anent Mr Hepburn. I pray God open his eyes and let him see quher his ways tend. As to his fellow Mr Ferchair I knou not quhat to say of him. I am sure his practises say he is souing tares. The accompt I have of him from the north is in short that he has noe literature, that at Aberdeen he fell in fornication, and after fornication to a great deal of remorse and exercise, and this made

<sup>1</sup> No answer found. The letter of April 26 is in Quarto iv. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Probably John Reid noticed above, p. 194 n. 2

<sup>3</sup> Robert Macaulay was shortly to get a call to Stirling; Matthew Simson was Minister of Pencaitland; Sanders I cannot identify.

him acquaint with some ministers and Mr Osburn <sup>1</sup> took some notice of him and at length procured his license and 1701 he was settled at Tyre in that country; that he has still been of a divisive spirit and was making severall breaks till Mr Hepburn came into these bounds last year, and it seems he is the best man to make a breach. I add noe more but that I am, D. C., yours, &c.

May, 1706.

CXLVIII. For Mr JOHN GIBB, Minister of the  
Gospel at Cliesh <sup>2</sup>

R. & D. B., I have yours of the 18 current quhich is most satisfying. I long very much for your comrads accompt of the providentiall dispensations we wer talking of. All I pretend to is to gather together some scrap's from good hands anent the heads I named to you for my oun establishment in these truths that education and light lead me to belive but my oun heart refuses to solide practise. Influencing impressions of: I have some 16 or 20 sheet of accompts of this nature and desing as long as the Lord spares me to continou my endeavours this way, and expect your kind asistance. I had one night of the learned and worthy Mr Hoggs paper about illumination and the annexed letter about impulses, but it was quickly taken away by a freind to morrou. I looked at the letter about impulses and found it the same you wer pleased to communicate to me at Edinr., and confined my self to that about illumination that I had not seen. Both wer taken away befor I could any way clossely consider them. If you have any double of it I shall be content of one per nixt, if not don't give your self the trouble for I fancy I will gett it for the writting for to Edinr.

<sup>1</sup> James Osborne, Professor of Divinity at Marischal College. *Fasti*, iii. 362.

<sup>2</sup> This answers Gib's letter of January 13 (though Wodrow writes '18'), 1709, printed in the Wodrow Society *Correspondence*, i. 43-5, where there is also a note on Gib. Wodrow's letter to Gib of September 14, and to Hog of September 20, 1709, continuing the discussions are also printed there.

The inclosed line of Mr Hogg is very acceptable but does not fully answer my strait in my query, noe doubt only because I was to short and it may be too dark in the proposall. He does indeed materialy touch the difficulty, quhich is hou sins quhich are hidd from the eyes of the worlde, men, angells, or devils whom we don't allou to be *καρδιογνωστοι*<sup>1</sup> do loose the declarative glory of God, quhich in its notion does suppose the knouledge of others. I easily see that may strick against the divine lau that they are affronts put upon the divine omnisciency, but the Declarative Glory of God, of quhich it may be I have too narrow a notion, seems to take in the creatwrs uptaking of the divine lau and their uptaking likewise of the consonancy or dissonancy of actions to that lau and the advancement of or reflection upon the divine attributes declared or discovered in the lau by sin or deuty. If he would fully state the nature of Gods declarative glory as distinguished from his essentiall, I think it would fully clear the difficulty. And its a head I wonder noe writter in the small compasse of my knouledge has handled ex proposito or with any thing of distinctness, and I presume to say that it is a subject of that extent in its practicall influence upon the ends of humane actions as it deserves a litle of that spare time he soe usefully imployes.

I am very much satisfyed that I gave the occasion throu your kind help of his publishing his tho'ts in his letter about injected scriptur's. I am in noe case, wanting it by me at presentt, to let you knou distinctly quhat I desiderate in it. I can not but lament that I observe a great number of seriouse persons, quhom I converse, lay too much stresse upon them, not soe much as scripture but as injected precisely at such a nick of time quhen their distresse of spirit would as they think overwhelm them. I doe likewise find a sort of consolation coming along with them from a supposed sense in them quhich I cannot discover to have been the desing of the Blessed Spirit in that portion of scripture injected. I find many disadvantages in the stresse

<sup>1</sup> *καρδιογνωστοι*=searchers of hearts. Acts i. 24.

that some hereabout lay upon them, quhich I need not soe much as insinuat to the Reverend Mr Hogg or you. I somtimes think this method leads in to their eying [present ?] <sup>1</sup> sweetness in the performance of deuty quhich [goes ?] along with their injected scriptures rather then the sense of the command, and quhen thir scriptures [in] prayer for instance are withheld, they presently conclude their prayer is casten. This methode likewise tak's them off from the Scripturall way of trying their state by the marks of grace stated in the word, none of quhich will satisfy them without some injected scripture suited to their presentt distresse. I am likewise somtimes suspiciouse that several of them come in from bare remembrance, and [on] the other hand the adversary Satan, quhen they are in this methode, does play his game in bringing to their remembrance threatnings and terrible places of scripture adapted enough to their temper and constitution-sms and by these does wonderfully disturb them. And quhen I am about to insinuat that such places that are soe disturbing may be but from bare remembrance, or cast in, at least improven by Satan for their disqueit, I am answered that it may be then the comforts on quhich they depended and formerly builded on wer from the same art.

Soe that I would willingly have some such ane accompt of injected scriptures as may answer thir hazards on all hands, and some solid scripture foundation for laying stresse upon thir injected scriptures as the method by which the spirit gives consolation to his people. The generall hints this way 11 J. 49.<sup>2</sup> 'He shall bring all things to your remembrance,' 'he sent his word and healed them' doe not soe fully satisfy me. Yet I never durst vent my scruples upon this head to the common sett of exercised Christians here about but still dealt as tenderly with them as I could. If the Reverend Mr Hogg wer not perhaps to much importuned with queries by others to quhom he is under nearer obligations then to me a mere stranger, there

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<sup>1</sup> MS. torn.

<sup>2</sup> This reference seems to be wrong. The texts are John xiv. 26 and Psalm cvii. 20.

are a great many things that run throu my head somtimes I would willingly have his mind on nou and then, as he has laizour. What I said just nou would afford a query—Quhat may be the differences between scriptures coming in to a persons mind with much sweetness from a bare remembrance and these that flou from the Spirit of God, and the same e contra of threatnings? What stresse may be laid upon a promise coming in in the time of prayer to a persons mind and evry way suited to the petition he is putting up? What method a minister is to take for the choice of a neu text to his pcale; quhen several occur to him at once, and none of them unsuitable to the people he hath to preach to, hou he shall knou Gods mind? When a person or several together have had liberty in prayer with all the ordinary marks of Gods taking the suite off their hand in time of prayer anent some particular thing, as for instance the life of a freind, and yet providences contradict it and may be the freind is removed by death quhat is to be tho't of such a dispensation, and quhat are the things a person may lay hold on as evidences God will hear in a particular thing prayed for, or if there be any that before hand are infallibly certain that God will answer in that particulare? What are the differences between convictions of sin that proceed from light and education and those that come from the spirit and inward life, or deutys flouing from the one and the other? Quhat way a person shall take under prevailing scepticisme and ane universall doubting and the hurry of temptations to doubt of evry thing?

I have several other query's—about lights appearing in prayer to several solid Christians, otherwise I would not name it, anent the lau of nature, the baptisme of children of ignorant parents, and hou to cary with ignorant sinners on a death bed. But I have quite outweared you. I shall therfor put ane end to this trouble by subscribing, Dear C., yours in the sincerest bonds of affection, R. W.

Eastwood, Jan. 25, 1709.

P.S. If I can get yours from Mr Hogg transcribed it

shall come with this. Give my kindest respects to Mr Mair<sup>1</sup> and tell him I earnestly wish Brays life wer published. I wish you may send me a copy of Mr Hoggs answer to some former querys you proposed yourself, and if it be possible to get a sight of that letter he mentions in [the] peice on the Lords prayer he wrote to the wild folk, as we call them. Pray endeavour to get it. I am your &c. R. W.

The letter from Mr Hogg folloues.

Mr HOGGS Letter for Mr John GIB, Minister at Cleish

R. Sir,

I just nou received your letter conteaning a query together with ane accompt of quhat you desiderate as to the answer of one of those quhich the last print conteaned. For your query, viz. in quhat respect secret sins may be said to strick against the declarative glory of God, I could wish you had explained it, and particularly represented quher the stresse of your difficulty lyeth, and therfor I find it necessary before I can enter upon this purpose to propose some querys to you about it that I may understand quhat you particularly desing in the proposall. And 1. I would gladly knou your sense of the term 'secret sins,' whither you understand such as are covered from the eyes of the wordle & the veu of creaturs tho knouen to the person it self, or if you understand it of sins quhich are unknown to the sinner himself, or if you intend both. I am 2ly at the like difficulty concerning quhat you mean by the declarative glory of God, whither that quhich he hath declared concerning his gloriouse excellencys in his word and works and in particulare by his holy and just lau, whither the declaration in the respective cases be knouen to the sinner or not, or if you desing a declaration quhich hath reached the conscience and is knouen to the person himself. You may easily perceive that a treating of the purpose would previously require some resolution as to the premises or of quhat further might be represented as ambiguous upon the head. Yet in case you reacon it a disappointment if I should write nothing, tho I can say litle, you may take the follouing positions in a suitableness to the premises about the state of the question.

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<sup>1</sup> George Mair, Minister of the Second Charge at Culross. There is a note on him in the *Wodrow Society Correspondence*, i. 76. 'Bray's Life' refers presumably to the *Memoirs* of James Fraser of Brea, who was Minister of the First Charge at Culross till his death in 1699. The *Memoirs* were first published at Edinburgh in 1738.

Imo. Secret sins, howsoever understood, doe stricke according to their nature, degree, & aggravations against that quhich the Lord hath manifested of his holyness in the perfect rule, whither they be heart sins or such as break out to the externall act (for both may be secret and unknowen to the person himself and to others). Neither doe I see quhat difficulty in point of doctrinall sentiment can effect this matter. I doe indeed acknowledge and have had the afflicting experience that many a time sins continu secret i.e. unknowen to our selves, by reason of a sinfull neglect on our part, and this rendereth the discovery a great deal the more piercing and even overwhelming quhen they come to be knouen. And I have observed a peculiar subtilty & malice of the tentation in abusing the discovery towards the loadning of the conscience with heavy weights, as if the ignorance or inadvertance had been a judicall and wrathfull stroak, & I knou cases quherin the understanding the conduct of Providence in these matters, & a disentanglement from invidiouse characters put upon it by lying spirits and our unbelieving heorts, hath proven a field of many sharp and lasting conflicts while this burden still continued upon the mind viz. quhat strange pouer of infatuation or fascination hath possessed me that such plain and palpable evils should have continued hid soe long, for howsoever unknowen they may be before the convincing discovery, yet the manifestation quhen it comes rendereth the enormity very plain and clear as striking against quhat I think you intend by the declarative glory of God. I scarcely knou of any thing quhich throu grace proves a more usefull document of humility and caution for the future then the Lords discovering secret guilt, not only in the evils themselves, but also in the secret springs thereof, subtile contrivances, and quhatsoever otherwise aggravates the same.

2ly. As to their striking (howsoever understood) against the declarative glory of God, as before explained, I think it is plain, Imo that evry sin stricketh against it, whither unknowen or knouen to our selves or others, yet 2do its likewise manifest that sins continuing hid from the sinner stricke not (for soe long) against that quhich he knoueth of the divine declarative glory, for other wise they would not be unknowen to him in their sinfulness. I cannot represent more in answer to your query except I hear further from you.

As to the other particulare in your letter, I acknowledge that the note in the print is but short, yet it is the very same quhich you received long before the printing, and I would hope that a renewed veu of the hint would prove more satisfying. I question not the solidity of scripturall comfort quhen given by the Spirit of the Lord in a suitableness to the written word, and shall be loath to bear too hard upon the exercised person be-



cause of quhat may be his mistakes as to any particular place of scripture upon quhich he may weakly build it. Nor doe I regard the commonly received scope and meaning of the respective places of scripture if it be not the treu sense of these places, and many a time the treu sense may be farr enough from being commonly received, and will remain unknowen even to the most judicious untill the Spirit of the Lord discover it. All that I say is that the Spirit of the Lord, the author of the Word, fastneth noe meaning upon the Word but that quhich he hath made the sense of it and intendeth (may I soe terme it) in and by the respective places of the same. It is noe strange thing for scholars to waxe in their own mistakes with quhat they are taught. All that I intend is that we ought to lay the blame quher it really is and to lye open to the discovery's of these mistakes, but still abhorring the least thought of imputing any part of our darkness and mistake unto the Father of Lights. This, with my respects to yourself and yoak-fellou is all at presentt from, R. B., your cordially affectionate brother and servant. Sic subscrib<sup>t</sup>. JA. HOG.

Carnock, Oct. 30, 1708.

CXLIX. For Mr JOHN HUNTER, Minister of the  
Gospell at Ayre <sup>1</sup>

D. B., I had yours of the 17 current last week quhich was most acceptable, and the more that it is the beginning of a correspondence I soe much desired. I am heartily glad you begin at the '38. I can help you very litle as to that period from any converse that I have had with old ministers. Any thing that occurs you shall have after I have made a remark or two upon the accompts you give, and assure your self that my desing is only to drau some further light from you, and rectify anything that lyes in my pouer. That there was much deadness like to creep in I shall not much question, but I would run it some 8 or 9 years higher. I think ther was a generall reviving in the west some year's before that happy turn in the '37. I suppose you will easily grant it from the excellent sett of nobility and gentry a litle before, you will meet with many of them in Rutherfords letters, and the extraordinary

<sup>1</sup> This answers Hunter's letter of February 17, 1709, Quarto ii. 83.

love and close correspondence among private Christians. I date this from the ministry of Mr David Dickson and the generall awakning that fell out in Steuarton, Irvine, and therabout, commonly called Steuartoun sickness,<sup>1</sup> and the communion of the Shotts, both quhich wer some 7 or 8 years before the change. I earnestly begg by the way all the accompts you can recollect anent Mr David Dickson, his sayings, success, &c., and particularly whither he was the first that advanced the nou commune doctrine of the Covenant of Redemption, and your accompts of the circumstances, measure, beginning, nature, and end of Steuartoun sickness. I belive from this reviving that fell in and some other's I could instance I may lay it down as a generall remark that the most of the outward deliverances this Church, I may say the Church Christian in most places have mett with, have had a sensible reviving on the Spirits of Gods oun peaple going before them. I fancy likewise this good temper among the remnant in these years and the change it self '38. was much helped on by the prælats forcing out a great many worthy ministers from their charges in the north of Ireland, such as Mrs Livistoun, Blair, &c. The security of the prælats as to their oun setlment, their corruption in principles and practise, doctrine and discipline, quhich Doctor Burnett very candidly represents in the beginning of his History of the House of Hamiltoun, and the grouing learning of some of the Presbiterians such as Mr G. Gillespy, who wrote his E[nglish] Popish ceremonys at 22. years <sup>2</sup> old, Mr Henderson, Dickson, &c. and several other things wro't together to bring about that suddain turn.

I doubt somquhat of your accompt of Bishop Lindsay,<sup>3</sup> if it be the man that defends the Articles of Perth against Calderwood and others, as I suppose it is, tho then not a Bishop, for the book, tho full of pedantisme and ill reason-

<sup>1</sup> There is an account of 'The Stewarton Sickness' in Hewison's *The Covenanters*, i. 204-5.

<sup>2</sup> [Gillespie (George.)] *A dispute against the English-Popish ceremonies obtruded upon the Church of Scotland*. [Edin.] 1637.

<sup>3</sup> David Lindsay, Bishop of Edinburgh.

ing, is not evidence of such a dunce as your informer represents him. I have heard of Mr Bailays refusall to preach before the Synod, and yet I knou that at the Assembly '38. he was against the excommunication of the Bishops, and a favourer of their cause a litle, tho noe approver of it ; and I remember ane accompt I have heard my father give of him <sup>1</sup>—he was Mr Bailays scholer and a particular favourite quhen Professour at Glasgou. About the year 1656. quhen the differences between the Protesters and Resolutioners wer very high, my father asked the Professour his judgment anent that debate. 'Jacobe' sayes he, 'I am too much engaged in that debate and soe too much a party in the affair to give you my judgment' (you knou he was a violent Resolutioner) 'but there is all that I knou written on both sides,' and soe gave him all the papers pro & con. 'Read you closly, ponder the arguments, and be earnest with God for light to help you to make a just determination.' Afterwards in the '62, quhen that great man was keeping his chamber a litle before his death, my father went in to him and asked his advice hou to cary him self & his judgment about Episcopacy. Mr Bailay answered : 'I won't deal with you in the matter of Episcopacy as I did in that of the publick Resolutions. I have had occasion as much to consider that head as many men nou alive, and to be concerned in the affairs of the Church since Presbitry was settled, and I will say that as farr as ever I could see Episcopacy is contrary to Scripture, primo-primitive antiquity, and the real interest of thir 3 lands, and tho it doe come in I can assure it will be butt like a land flood that will fall again.'—This I the rather sett down to you because the memory of that extraordinary person is stained by some of his relations as being a favourer of Episcopacy, quhich I knou is a great untruth, tho indeed he was in a litle suspence for a time about the '38.

I shall only add 2 or 3 remarks upon this period from the

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<sup>1</sup> These anecdotes are repeated in *Analecta*, i. 21, and in Wodrow's *Life of James Wodrow*, Edin., 1828, pp. 29-31.

'38. to the '60. and soe putt ane end to your trouble at this time. 1. The Church wanted hands at that time to make a through reformation in the ministry, and because they could doe noe better, the whole of the clergy that had served under Episcopacy wer lett sitt still in their charges throu many parts of the kingdom. All that took the Covenant wer suffered to continou, and except the Bishops and some feu others, all almost wer comprehended. And 2ly, this corrupt part of the ministry was a dead weight in most of the judicatorys upon the honest party, and even in the Generall Assemblys them selves the honest ministers durst scarce lett things of any ticklish nature come to a vote, but caryed things by the force of reasoning and their influence in their charrangues in open Assembly. Ther wer feu or none of the received ministers able to reason with the Gillespys, Dickson, Douglass, Henderson, Durham, Baily, and the other shinning lights of that day. I am willing 3ly to attribute to this both the long continuance of forms of prayer in many places—thir read prayers wer continued in Glasgou till or after the year 1645—and the commone use of the Lords Prayer as a form, quhich was generallie in use till the 1649, quhen it was tabled before the Assembly, but believed to be waved and wore out by litle and litle after that. And the heights that wer run to in these good times in ministers medling soe much in the civil affairs, that I humbly think wer a litle out of their road, as for instance Mr Hendersons subscribing the Treaty of Rippen that was purly civil. 4ly, to this same cause I attribute likewise some of the heats and hights that wer runn into in the lamentable difference about the Resolutions, quhich made the great Mr Ja. Ferguson say that he indeed tho't the Resolutioners had reason and truth on their side but they had a black and foul backing, and to this same I am willing to ascribe part of that generall falling away among the ministry to Episcopacy in the year 1662, 600 of quhom you knou conformed, and the plain reason was because the ministry had never been fully cleanged.

Thus you have some of my rau indigested tho'ts on this

time, quhich I give only as ane evidence of my willingnes to satisfy your desire, if I hadd any stock of knouledge of these times, and to drau a better accompt from you of this period and that quhich folloues to the '88. with any accompts that you can recollect of the lives of ministers or private Christians, remarkable conversions, judgments, mercys, answer's of prayer, &c. in this former or succeeding periods. My wife remembers you and Mss Hunter most kindly. I hope you will write as frequently and fully by post as you can to, R. & D. B., yours in all affection, R. W.

East., Feb. 28, 1709.

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

- P. 95 n. 1. Thomas Davidson. He was entered as a student of Theology at Glasgow in 1694, and at Leyden in 1698 ; licensed by the Scots Presbytery in London on December 12, 1700 ; ordained as Queen's Chaplain to Stirling Castle in 1709 ; called to be Minister of St. Mary's Church, Dundee, in 1731 ; died 1760. He was an ancestor of Randall Thomas Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury. *Munimenta*, iii. 243 ; Leyden, *Album* ; *Fasti*, v. 316.
- P. 99 n. 2. Wickleifs Translation of the Evangelists. In the Quaestor's accounts of Glasgow University there is an entry under January, 1697 'For ane old parchment MS. being Clement of Langtouns Harmony of the Evangelists englisht by Wicliffe £66.' *Munimenta*, iii. 436. In the MS. catalogue it is entered as 'Clement of Lanthon. A book maid of the four Gospelers. [And the Finale Pistlis. Translated by Wycliffe.] 40.'
- P. 115 n. 1. Robert Birnie. Son of John Birnie of Broomhill, Minister of Caerlaverock. He and his brother James went to America as surgeon and 'sea-apprentice' respectively, and both died 'in the Indies.' *Fasti*, ii. 258-9 ; Birnie, J., *Account of the Families of Birnie and Hamilton of Broomhill*, Edin., 1833, p. 69.
- P. 160 n. 1. Hon. Robert Boyle. This may refer to Lord Tarbat's letter to him on the Second Sight. A copy of this letter is printed as an enclosure in a letter from Lord Reay to Samuel Pepys, October 24, 1699, in *Private Correspondence . . . of S. Pepys*, London, 1926, vol. i. pp. 219-25. Pepys comments on it in his answering letter of November 21, 1699. *Ibid.*, pp. 240-3.
- P. 284 n. 1. In British Museum Additional MSS. 32005, ff. 47-52, there is 'A short account of the famelie of Hamilton, copied . . . aff the principall written by William Hamilton of Wishaw with his owne hand, anno 1706.' This is not in the Bibliographical Index of *A history of the House of Hamilton*, by Lt.-Colonel George Hamilton, Edin., 1933.



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