

# THE OCCULT LABORATORY

Magic, Science and Second Sight  
in Late 17th-Century Scotland



*THE SECRET COMMONWEALTH*  
and other texts

Edited and introduced by  
MICHAEL HUNTER

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Late Seventeenth-Century  
Scotland



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Scotland

A new edition of  
Robert Kirk's  
*The Secret Commonwealth*  
and other texts, with an introductory essay by

MICHAEL HUNTER

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Note: the abbreviation 'BP' has been used throughout to denote the Boyle Papers at the Royal Society.





## INTRODUCTION

This book is about a significant but little-known episode. It presents a series of interconnected texts dating from the last twenty years of the seventeenth century, the common theme of which is second sight – in other words, the uncanny ability of certain individuals to foresee future events. This strange phenomenon was particularly associated with the Scottish Highlands, where most documented examples of it were recorded. Yet interest in it came principally from south of the Border, being initially stimulated by enquiries made in 1678 by the English natural philosopher, Robert Boyle.

Thereafter, a series of figures took up the matter, both English virtuosi like Samuel Pepys and John Aubrey – who published letters on the subject from Scottish correspondents in his *Miscellanies* (1696) – and also Scotsmen, notably Robert Kirk, a Highland minister who wrote a celebrated treatise, *The Secret Commonwealth*, which is predominantly about second sight. Kirk's career intersected with Boyle's since he was employed to produce a text of the Gaelic Bible in Roman script at Boyle's expense; it was while he was in London seeing the printed version of this through the press that he had discussions on second sight and related phenomena which are recapitulated in his book, which they almost certainly helped to stimulate. Thereafter, further accounts of second sight were written by Scotsmen, perhaps notably John Fraser, Dean of the Isles, whose treatise on the subject, published in 1707 but written before his death in 1702, is also reprinted in this volume. Also included are certain ancillary documents, notably a 'Collection of Highland Rites and Customs' which deals with second sight along with many other topics, and which also seems to have passed through Boyle's hands.

The episode is interesting from various points of view. It has significant implications for our understanding of evolving attitudes towards magic and the supernatural in the late seventeenth century. The writings on second sight represent a telling variant on the apologetic literature of the day which sought to vindicate the supernatural by retailing empirical evidence: they thus shed new light on the perceived boundaries of the natural realm in the early years of the Royal Society, and on the religious implications of this. Equally revealing is a debate on second sight which occurred in the aftermath of the episode from which these documents stem, which indicates where the cutting edge of scepticism on such matters lay: this is outlined in the conclusion to this Introduction.

Above all, this represents a perhaps unexpected episode in Anglo-Scottish relations. To English savants like Boyle or Aubrey, the Highlands seemed almost like a kind of laboratory, strange yet accessible, where data about abnormal phenomena could be collected and theories tested. The Scottish authors, on the other hand, seem to have responded to this curiosity from south of the Border by taking an interest in phenomena that had previously been taken for granted, making records

of them and speculating how they were to be explained and morally justified. It is these themes that will be explored in this Introduction.

## Robert Boyle

The starting point is provided by the hitherto unpublished text which opens the volume, the notes dictated by Robert Boyle (1627–91) to one of his amanuenses on 3 October 1678 concerning an interview that he had held earlier the same day with the Scottish aristocrat, George MacKenzie, Lord Tarbat (1630–1714). At it, Boyle had asked his guest for information on second sight, and Tarbat gave him an account of two instances of second sight that had occurred while he was in the Highlands during the Interregnum. These notes cover some of the same ground as a letter that Tarbat subsequently wrote to Boyle providing fuller information on the subject; though it was properly published only in the early nineteenth century, copies of this letter appear to have circulated quite widely in the 1690s, stimulating much of the interest in the topic that was to follow. In a sense, then, these notes represent the start of our story.

However, they have a background, and this must be sketched here. Lord Tarbat, a prominent figure in Scottish affairs in the Restoration period, had in fact been in touch with the secretary of the Royal Society, Henry Oldenburg, via his Edinburgh contact, James Gregory, in 1675. But although Gregory assured Oldenburg that Tarbat ‘is studious and curious to admiration, and I believe wold be well pleased to answer any quaeries may be put to him for any thing of our highlands or islands’, and although some extracts from Tarbat’s letters to Gregory were published in *Philosophical Transactions* in 1675, the liaison then seems to have petered out: Tarbat was not to become an FRS till 1692.<sup>1</sup>

The direct stimulus to Boyle’s interview with Tarbat seems to have arisen from a contact of a rather different sort, involving an episode in Scottish government circles earlier in 1678: Tarbat was just at this time readmitted to these after having been out of favour since the early 1660s. This is apparent from a letter sent by the divine, George Hicke, to Samuel Pepys on 19 June 1700, prompted by Pepys’s having sent him a copy of the Tarbat–Boyle letter. Hicke’s letter, which is also printed below, records that twenty-two years previously, when Hicke was in Scotland in the entourage of the Duke of Lauderdale, Secretary of State, Tarbat had recounted to the Duke and those with him one of the stories concerning his experience of second sight that he subsequently told Boyle. It may have been thus that news of the matter reached Boyle, hence stimulating him to seek out Tarbat when he was in London later in the same year.

Hicke’s letter reveals that another episode of second sight had emerged in Scot-

<sup>1</sup> Gregory to Oldenburg, 25 April 1675, Tarbat to Oldenburg, 19 July 1675, Oldenburg, *Correspondence*, xi, 286–7, 408–9. See also Tarbat to Gregory, 6 Jan., 8, 27 Feb., 4 April, 19 July 1675, Royal Society Early Letters M. 1. 69–70, 72–4; *Philosophical Transactions*, 10 (1675), 307–8, 396–8; Hunter, *Royal Society and its Fellows*, pp. 218–19.

land in 1677–8, linked to one of the cases of witchcraft which continued to be much more prevalent in Scotland at this time than was the case in England: indeed, the late seventeenth century saw something of a divide opening between the two countries in this respect, with attitudes to witchcraft becoming almost a shibboleth in the relations between them, as Ian Bostridge has recently illustrated.<sup>2</sup> This was the celebrated case of the bewitching of Sir George Maxwell of Pollok and his family, which came to trial in February 1678; Hickeys investigated the girl, Janet Douglas, who became notorious for her role in the case, as he reported in detail in his letter to Pepys. Boyle, too, took an interest in the Maxwell case: an account of the proceedings is to be found among his papers, while it must have been this that he mentioned in a letter to his French correspondent, Georges Pierre, of 16 February 1678.<sup>3</sup>

Hence, events in Scotland partially help to explain Boyle's interest in such matters in 1678. But, fully to make sense of his curiosity about the phenomenon at this point, we need to explore the background in more detail. For in fact there had been as much reason at an earlier date as at this juncture to see Scotland as a place where such strange phenomena might appropriately be studied, and plenty of informants through whom Boyle might have acquired such data: yet he had not previously followed up such contacts. He had thus failed entirely to take advantage of Lord Tarbat's contact with Oldenburg in 1675, for instance, while equally revealing is his failure to exploit a figure who would have been particularly well-equipped to expound such matters to him, Sir Robert Moray (1614–72). Moray was an important intermediary between Scotland and the Royal Society in the early Restoration period, who told Boyle about at least one natural phenomenon in Scotland, and who may have been the source of information on others which crop up in Boyle's writings without a source being specified.<sup>4</sup> Moreover Moray certainly knew about second sight, since a woman gifted with it had foretold the death of his own wife in 1652.<sup>5</sup> But there is no evidence that Boyle ever interrogated Moray about the topic as he did Tarbat in 1678.

This former lack of interest may be underlined by what is the earliest reference to Scottish second sight in an English source of which I am aware. This comprises an entry made by the virtuoso, John Evelyn, in his commonplace book, in a section dealing with witchcraft and related phenomena apparently dating from the early 1670s. It follows a longer note by Evelyn on a further strange, specifically Scottish phenomenon which was in fact to be invoked in the discussions of second sight that were to ensue, the so-called 'Mason Word', a recognition procedure which was again

<sup>2</sup> Bostridge, *Witchcraft and its Transformations*, pp. 21ff.

<sup>3</sup> Black, *Calendar of Witchcraft Cases*, p. 77 (see also *ibid.*, p. 79, on Janet Douglas); Royal Society Boyle Papers (hereafter BP) 40, fols. 100–9 (see Hunter, *Letters and Papers*, p. 66); Principe, *Aspiring Adept*, p. 204 (citing Pierre's response of 18/28 Feb. to Boyle's letter, which is itself lost). An account of the case appears in Glanvill, *Saducismus Triumphatus*, pp. 463ff. Boyle also had a MS relating to a much earlier Scottish witchcraft case, dating from 1629, BP 40, fols. 110–37, but it is not clear when he acquired it.

<sup>4</sup> See Boyle, *Works*, iv, 193. See also, e.g., *ibid.*, v, 272.

<sup>5</sup> See Loftis, *Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett*, p. 69. Tarbat was present on this occasion. I am grateful to Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart for this reference.

seen as mysterious, magical and principally encountered in Scotland.<sup>6</sup> Evelyn gives a long and revealing account of the latter, invoking Moray as well as ‘a Scotch Lady’ as his source: indeed, because early, important and hitherto wholly unknown, it has seemed appropriate to append a transcription of Evelyn’s note to this Introduction. After it, Evelyn wrote, concerning second sight: ‘That some at first view, can tell what events shall happen to any person they see: of these, some are very innocent & weake people, especially women; and such as professe they know not how it comes to them.’ Subsequently he added: ‘The old Duke of Albemarle told me he knew this to be true, in Scotland; tho at first he much doubted of it.’<sup>7</sup>

Hence, a vague awareness of the phenomenon was abroad: but the point is that, prior to 1678, this was the sum of the curiosity that anyone had shown in it. This suggests that, just around 1678, Boyle was particularly receptive to reports of supernatural phenomena in general and second sight in particular. For this, there are reasons on the English side which are worth exploring, thus helping to explain why this episode represents the start of a more sustained interest in second sight and related phenomena on the part of English intellectuals over the next two decades.

The background lies in the combination of curiosity about the natural world and deep religiosity which characterised Boyle and other Fellows of the early Royal Society, and the challenges to which this combination had been exposed during the Restoration period. This is a complex matter, which needs to be teased out carefully, and which is easily misunderstood due to modern misconceptions about the mutual relations of science, religion and magic. The Royal Society had, of course, been founded in 1660 to champion an empirical approach to the natural world, and Boyle was central to this enterprise, indeed even emblematic of it, due to his painstaking efforts to record ‘matters of fact’ by systematic experiment and careful observation.<sup>8</sup> In conjunction with this, Boyle and many of his colleagues were committed to the mechanical philosophy, in which everything in the world could be explained in terms of matter in motion. Boyle was convinced that the combination of the two led to a formula that was inexorably theistic, since through empirical investigation it was possible to observe laws in nature which themselves provided evidence of an omniscient creator.

Yet God was not necessarily limited to the ‘ordinary concourse’ of nature. In addition, empiricism could be deployed in a slightly different way to underwrite a theistic view of the world. Committed as they were to the primacy of empirical proof, Boyle and his colleagues believed that it was quite possible to establish by empirical means the reality of phenomena that appeared to be above the normal course of nature. Indeed, for all his commitment to the mechanical philosophy, Boyle found it perfectly possible to accept that there could be a level of reality above

<sup>6</sup> For background, see Stevenson, *Origins of Freemasonry*, esp. ch. 6.

<sup>7</sup> British Library Evelyn Papers JE C4, p. 24. The chief dating clue is the reference to the ‘old’ Duke of Albemarle, suggesting that the added passage followed the death of the 1st Duke, George Monck, in 1670. See below, p. 32.

<sup>8</sup> See Hunter, *Robert Boyle: Scrupulosity and Science*, esp. chs. 1, 11; Shapin and Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-pump*, passim.

nature, which might work according to principles of a quite different kind.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, in this there was a convergence between the concerns of a mechanist like himself and others with quite different views of nature, notably thinkers influenced by the Platonic tradition like the Cambridge philosophers, Henry More and Ralph Cudworth. More disagreed with Boyle on the extent to which mechanical principles were adequate to explain the workings of nature, which More insisted required the activity of a 'hylarchic spirit' which Boyle saw as superfluous: but they agreed that God might show his activity by intervening in ways that transgressed nature's ordinary course, and that these might be empirically verifiable.<sup>10</sup>

Indeed, in this, for all the modern sound to their rhetoric of empiricism, Boyle and his colleagues were the heirs to a well-established tradition which took it for granted that the world was full of 'preternatural' as well as 'natural' events and forces. These were typically explicated in terms of a hierarchy from God, through angels and devils, to humankind, abnormal events being attributed to the activities of these higher ranges of beings, which such phenomena in turn proved to be real.<sup>11</sup> As we will see, when late seventeenth-century authors moved away from simply proving the empirical reality of such phenomena to speculating on their causes and significance, they could draw on a long tradition of learned speculation, going back to Renaissance thinkers like Girolamo Cardano and medieval ones like Averroës. Equally important, they could look to the Bible, which for Boyle and many of his contemporaries was a key source not only for its delivery of the Christian dispensation, but also for the knowledge that it gave of God's supernatural economy in the universe, which puny empiricism would never be able to elucidate.

Of course, there were problems about this whole area. Thus it was a legitimate matter for debate as to just what was natural and what was above nature, and how the two were to be differentiated. A classic case of this, in which Boyle had himself been embroiled, had arisen in the 1660s, when the Irish 'stroker', Valentine Greatrakes, had brought about extraordinary cures, which some acclaimed as miraculous but others explained in naturalistic terms. Boyle seems to have been genuinely perplexed by the whole episode, making careful notes on Greatrakes's curative effects and drawing up a questionnaire to try to establish how the phenomenon should be understood.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, in this and comparable cases, matters were complicated by a strong moral dimension due to the activity of the Devil, who was widely believed to be actively manipulative of phenomena so as to ensnare unwary humans into a covenant with him. We now know that this was a matter of particular

<sup>9</sup> See Henry, 'Boyle and Cosmical Qualities'; Wojcik, *Boyle and the Limits of Reason*, esp. chs. 6–7.

<sup>10</sup> Henry, 'Henry More versus Robert Boyle'; Coudert, 'Henry More and Witchcraft'.

<sup>11</sup> See particularly Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, part 2.

<sup>12</sup> The most recent study is Breathnach, 'Boyle's Approach to Greatrakes', but for a fuller account of the controversial context see Duffy, 'Valentine Greatrakes'; Steneck, 'Greatrakes the Stroker'. For Boyle's questionnaire, see Maddison, *Life of Boyle*, pp. 124–6, and Breathnach, 'Boyle's Approach', pp. 97–101 (including a photograph of the MS, though it is unwarrantedly captioned as being addressed to Stubbe). For Boyle's notes, dated 6–15 April 1666, see British Library Add. MS 4293, fols. 50–3.

concern to Boyle himself, and we will see that it was also much in the minds of others who wrote on second sight and related topics, such as Robert Kirk and George Hickes.<sup>13</sup>

The activity of the Devil might pose moral dilemmas for those curious about the working of the supernatural realm, but at least his activity helped to prove that such a realm existed, hence underwriting the existence of God. Moreover, this introduces one of the most important issues that preoccupied Boyle and his colleagues, namely the threat to the theistic economy to which they were committed from a more rigorous, usually materialist, approach to the natural world which denied that anything at all could happen outside nature, and which attributed supposedly supernatural phenomena either to a misunderstanding of purely natural events, or to fraud. Such views were especially associated with the iconoclastic philosopher, Thomas Hobbes, widely seen at the time as an atheist, although he claimed to be a theist of a sort, whose influence was seen as being dangerously prevalent in the fashionable circles of the day. Hobbes famously opened chapter 45 of his *Leviathan*, 'Of Daemonology, and other Reliques of the Religion of the Gentiles', by providing a physiological explanation of apparitions by analogy with the way in which a man seemed to see a bright light if he violently pressed his eye.<sup>14</sup>

Boyle had been aware of threats of this kind since the 1650s, and one of the earliest publications with which he had been associated was an English version of an account of a poltergeist in France in the early seventeenth century, *The Devil of Mascon*, by the French divine, François Perreaud, published in 1658. The translator of this, Pierre du Moulin, opened his dedication of the work to Boyle with the words: 'In obedience to the charge which you have been pleased to lay upon me, I have translated this admirable story, worthy to be knowne of all men, and of singular use to convince the Atheists and halfe believers of these times.'<sup>15</sup> The point is that a denial of the reality of spirits was seen as being central to the secularist, iconoclastic viewpoint that the concept of 'atheism' encapsulated: both were seen as flourishing in the fashionable and slightly *risqué* circles associated with the court and with coffee-houses in contemporary London, in which 'wit' was at a premium and traditional values derided. As one spokesman put it: 'it is plain the rejecting of the being and commerce of Dæmons or Infernal Spirits opens a door to the denial of the Deity, of which we can no otherwise conceive than that it is an *Eternal Spirit*', and there is indeed evidence for a consistently sceptical attitude towards witchcraft and related phenomena in the circles of 'wit' which were seen to foment 'atheism', which is not paralleled elsewhere at the time.<sup>16</sup>

Thereafter, although Boyle continued to take an interest in such phenomena and to collect attested examples of them, the lead in publishing books devoted to the

<sup>13</sup> See Hunter, 'Alchemy, Magic and Moralism', reprinted in Hunter, *Robert Boyle: Scrupulosity and Science*, ch. 5. See also below, esp. pp. 19–20, 102–6, 174ff.

<sup>14</sup> Hobbes, *Leviathan*, p. 440.

<sup>15</sup> Boyle, *Works*, i, 17.

<sup>16</sup> Hunter, *Science and the Shape of Orthodoxy*, p. 288; see also *ibid.*, chs. 12, 14, *passim*; *id.*, 'Witchcraft and the Decline of Belief', pp. 145–6.

vindication of the supernatural realm through evidence of preternatural activity in the world was taken by others. In particular, it was taken by the divine, Joseph Glanvill, defender of the Royal Society and its programme in *Plus Ultra* (1668), who also wrote the most successful work of demonology to be published in the late seventeenth century. This first appeared two years before *Plus Ultra* as *A Philosophical Endeavour towards the Defence of the Being of Witches and Apparitions*; by 1668 it had reached a fourth edition entitled *A Blow at Modern Sadducism*. In this book, as befitted a cleric who combined being Vicar of fashionable Bath with a strong commitment to the new science, Glanvill sought to use a combination of empirical evidence, rational persuasion and heavy sarcasm to convince his readers that the reality of the spirit world was indisputable, and that its denial was an intellectually untenable position. In part, his book comprised a sophisticated epistemological argument that it was unreasonable to deny ‘matters of fact’ relating to witchcraft on the grounds that we could not account for it, by analogy with our nescience in other fields: ‘We cannot conceive how the *Fœtus* is form’d in the *Womb*, nor as much as how a *Plant* springs from the *Earth* we tread on . . . And if we are ignorant of the most *obvious* things about us, and the most *considerable within* our selves, ’tis then no wonder that we know not the *constitution* and *powers* of the *Creatures*, to whom we are such strangers.’ Much of the remainder of the book comprised a series of ‘relations’, intended to prove beyond doubt that diabolical activity did indeed occur in the world.<sup>17</sup>

However, there is reason to think that by the late 1670s Glanvill’s project had run into difficulties. It had been subjected to telling attack in two printed books, John Wagstaffe’s *The Question of Witchcraft Debated* (1669, 1671) and John Webster’s *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* (1677).<sup>18</sup> Particularly galling for Glanvill was the fact that Webster’s book was issued with the Royal Society’s imprimatur. Indeed, it is worth emphasising that though there is a sense in which Glanvill’s enterprise was a ‘Royal Society’ one, in that he prominently associated himself with the Society on the title-pages of his books, and enjoyed the support of such leading Fellows as Boyle, the Society had studiously ignored his ringing appeal to it in the 1668 edition of his work to ‘direct some of its *wary*, and *luciferous* enquiries towards the *World of Spirits*’; moreover the licensing of Webster’s book illustrates a contrary and more nescient tradition in its ranks.<sup>19</sup> Equally important, it is clear that there was a current of oral scepticism about the whole enterprise, associated with the fashionable milieux linked with ‘atheism’, mainly in London, and seen above all in the imputations of fraud concerning one of Glanvill’s classic instances, the phantom drummer of Tedworth.<sup>20</sup> A sense of crisis is reflected in an exchange of letters

<sup>17</sup> Glanvill, *Saducismus Triumphatus*, pp. 72–3 and passim.

<sup>18</sup> See Cope, *Joseph Glanvill*, ch. 4; Webster, *From Paracelsus to Newton*, ch. 4; Hunter, *Science and the Shape of Orthodoxy*, ch. 14. For an account of this episode from a different perspective, see Schaffer, ‘Godly Men and Mechanical Philosophers’.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted in Hunter, *Robert Boyle: Scrupulosity and Science*, p. 242; see *ibid.*, ch. 10 for the Society’s nescience.

<sup>20</sup> See Cope, *Joseph Glanvill*, p. 102n., quoting Baxter to Glanvill, 18 Nov. 1670: ‘it goeth currantly now among the Sadducees (at Court and the Innes of Court) that Mr Mompeson



between Glanvill and Boyle in the later months of 1677 and the early months of 1678 – virtually the only point at which the two men corresponded – in which Glanvill sought Boyle’s assurance that he was not having any doubts himself about the reality of such instances of witchcraft as that at Mascon, and in which he made clear his concern about the threat presented by such accusations.<sup>21</sup>

The crisis is also reflected in the fact that, at this time, Glanvill set to work on a greatly extended version of his book, which was ultimately published in 1681, a year after his death, as *Saducismus Triumphatus*. The editor of this was Henry More, and, in addition to extending the ‘empirical’ section of the book, this version also greatly extended its theological and philosophical ones, including a lengthy section comprising an English translation of part of More’s *Enchiridion metaphysicum* (1671).<sup>22</sup> This was one of the works that had led to tension between Boyle and More about their approach to nature, and in a sense it is symptomatic that the Glanvillian project thus fell into the hands of the Cambridge Platonist, Henry More, a doughty fighter on behalf of the Christian religion, whose zeal in the cause gave him at best an ambivalent attitude towards empirical proof, and who had little time either for Boyle’s laborious experimentalism or for the mechanical philosophy that he sought to prove through it.<sup>23</sup> Glanvill himself had been prone to a rather over-effusive advocacy of the reality of the spirit world, and under More’s tutelage this became all the more overt. Indeed, it is perhaps revealing that from this time onwards the literature of demonology in England fell increasingly into the hands of religious apologists, often of a nonconformist hue.<sup>24</sup>

Boyle, on the other hand, may have sensed the danger of the apologetic becoming too overt. He had, after all, been aware for some time that the fashionable ‘scoffers’ at religion discounted apologetics written by churchmen, ‘whose interest is advantag’d by having what they teach believed’.<sup>25</sup> He perhaps also sensed that, whatever his own belief in the likely reality of instances of witchcraft, some of the stories that had been the staple of enthusiastic demonologists of an earlier date now seemed somewhat absurd in fashionable circles. This is the gist of his comments to Glanvill in his letters, in which he insisted ‘that, at least, the main circumstances of the relation may be impartially delivered, and sufficiently verified . . . for we live in an age, and a place, wherein all stories of witchcrafts, or other magical feats, are by

hath confessed that it was all his own juggling done onely that he might be taken notice of’. For scepticism about the Mompeson case see also Bovet, *Pandemonium*, p. 37, Glanvill to Boyle, 7 Oct. [1677] in Boyle, *Correspondence*, and Hunter, *Science and the Shape of Orthodoxy*, pp. 301, 304.

<sup>21</sup> See esp. Glanvill to Boyle, 25 Jan. 1678: Boyle, *Correspondence*. See also *ibid.*, vols. iv–v, *passim*.

<sup>22</sup> Glanvill, *Saducismus Triumphatus*, pp. 131ff.

<sup>23</sup> See Henry, ‘Henry More and Robert Boyle’; Coudert, ‘Henry More and Witchcraft’.

<sup>24</sup> See esp. Winship, *Seers of God*, ch. 6, though for certain reservations about the construction he places on this, see Hunter, ‘Witchcraft and the Decline of Belief’, pp. 145–6.

<sup>25</sup> Boyle, *Works*, viii, 238.

many, even of the wise, suspected; and by too many, that would pass for wits, derided and exploded'.<sup>26</sup>

Hence, inventive as ever, Boyle seems to have looked in fresh directions for empirical evidence of the reality of the supernatural realm which might convince sceptics. One of these was alchemy, and it is almost certainly not coincidental that Boyle's interest in alchemy reached a peak in the late 1670s. Thus it was at this time that he collected testimonials about the transmutation of base metals into gold by Wenceslaus Seiler at the imperial court in Vienna; he also established contact with the French alchemist, Georges Pierre; and he even published an alchemical book, *Of a Degradation of Gold by an Anti-Elixir: a Strange Chymical Narrative* (1678). As Lawrence Principe has argued, this is almost certainly to be associated with Boyle's increased concern about the need to find a means of offering empirical support for the reality of the supernatural realm at this time.<sup>27</sup>

Equally, of course, this context makes sense of Boyle's sudden curiosity about second sight. Inspired by the reports that he now received, Boyle overnight made a phenomenon that had long been taken for granted in its native habitat, Scotland,<sup>28</sup> of interest in challenging explanation according to standard philosophical principles. As he put it in the preamble to his notes on his interview with Tarbat, this was 'a thinge, that not only is not to be met with in the course of Nature but is not to be matched in the books of Magick, I have hitherto read'.<sup>29</sup> Typically of Boyle – and in contrast to the rather frenetic apologetic style of a Glanvill – there is a tentative, almost indecisive attitude here, also in evidence in his adjacent reference to 'the curiosity I had, to receive some credible information' on the subject. In his initial approach – as in the ensuing investigation of the phenomenon by others – there is a detached, consciously objective tone. Moreover, the instances that Boyle's investigations brought to light, though strange and even uncanny, lacked the bizarre quality of a witchcraft narrative. (It is perhaps also worth noting that those who found they had such powers might be of high status, in contrast to the lowly rank of those predominantly concerned with witchcraft in England.) It was almost as if Boyle had found a cockpit where the reality of the preternatural could be soberly and scientifically tested. Indeed, one might want to see this as a 'scientific' curiosity, reminiscent of the Society for Psychical Research two centuries later (who did, in fact, seek to investigate second sight in the Highlands in the 1890s).<sup>30</sup>

Moreover, this is borne out by what we know about Boyle's intentions for publishing the information that he had thus collected, though these were never in fact realised. It seems that Tarbat's letter, including a 'preface' by Boyle, was one of the documents that he intended to include in the second part of his 'Strange

<sup>26</sup> Boyle to Glanvill, 17 Sept. 1677, quoted in Hunter, *Robert Boyle: Scrupulosity and Science*, p. 102.

<sup>27</sup> Principe, *Aspiring Adept*, passim.

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, the report in passing of a case of second sight in Fraser, *Chronicles of the Frasers*, pp. 284–5.

<sup>29</sup> I have slightly emended the eccentric spelling of Boyle's amanuensis.

<sup>30</sup> See Campbell and Hall, *Strange Things*.

Reports', a collection of odd phenomena of which the first part was published as an appendix to his *Experimenta et Observationes Physicae* (1691).<sup>31</sup> These are reported in a neutral, dispassionate, tone, and the same would evidently have been true of the second part, of which the soberly argued preface survives, though little else, since in the end Boyle decided against publishing it.<sup>32</sup> Instead, Tarbat's letter initially gained circulation only in manuscript. Though it was printed almost verbatim in 1705 as part of the slightly strange *Historical Treatise of Spirits* by the Somerset naturalist, John Beaumont, its link with Boyle was there elided.<sup>33</sup> Only with the first publication of the texts of Kirk and Pepys in which it was included, respectively in 1815 and 1825, did it become generally available.<sup>34</sup>

If Boyle initiated the document that set in motion the sequence of events which this book records, he is also – if slightly more equivocally – associated with the second text presented here. Entitled 'A Collection of Highland Rites and Customs', this survives in a transcript made by the Welsh natural philosopher and antiquary, Edward Lhuyd (1660–1709); it is to be found in the notebook that he had with him when he was in Scotland in 1699–1700, an episode about which more will be said below. Lhuyd copied the text from a copy in the possession of Sir Robert Sibbald (1641–1722), the leading orchestrator of natural philosophical and other inquiries in late seventeenth-century Scotland; he endorsed it to the effect that Sibbald had copied it from a manuscript book owned by James Kirkwood (1650–1709), a divine who was associated with Boyle.

Yet, when describing what is almost certainly this text in a letter to a correspondent, Lhuyd does not say that it is by Kirkwood, who is therefore highly unlikely to have been its author, contrary to what has sometimes been presumed.<sup>35</sup> Instead, he describes it as 'about 3 sheets of the customes & Rites of the Highlands; which the famous Mr Boyl had procur'd from some correspondent'; this was subsequently paraphrased by the Scottish churchman Robert Wodrow as 'write by some body or other

<sup>31</sup> This is suggested by the following note in Henry Miles's list of MSS by Boyle, many of them now lost: 'Curious Letter of 2d sight. Anonymous <& Mr Boyles preface> on the same another' (BP 36, fol. 143). It seems likely that at least one of these letters is Tarbat's. However, Miles's record implies that Boyle possessed at least one, and perhaps two, letters on the topic that are not extant. On the second part of 'Strange Reports' see Hunter, *Robert Boyle: Scrupulosity and Science*, ch. 10.

<sup>32</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>33</sup> Beaumont, *Historical Treatise of Spirits*, pp. 94–102. This version has not hitherto been recognised. It forms part of Beaumont's section on second sight and is introduced as 'another Account, concerning the *Second Sighted Persons*, which was sent some Years since to a Lady, by a Person of whom she had desired it', an intriguing echo of the liaison between Robert Kirk and Mrs Stillingfleet that we will encounter shortly (below, pp. 18, 20). However, what Beaumont quotes is Tarbat's letter to Boyle, which appears almost verbatim, except that Beaumont breaks up the different 'instances', inserting connecting passages implying that they had come from different sources (and making a few ancillary alterations and omissions).

<sup>34</sup> See below, pp. 40, 44.

<sup>35</sup> See below, p. 36.

to the Honourable Robert Boyle'.<sup>36</sup> Frustratingly, this is all we know about its authorship, though it clearly implies that Boyle had it first and passed it on to Kirkwood, rather than vice versa. However, the date of the text is more certain, since it is clear from the books that are described in it as being published 'lately' that it must date from the mid to late 1680s.

What the 'Collection' comprises is a description under headings of a wide range of aspects of the 'manners and customs' of the Highlanders, ranging from their language, nomenclature, diet and lifestyle to their rituals and beliefs; it also includes notes on the antiquities and rarities of the area. It observes the whole of Highland society, the privileged as well as the poor, while its account of their beliefs gives a fascinating view of the amalgam of Christian and pagan ideas that these comprised. In its open-minded curiosity, and the fulness of its information, it is a fascinating and important document.

Presuming that Lhuyd is right about the fact that Boyle 'procur'd' it, there are two reasons why he might have done so. One is that his curiosity about second sight had led him to make further enquiries about the area in which these beliefs existed, and second sight and ancillary phenomena *are* among the beliefs and practices dealt with in the text. However, by the late 1680s Boyle had a further incentive for an interest in the Highlands, connected with another aspect of his public life, his encouragement of evangelical activity aimed at spreading Protestant Christianity. In the years around 1680, Boyle had been associated with a project to publish the Bible in Gaelic for distribution in Ireland, as a means of promoting Protestantism among the native population there. As it turned out, not all the Bibles were used there, so in the late 1680s he responded positively to the suggestion that the residue might be sent to the Scottish Highlands instead. Thereafter, the idea arose of producing a version of the Gaelic text in Roman characters, on the grounds that the cursive type used for the Irish edition made it hard to read. This task was deputed to the minister Robert Kirk, about whom we will be hearing more shortly, in 1687 or 1688, and copies of the Bible so produced were distributed to the Highland parishes in the 1690s.<sup>37</sup>

If the manuscript *was* connected with the Bible project, a possible author is a shadowy cleric named William Houston or Hewsdon. Houston's links with the project have been effaced by the role of the better-known James Kirkwood, with whom Boyle principally liaised in this connection, but he may well have suggested Kirk as an appropriate person to work on the Gaelic Bible in the first place. On the other hand, it is worth noting that one would never have guessed that there was any connection between the manuscript and the evangelisation of the Highlanders from either its content or tone, which is in fact neutral, almost anthropological, and it is equally likely that it was supplied to Boyle by someone completely different. For instance, in a letter to Boyle of 15 April 1685, the politician, James Drummond, 4th Earl of Perth, at that point Lord Chancellor of Scotland, wrote: 'what I promised to satisfy your desires in concerning this countrie shall be done with all possible dili-

<sup>36</sup> See below, pp. 206–7.

<sup>37</sup> See Maddison, 'Boyle and the Irish Bible'; Johnston, 'Notices of a Collection of MSS'; MacLean, 'Life and Literary Labours', esp. pp. 337ff.

gence.<sup>38</sup> Perth's Highland links are well-known, and it is conceivable that it was to this document that he referred. But it could equally easily have been written by someone whose links with Boyle are not otherwise documented at all.

### Robert Kirk

The Gaelic Bible project introduces our second main protagonist, indeed in many ways the central figure in this volume, Robert Kirk (1644–92),<sup>39</sup> author of *The Secret Commonwealth*. Kirk was the seventh son of James Kirk, Minister of Aberfoyle, a position in which he was to follow his father; his grandfather, John Kirk, had been a writer or notary in Edinburgh. After taking a degree at Edinburgh and studying theology at St Andrews, in 1664 Kirk became Minister of Balquhidder, a parish slightly to the north of Aberfoyle in the Trossachs, being transferred to Aberfoyle in 1685. Kirk had devoted himself to mastering Gaelic from an early date, and in 1684 he produced a translation of the Psalms into that language. It was obviously this that brought him to the attention of those looking for someone to produce a version of the Gaelic Bible in Roman script, and hence his recommendation to Boyle for this purpose. He undertook the task, and this necessitated his travelling to London in 1689 to oversee the press-work on the book. There he stayed for several months, keeping a diary in which he entered notes on sermons and more miscellaneous information. This is still extant, and an edition of it is in preparation.<sup>40</sup> Thereafter, he returned to Aberfoyle, where, prior to his death in 1692, he either wrote *The Secret Commonwealth* in its entirety or (more likely) completed what he had begun earlier. Frustratingly, although he did his work on the Gaelic Bible at Boyle's behest, in this connection visiting London where he must undoubtedly have met the great man (who might even have personally given him the copy of Tarbat's letter that he included in his book), his diary contains no direct evidence of any contact between the two.<sup>41</sup>

*The Secret Commonwealth* is a slightly strange book, which combines what is effectively reportage of folklore with erudite speculation and biblical exegesis. This is to be explained in terms of Kirk's ambivalent background, as an educated man domiciled in a remote, Highland parish. His intellectual and pastoral concerns are documented by a series of surviving notebooks dating from his student days through the 1660s and 1670s to the mid-1680s. Though the series is almost certainly incomplete, they comprise a fascinating record which deserves a comprehensive study, if not complete publication. Here, we will largely restrict ourselves to what can be learned from these about the background to *The Secret Commonwealth*.

<sup>38</sup> Boyle, *Correspondence*.

<sup>39</sup> For a full discussion of Kirk's date of birth, see Rossi, *Il Cappellano*, pp. 11–12, 20n.; Sanderson, *Secret Commonwealth*, pp. 3–4.

<sup>40</sup> See Kirk, *London Diary*. In the interim, see the extracts in Kirk, 'London in 1689–90'. References are hereinafter given to the foliation of original MS, Edinburgh University Library Laing III 545.

<sup>41</sup> What could conceivably be a record of a meeting of Kirk with Boyle is to be found in *ibid.*, fol. 127v, which juxtaposes instructions concerning the Gaelic Bible with the note: 'M.S. catechism. Of 2<sup>d</sup> Sight a paper. Humming bird. & M.S. of productions of Highlands begun'.

In fact, although almost entirely overlooked by previous commentators, relevant information is to be found as early as Kirk's student notebook, dating from 1660.<sup>42</sup> This mainly comprises Latin notes on the lectures on logic, philosophy and related topics by John Wishart that Kirk attended at Edinburgh University, showing, incidentally, that the training in natural philosophy and other disciplines that he was given comprised a typically eclectic blend of a basic Aristotelian framework with ideas of more recent authors like Tommaso Campanella, Sebastiano Basso and Descartes.<sup>43</sup> But the notes are attractively decorated with elaborate initials, while the front fly-leaves are embellished with drawings, probably of this date, though they could conceivably date from about a decade later, when Kirk evidently reused the parts of the volume formerly left blank as a commonplace book. Either way, these give a strange insight into Kirk's mindset (plates 1–2).

The first fly-leaf (plate 1) comprises relatively naturalistic drawings of birds, fishes, snails and snakes, interspersed by a strange, slightly schematic human figure and a pair of crossed wands. The drawings are faintly reminiscent of the work of such early animal artists as Kirk's contemporary, Francis Barlow, though Kirk's abilities as a draughtsman were obviously limited by comparison. Whether any significance should be attached to the fact that the drawings are of creatures like birds and fish, with which Kirk compared the fairies in *The Secret Commonwealth*, is unclear, and the same is also true of details like the crossed wands, which could be of symbolic import.

The other drawing (plate 2), which faces the title-page of the volume, is stranger. At the top, we have the Tetragrammaton, under which are two eyes surrounded by halos, the righthand one darker than the lefthand one, as if the image is supposed to symbolise a contrast between light and dark, a contrast that continues through the subsequent components of the design. Adjacent to the two eyes are two standards, held by two pairs of birds; the lefthand pair are peacocks, their standard headed by an owl, while the righthand pair are dark-coloured, and are holding a *caduceus* with its characteristic intertwined snakes (echoing the snakes on the front fly-leaf) and with an indeterminate symbol at its head. Then, there is a line of ships sailing across the page, and under that a line of trees arising from a hatched base. At the bottom are two figures, the lefthand one again lighter than the righthand. The facial features of the lefthand one are clearly intended to be female, those of the righthand probably male. The body of the lefthand figure has on it the symbols of the signs of the zodiac in the position typical of a 'zodiac man'. The import of this strange image is unclear: various of the symbols used had traditional meanings – the owl for wisdom, for instance – while the overall polarisation of dark and light again seems likely to be significant, though the general meaning of the picture is obscure. What is clear, however, is Kirk's commitment to a mystical view of the world, and his familiarity with the symbolism of the learned tradition, and not least of hermeticism. In view of what we know of Kirk's later interests, it is even tempting to see the two

<sup>42</sup> Edinburgh University Library MS Dc 8 114. The drawings are briefly noted in Rossi, *Il Cappellano*, p. 56n.

<sup>43</sup> For context, see Shepherd, 'Philosophy and Science in the Arts Curriculum', *passim*.

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## INTRODUCTION

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**Plate 2.** Drawing facing the title-page of Robert Kirk's student notebook, Edinburgh University Library MS Dc 8 114. Reproduced by Permission of Edinburgh University Library.



figures at the bottom as shaman figures. The drawing certainly provides an important hint of the intellectual influences by which Kirk was affected.

The notes that Kirk inserted on the leaves within the notebook that he had not used as a student evidently date from around 1670. They include extracts from the book, *Of Credulity and Incredulity, in Things Natural, Spiritual and Divine* (1668–70) by the scholar, Meric Casaubon, and they illustrate Kirk's interest in witches and their ability to bring about effects above nature, as also in ancient religion and in Platonic and Epicurean ideas and the conflict between the two.<sup>44</sup> The subsequent surviving notebooks cover various parts of Kirk's life following his move to the Trosachs. Mainly, they are dominated by notes on books that Kirk read, interspersed by reflections on his religious life and pastoral responsibilities. They constantly cross-reference between scriptural and other texts and his more general philosophical, moral and pastoral concerns. His notes on his parochial work suggest that he did not always find his flock as responsive to his evangelical message as he would have liked. He also commented on church affairs in Scotland, clearly a matter of concern to him, and on broader political developments. In addition, notes occasionally occur which illustrate the background to the topics explored in *The Secret Commonwealth*, and it is worth itemising these here, not least since they seem to increase in commonness as the series goes on.

There are virtually no such notes in the earliest notebooks, dating from 1666–9 and from 1669–74.<sup>45</sup> But that for 1674–6 has a passage speculating about the nature of good and evil spirits, invoking the famous 'voyce in Glenluce 1654 & other sporting spirits that wander & troble houses', while such topics proliferate in the notebook for 1678–80.<sup>46</sup> Thus he speaks of monitory dreams as evidence of the activity of 'some courteous angel'; he thought that 'invisible powers' might assist providence, discussing the rationale of paganism in these terms; he speculated that evil spirits might be found in the sea; while there is even the germ of the idea of a 'polity' of fauns and fairies.<sup>47</sup> Equally interesting are passages in which he displayed his sympathy with neo-Platonic ideas, one of which explained how 'The ground of all magical Fascination, is one vital unitive plastic principl being in the universe, which secretly working (as in growing of plants and minerals quickned up by the suns vital heat) is skilfully applyd to a particular by the Magician or skilful Naturalist.'<sup>48</sup> The book also describes various charms, discussing their rationale and the morality of using them in a passage which it is worth quoting at length for what it illustrates about Kirk's developing ideas on such topics:

<sup>44</sup> MS Dc 8 114, pp. 189ff. and unpaginated section at end.

<sup>45</sup> Edinburgh University Library MS Dc 8 115; MS Laing III 549. In the latter, fol. 69 has an interesting autobiographical passage, showing that in 1664 he 'had yet but Little' Gaelic.

<sup>46</sup> Edinburgh University Library MS Dc 8 116, p. 113; National Library of Scotland, MS 3932. See also Smith, 'Mr Robert Kirk's Note-book'. On the well-known 'Devil of Glenluce', see Sinclair, *Satan's Invisible World*, pp. 75ff; Glanvill, *Saducismus Triumphatus*, pp. 489ff.

<sup>47</sup> MS 3932, esp. fols. 15 (quoted in Smith, 'Kirk's Note-book', p. 238), 34v (quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 239–40), 40, 175, 184v, 186.

<sup>48</sup> MS 3932, fols. 171v–2. Cf. *ibid.*, fols. 184v, 187v–8.

An Antidote, preservative and proof or phylactory the Irish call *Seun*; They have Charms by Tradition against an evil ey or being ey-struck, against the worm that bores the flesh and creeps alongs; the one called *bán sul*; the other *an bhioraich*. also another for the Ricketts. They have some Foolish and impertinent words; others pious but to no sense, set together;

The ill of Charming is this.

1. The h[oly] Scripture is still against it. Deut:

2. it is not a Natural rational way of cure, active to passive, by the countervirtue of the potion, herb, stone &c which work either by outward application, or inward Reception: (nothing els is allowable, save prayer to God.)

3. There is no feasible connection betwixt the words and the cure wrought, unless it be by Contract with the Devil in its first Rise: for it can be no compact with God, becaus neither commanded nor permitted in his reveald word, but Discharged. For the Good words of Charms, it makes the matter the more Dangerous, as being Satan appearing like an angel of Light, and apeing the Almighty in the curing miracolous [sic] of Jesus with a Word of authority, yet without ceremonious words and Forms and carriage. An enemy coming with the Language of a Friend, is the greatest Traitor, and does his feat easiest on us.<sup>49</sup>

In Kirk's notebook for 1681–3 (unfortunately the last to survive apart from his London diary) notes on the spiritual health of his flock and related topics are interspersed by further such comments, including notes on the views of the natural philosopher, Sir Kenelm Digby, on the weapon salve and its rationale and a further brief discussion of charms and their efficacy. Most interesting is a long section about the way in which the King's evil could be cured by a seventh son, and generally about the mystical significance of the number seven and the partly miraculous 'Sanative Quality' which made his touch efficacious.<sup>50</sup>

This brings us to the diary that Kirk kept during his visit to London in 1689–90, which is interesting because he clearly discussed the matters that were to come up in *The Secret Commonwealth* at length while he was in the metropolis. Indeed, the second part of the work, which comprises his commentary on a transcript of Lord Tarbat's letter to Boyle (perhaps itself a text that he obtained while in London), contains a number of lengthy passages which repeat almost verbatim notes that also appear in the diary. Equally interesting is the fact that some of his notes there can be seen as showing him trying out the idea of a book, especially a passage which begins: 'Concerning the 2<sup>d</sup> Sight a Dialogue, answering objections', on an adjacent page to which he wrote:

It may be supposed not repugnant to Reason or Religion to assert ane invisible polity, or a people to us invisible, having a Commonwealth, Laws & Oeconomy, made known to us but by some obscure hints of a few admitted to their Converse: becaus it is no more of necessity for us to know there are such Beings & Subterranean Cavern-inhabitants, then it is <necessary> to know distinctly the polity of the

<sup>49</sup> MS 3932, fol. 182 (partially quoted in Rossi, *Il Cappellano*, p. 200). Cf. MS 3932, fols. 173v–4, 176v. For the passage in Deuteronomy to which Kirk refers, see below, p. 98.

<sup>50</sup> Edinburgh University Library MS Laing III 529, pp. 12ff., 59–61, 95, 99–100: for lengthy quotations from these passages, see Rossi, *Il Cappellano*, pp. 21–2n., 200–1.

9 orders of Angels, or with what oyl the Lamp of the Sun is mainteand so long & regularly; <or why the moon is called a Great Luminary in Scripture, while it only appears to be so.><sup>51</sup>

Moreover, both here and elsewhere he deals with objections that were to be canvassed in the book itself, sometimes using identical phraseology, though in other cases extending his treatment, and occasionally in doing so leaving out a striking passage that appears in the diary, as where he speaks of spirits as ‘those obscure people (who live in their own Element, and are no more desireous of converse with us then Fishes are for Dry ground, or birds to live in fire)’.<sup>52</sup>

In particular, while in London Kirk discussed such matters with Edward Stillingfleet, the eminent Latitudinarian divine who was then Bishop Elect of Worcester. It appears to have been Stillingfleet who brought up the issue of second sight and quizzed Kirk on the subject when Kirk dined with him on 6 October 1689.<sup>53</sup> Indeed, this could itself be taken as evidence of the extent to which an interest in second sight had become common in the aftermath of Boyle’s initial enquiries on the subject: the fact that there is a hint that Stillingfleet’s wife showed curiosity about the subject as well as her husband further bears this out.<sup>54</sup> Stillingfleet seems to have been particularly concerned about the moral dimension of the foreknowledge that second-sighted people apparently possessed. Such related phenomena as the ‘Mason Word’ also came up in their conversation, concerning which Stillingfleet combined moral and epistemological criteria in a manner which seems strange to twentieth-century eyes, though it is similar to the attitude of Boyle.<sup>55</sup> In addition, it must have been while in London that Kirk acquired at least one piece of information that appears both in the diary and in *The Secret Commonwealth*, since it concerns a story that in the diary version is located in England, though this detail is omitted in *The Secret Commonwealth* (below, pp. 89–90).

The overlap between this and other passages that appear both in the diary and *The Secret Commonwealth* make it clear that the relevant sections of that work can only have been written after Kirk’s return to Scotland. However, the implication is that he had at least begun the book earlier. He writes by way of commentary on Tarbat’s letter to Boyle: ‘Tho my collections were written long befor I saw My Lord

<sup>51</sup> Kirk, *London Diary*, fols. 23v–4. In addition, fol. 129 itemises ‘Instances of the operation of the Second sight’. See also above, p. 12n.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 24v; after ‘Element, and’, ‘fishes do on dry’ is deleted. The other references to the subject are to be found in *ibid.*, fols. 25, 32–3, 104v–105, 129, 131. The principal places where *The Secret Commonwealth* overlaps with the *London Diary* have been indicated in footnotes.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 18v–19v. These passages are printed (slightly inaccurately) in Kirk, ‘London in 1689–90’, p. 139; however, this selection of extracts otherwise ignores this aspect of the diary.

<sup>54</sup> See below, p. 20.

<sup>55</sup> See Hunter, ‘Alchemy, Magic and Moralism’. For modern puzzlement over Stillingfleet’s attitude, see Stevenson, *Origins of Freemasonry*, p. 132, who finds it ‘distinctly confused’. For a more nonchalant attitude towards diabolical activity on Stillingfleet’s part, see James, *Letters*, ii, 302–3.

of Tarbetts, yet I am glad, that his descriptions and min correspond so neerly' (p. 95). On the basis of this, one might wish to speculate that the early part of the book had already been written prior to Kirk's London visit, and that the commentary on Tarbat was added thereafter. But it is worth noting that, although the opening sections of the work are more focused on the lifestyle and activities of the fairies, second sight is prominent as a theme there as well as later. Moreover, though the latter part is more of an academic disquisition, canvassing possible explanations of the phenomenon and answering moral and intellectual objections to it, the role of tutelary spirits in explaining it is as prominent there as earlier.

Indeed, *The Secret Commonwealth* reflects the blend of ideas to which Kirk had been exposed and the sense he made of it. In it, he takes for granted the existence of fairies and discusses their lifestyle, giving a full account of beliefs of his period that are also evidenced from other sources.<sup>56</sup> These were linked to second sight in that it was second-sighted men who saw the fairy 'co-walkers' that mortals were deemed to have. Moreover, in the early part of the book Kirk gave details of such second-sighted men, including examples of their predictions, the strange initiation rites to which they were subjected, and the way in which they had their visions while in trances. In this part of the book, he also gives his account of the 'elf-arrows' which he saw as linked to the fairies, on which various others of the writers collected in this volume commented: thus George Hickes noted that this topic was raised by Lord Tarbat along with second sight in his conversation with Lauderdale in May 1678, while a succinct summary of Highland belief concerning them was later given by John Fraser.<sup>57</sup>

As already noted, the second part of the work is focused on Kirk's verbatim transcript of Lord Tarbat's letter to Boyle, which Kirk explains that he included 'that I might not be thought singular in this disquisition' (p. 90), and clearly this – together with his record of the discussions that he had had while in London – stimulated him to a searching investigation of the rationale of second sight. His aim was, in his own words, 'to shew that it is not unsuitable to Reason nor the Holy Scriptures' (p. 98), and the Bible is indeed the text that he uses most to explore the significance of the phenomenon. But he also invokes Renaissance authors like Cardano and Agrippa, while his discussion is informed by his knowledge of more recent developments in natural philosophy, as when he paralleled the gift of second sight with the extra power of perception given by 'Optic Glasses' like telescopes and microscopes.<sup>58</sup> Indeed, in an extraordinary passage, he even speculated that the recognition of 'this intercourse betwixt the two kinds of Rational Inhabitants of the sam Earth' might prove a discovery comparable with navigation, printing and gunnery (p. 100). Equally interesting is his exploration of the moral dimension involved in second

<sup>56</sup> See Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, pp. 606ff; Sanderson, *Secret Commonwealth*, pp. 31ff.

<sup>57</sup> See below, pp. 173, 214–15. Note also that on 29 July 1684, Robert Plot presented an elf arrow from near Edinburgh to the Oxford Philosophical Society: Gunther, *Early Science in Oxford*, iv, 82.

<sup>58</sup> Below, pp. 87, 97, 100.

sight, an issue that had been raised in his conversations with Stillingfleet and which would also have been of great interest to Boyle. Thus he explores the possibility that the gift came from bad as well as good spirits, and he also assesses the moral dimension of the foreknowledge that it involved.

The last part of the book comprises a collection of Gaelic spells, together with a disquisition on their rationale and morality which echoes the passage in Kirk's 1678 notebook that has already been quoted. Kirk saw such spells as parasitic on Christianity, and his commentary on them has some resonances with the comparable work of John Aubrey in his pioneering folklore collection, *Remaines of Gentilism and Judaism* (so titled because he thought such traditions were survivals of earlier belief systems), which is of similar date.<sup>59</sup> Kirk also includes some examples of ritual magic, of the kind that had been disseminated since the Middle Ages through such texts as the classic *Clavicula Salomonis*, and this was again an interest that he shared with Aubrey.<sup>60</sup> At the end, a helpful glossary is included.

In general, Kirk's urge to make sense of the phenomenon in terms of the world view with which he had been imbued by his education is understandable, and it is not surprising that he should turn in this connection both to the Bible and to learned ideas about demons. On the other hand, his 'fairy' theory of second sight, which appears to be unique to him, suggests how powerfully he had absorbed the shamanist traditions of the Highlands.<sup>61</sup> Ironically, it might be felt that Kirk was not an especially good folklorist or anthropologist, giving a less systematic natural history of the fairies than he might have done, while even in recounting 'matters of fact', he was inferior to Tarbat. Yet *The Secret Commonwealth* remains a fascinating as well as engaging work, and it is easy to understand the interest it has aroused ever since.

Kirk died in the year in which he completed his book, thus thwarting any plans he might have had to publish it. However, various copies of it seem to have been in circulation, thus contributing to the growing interest in second sight at this time. Thus one of Samuel Pepys's correspondents on the subject, Lord Reay, had a copy of the book, which he rather tantalisingly described to Pepys and offered to send him, though there is no evidence that he actually did so; Pepys's correspondent, George Hickes, also expressed interest in it, not least for its exploration of the moral issues involved. In addition, one of the manuscript copies of Kirk's book has an addition to the title lacking from the others, apparently an endorsement which read: 'Sent by the writer to the right Reverend and most Learned Divine Dr Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, His Lady', and it seems quite feasible that Kirk did indeed send a copy to Mrs Stillingfleet in this way.<sup>62</sup> On the other hand, no edition of Kirk's actual text

<sup>59</sup> Aubrey, *Three Prose Works*, pp. 127ff. For the date, see *ibid.*, pp. 401–2; Hunter, *John Aubrey*, p. 83.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 104–6.

<sup>61</sup> For a useful summary of the European context, see Behringer, *Shaman of Oberstdorf*, ch. 17. A Scottish study deploying the material presented here is overdue.

<sup>62</sup> See below, p. 77. John Beaumont's description of his quotation of Tarbat's letter to Boyle as 'sent some Years since to a Lady, by a Person of whom she had desired it' could be construed as corroborative evidence of this, suggesting that he took it from Mrs Stillingfleet's copy of

appeared until 1815, and even that, though reprinted in 1893 and 1933, was truncated. Only in 1964 was a full edition produced, followed by another in 1976, which was reprinted in a more popular format in 1990. It is hoped that the current edition will help to make this fascinating work more widely available.

### Aubrey, Pepys, Lhuud and the aftermath

Between c. 1680 and the end of the seventeenth century, links between English and Scottish intellectuals became increasingly common. This was a period when intellectual activity in Scotland burgeoned, initially during the period when James, Duke of York, was in Edinburgh, thereafter continued particularly by his protégé Sir Robert Sibbald.<sup>63</sup> Much of this activity was aimed at emulating the celebrated achievements of contemporary England in natural philosophy and related spheres. Indeed, an early instance of this is provided by the Scottish virtuoso George Sinclair, regent at the University of Glasgow until forced to resign in 1666 and thereafter a freelance lecturer in Edinburgh. Not only did Sinclair engage with Boylian natural philosophy in his *Hydrostaticks* (1672), though with not entirely happy results, in that his reservations about Boyle's findings aroused the great man's ire; in addition, he attempted a kind of Scottish equivalent of Glanvill's *Saducismus Triumphatus* in his *Satan's Invisible World Discovered* (1685), though this was a rather weak and derivative work, mainly based on retailing stories of supernatural activity taken from Glanvill's and comparable books.<sup>64</sup> Here, it is worth noting that he had evidently been alerted to the Boylian interest in second sight when he was compiling his demonology, since he there notes: 'To speak of the *second sight* I cannot, till fuller information be given.' He did, however, include a very brief note on it as part of his section on Highland charms and fairy beliefs, writing: 'It is not improbable but that such preternatural knowledge comes first by a compact with the Devil and is derived downward by succession to their posterity, many of such I suppose, are innocent, and have this *Sight* against their will and inclination.'<sup>65</sup>

As the 1680s progressed, there were also English initiatives to strengthen links with Scotland, notably the opening of lines of communication from Oxford, where a Philosophical Society was established in 1683. In September 1684, the Society resolved 'that some attempts be made for the settling a Correspondence in Scotland', and John Wallis, the Society's President, wrote to the heads of each of the Scottish

Kirk's work, though, if he did, it is odd that he totally ignored the rest of its content: see above, p. 10n.

<sup>63</sup> For a pioneering study, see Meikle, *Some Aspects of Later Seventeenth Century Scotland*. More recently, see Ouston, 'York in Edinburgh'; Emerson, 'Natural Philosophy and the Problem of the Scottish Enlightenment' and 'Sir Robert Sibbald'; Wood, 'Aberdeen and Europe'; and Withers, 'Geography, Science and National Identity' and 'Reporting, Mapping and Trusting'.

<sup>64</sup> See Sinclair, *Ars nova & magna gravitatis et levitatis; Hydrostaticks; Satan's Invisible World Discovered*. For Boyle's reactions, see Boyle, *Works*, i, p. lxxvi; vii, pp. xvii, 185ff.

<sup>65</sup> Sinclair, *Satan's Invisible World*, pp. 215–16, and 213–19 *passim*.

universities to request this.<sup>66</sup> Nothing was heard from Edinburgh or Glasgow, but a liaison was established with both St Andrews and Aberdeen, and especially the latter: various letters were exchanged, particularly by George Garden, a local minister, leading to the publication of various articles by Garden on meteorology and related topics in *Philosophical Transactions* over the next few years.<sup>67</sup> Moreover in 1686, second sight briefly came up in this connection, when Joshua Walker, a Fellow of Brasenose College and member of the Oxford Philosophical Society, gave a paper ‘of Second Sighted men in Scotland’. Certain tantalising details of this survive in the index to the minutes – notably the fact that they abhorred ‘Women combing their heads’ – but it does not itself survive. The minutes add of such men, ‘concerning whom Dr Garden is desired to give this S[ociety] his opinion’, but no letter from him on the subject survives.<sup>68</sup>

However, it may well have been this episode which stimulated the virtuoso John Aubrey to make contact with Aberdeen for information on related topics a few years later, in 1692: this was possibly at the suggestion of his friend, the astronomer Edmond Halley, who, as clerk of the Royal Society, had received regular reports from the Oxford Philosophical Society.<sup>69</sup> Indeed, it was evidently George Garden whom Aubrey meant to contact when he wrote to ‘Dr Garden of Aberdeen’ for help with his enquiries. In fact, however, his letter went to James Garden, Professor of Theology at King’s College there, and the result was a whole series of lengthy letters giving information about antiquities and beliefs in the Highlands, which represent one of the most extensive series of letters between a Scottish and an English intellectual in the period; these are reprinted here in full.

In a sense, Aubrey’s letters reflect the same impulse as Boyle’s approach to Tarbat over a decade earlier, of using Scotland, and especially the Highlands, as a place where theories could be tested and information collected on strange phenomena like second sight. In Aubrey’s case, his initial concern was rather different. Throughout his career, Aubrey had combined a strong interest in natural phenomena with a passion for antiquities. Since his discovery of the stone circle at Avebury in 1649, and particularly from the early 1660s, when royal interest in that site stimulated him to write up his theories, he had been fascinated by the megalithic monuments of which Avebury and its better-known neighbour, Stonehenge, were such spectacular examples. Moreover, contrary to claims that they had been erected by the Romans or by some later people such as the Danes, Aubrey had presciently deduced by

<sup>66</sup> Gunther, *Early Science in Oxford*, iv, 92–3; xii, 249ff, though Gunther unaccountably fails to print Wallis’s letter of 16 Sept. 1684 soliciting this contact, of which copies survive in Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Ashmole 1813, fol. 314, and Society of Antiquaries, London, MS 202, fol. 243.

<sup>67</sup> Gunther, *Early Science*, xii, 29ff; *Philosophical Transactions*, 15 (1685), 991–1001, 1148–58; 16 (1691), 474–83; 19 (1696), 311–13; 20 (1698), 54–5; 22 (1700), 689–90. Earlier, an article by Garden had appeared in *ibid.*, 12 (1678), 842–3.

<sup>68</sup> Gunther, *Early Science*, iv, 175–6. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 225, 230, 250–1, 258. Cf. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Ashmole 1811, fol. 25.

<sup>69</sup> See Gunther, *Early Science*, xii, 109ff. It is apparent from the first letter that Halley had sent a message to Garden via Aubrey.



comparative study that the fact that such remains were to be found in areas which had no common cultural denominator in the Roman or post-Roman period meant that they must be pre-Roman in date. He therefore argued that they had been built by the only pre-Roman priesthood of which he knew, the Druids, entitling his treatise on the subject 'Templa Druidum'.<sup>70</sup>

In the early 1690s, Aubrey was hoping that his book *Monumenta Britannica*, a compendium of archaeological material of which 'Templa Druidum' formed the first part, might be published. In this connection, he was anxious for corroborative evidence to support his theory that megalithic remains were the work of the Druids, not least due to 'spightfull' critics of his theory about whom he evidently told Garden in one of his letters to him.<sup>71</sup> Aubrey had learned long before from his friend, Sir Robert Moray, that such antiquities were to be found in Scotland; indeed, he claimed that Moray 'promised me, to send me an account of some of these Temples, and how the vulgar called them: but <sudden> death prevented him'.<sup>72</sup> Now, it evidently occurred to him to use Scotland as a testing ground for his Druidic theory, and it was for this reason that he wrote to Garden to solicit information about such antiquities, asking for any clues that might substantiate his case. Garden proved a most forthcoming correspondent, not only providing information on Scottish megaliths, but also providing data on the 'bards' whom both he and Aubrey perceived as descendants of the Druids. He also commented at length on the pros and cons of Aubrey's theory (which Aubrey presumably expounded in letters to him now lost), dealing in detail with the statements on such subjects by ancient authors.<sup>73</sup> Indeed, so pleased was Aubrey with the result that he included lengthy extracts from the letters in the text of his *Monumenta Britannica*.<sup>74</sup>

Quite what stimulated Aubrey to go on from asking Garden about megaliths to second sight is not clear, but it probably seemed a natural corollary, since Aubrey must have been aware about the phenomenon of second sight from the hints by now in circulation, and must have seen the rapport that he had by this time established with Garden as providing a valuable opportunity to obtain full and reliable data on the subject. At this time, Aubrey was preparing his *Miscellanies*, a collection of material on extra-sensory phenomena which dealt with such topics as day fatality, omens, apparitions and dreams. This had begun as a section of his *Natural History of Wiltshire*, but had outgrown this to become a separate 'Treatise of *Hermetique Philosophie*', proposals for which were circulated early in 1695 and which came out in the following year.<sup>75</sup> Garden admitted that he had hitherto known nothing of the subject, but he went about collecting information on it in a very systematic manner,

<sup>70</sup> Hunter, *John Aubrey*, ch. 3, esp. pp. 157ff.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 224–5.

<sup>72</sup> Bodleian Library, MS Top. Gen. c. 24, fol. 78v; Aubrey, *Monumenta Britannica*, i, 128. Aubrey added: 'He was a Courtier, that would doe Courtesies for Friendship-sake.' Cf. MS Aubrey 12, fol. 227v, a memorandum by Aubrey to ask Moray for such information.

<sup>73</sup> For background on the classical texts that Garden discusses, see Owen, *The Famous Druids*, ch. 1 (who also deals with Boece on pp. 28ff) and Piggott, *The Druids*, ch. 3.

<sup>74</sup> See below, p. 42.

<sup>75</sup> Hunter, *John Aubrey*, p. 103n.



drawing up a questionnaire about it which he sent to various compatriots who were better informed than he was. Indeed, this itself exemplifies an increasingly common practice in natural historical work in these years, in Scotland as much as England, following a precedent set by Boyle, who had pioneered the use of such questionnaires in *Philosophical Transactions* in the 1660s; they had since been employed by such natural historians as Robert Plot, Aubrey himself and Sibbald in Scotland.<sup>76</sup>

Garden's informants provided some very valuable information, and Aubrey was again delighted, adding this data to his nearly-completed *Miscellanies*. Indeed, even prior to the publication of the work, Aubrey had circulated copies of Garden's letters to acquaintances of his with related interests, notably the philosopher John Locke, whose copy survives among his papers, and John Beaumont, who referred to the letters in the section on second sight in his *Historical Treatise of Spirits* (1705).<sup>77</sup> However, it is important to stress that with the publication of *Miscellanies* in 1696 a full, printed account of the phenomenon was for the first time available in the public domain, hence raising its profile.

It may have been the account of the subject in Aubrey's book, of which he owned a copy, that stimulated his fellow virtuoso, Samuel Pepys, to solicit information on second sight from certain correspondents in 1699–1700, thereby creating a further little 'episode' in the history of the topic.<sup>78</sup> In this connection, Pepys evidently contacted the young aristocrat, Lord Reay, his fellow FRS (as he proudly noted in endorsing his copies of the letters they exchanged), whose response comprised a copy of Tarbat's letter to Boyle with a commentary (there is no evidence, contrary to George Hickes's presumption, that Reay would otherwise have investigated the matter at all).<sup>79</sup> More important, Pepys's forwarding of a copy of this letter to Hickes encouraged Hickes to dredge up his own recollections about events in 1678. As we have already seen, these provide key data about the origins of Boyle's initial interest in the subject which would not otherwise have been recorded: indeed, in some respects Hickes's own investigation almost foreshadowed Boyle's, while both his rationale of the phenomenon and his acute sense of moralism in relation to it also parallels other accounts in this volume. Pepys gained further relevant information from Lord Clarendon, in part via the divine Thomas Smith, who commented on it in a somewhat sceptical vein.<sup>80</sup> Clearly, Pepys attached significance to the group of

<sup>76</sup> Boyle, *Works*, v, 529ff; Hunter, *John Aubrey*, p. 71 and n.; Withers, 'Geography, Science and National Identity', esp. pp. 66ff.

<sup>77</sup> Beaumont, *Historical Treatise of Spirits*, pp. 84ff., passim. Beaumont claimed that he had himself had related experiences: *ibid.*, pp. 91ff. See also his *Gleanings on Antiquities*, p. 193, for a further brief reference to Scottish second sight. For Locke, see below, pp. 42–3.

<sup>78</sup> Aubrey's book appears in Pepys's subject-catalogue under 'For Diversion': see Latham, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library*, vii, part 2, p. 59. 'Second Sight – Transactions, Q.' appears in 'Mr Pepys's Home Notes', Pepys, *Private Correspondence*, i, 166, dated by Tanner '1698?' on the basis of the character of the entries (*ibid.*, p. 165n.). In a subsidiary list printed adjacent, it appears under 'Clarendon, Lord', possibly suggesting a link with Pepys's exchange of letters with Clarendon in 1700–1: see below, pp. 184–6.

<sup>79</sup> See below, pp. 160n., 172n.

<sup>80</sup> For background to Smith's attitude, see Hunter, *Robert Boyle: Scrupulosity and Science*, ch. 10.

letters that he thus obtained. They survive as a coherent group among his correspondence, which was probably consciously brought together by Pepys himself, since he had his amanuensis provide a cover sheet to the group as a whole.<sup>81</sup>

Interestingly, Pepys may have started by being sceptical about the phenomenon but ended by being convinced of its reality: this is the implication of his letter to Lord Reay of 21 November 1699. Certainly, what we know about Pepys's earlier encounters with phenomena of this kind suggests a sceptical – if open-minded – attitude. In his famous diary in the 1660s, he comes out as rather ambivalent on such matters, while in the diary of his voyage to Tangier in 1683 he groups himself (against the future bishop, Thomas Ken) as a sceptic on such matters.<sup>82</sup> There is also the celebrated account in his friend John Evelyn's diary in 1685 about a discussion of such matters in the presence of James II at Winchester on 16 September 1685, in which Evelyn specifically states that Pepys had gone out of his way while in Spain to test the supposed miraculous power of the 'Saludadores', and had elicited a confession that it was fraudulent. (It is worth noting that Evelyn further observed of this episode: 'Then there was something said of the second-sight, happening to some persons, especialy *Scotch*.)'<sup>83</sup> Yet in his letters of 1699–1700, Pepys confessed himself impressed by the verisimilitude of the accounts he received (below, p. 170). Perhaps significantly, Pepys was a great admirer of Boyle, of whose works he owned a complete set:<sup>84</sup> it is almost as if, through collecting accounts of 'matters of fact', he came to emulate his mentor's more tentative approach.

Almost exactly in parallel with this, Edward Lhuyd was travelling to Scotland, where he sought out information on various topics. In particular, he collected data relating to the philological concerns that mainly preoccupied him and towards which he showed a more systematic and professional attitude than any predecessor. But he also took an interest in a more miscellaneous range of topics, including megalithic antiquities, of which he made a series of fine drawings, and second sight.<sup>85</sup> Notes survive that he made on information narrated by the Rev. John Beaton, the last surviving member of a longstanding Gaelic medical family, who gave Lhuyd access to his valuable collection of manuscripts and provided him with much valuable data, and these include the following entries:

The men with the second sight see a man with a light like the light of the glow-worm, or with fish [scales] over his hair and his clothes, if he is to be drowned; bloody, if he is to be wounded; in his shroud if he is to die in his bed; with his sweetheart on his right hand if he is to marry [her], but on his left hand if he is not to win his sweetheart.

<sup>81</sup> See below, pp. 44, 160.

<sup>82</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, Index s.v. 'Popular Beliefs'; Pepys, *Tangier Papers*, pp. 10, 14, 15, 21.

<sup>83</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, iv, 468–70.

<sup>84</sup> See Latham, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library*, vii, part 2, 13–19; Boyle, *Works*, i, lxxxiv; Hunter, *Boyle by Himself and his Friends*, p. 82.

<sup>85</sup> See Campbell and Thomson, *Lhuyd in the Scottish Highlands*, passim. See also Emery, *Edward Lhuyd*.

In Misnish in Mull there was a man who was said to see a man carrying a creel-ful of cheese from his house, although he was 8 miles from home; and since he recognized him, he went back [and] caught hold of him.<sup>86</sup>

It is, of course, also due to Lhuyd's visit that we have the copy of the 'Collection of Highland Rites and Customs' that he entered into his notebook from Sir Robert Sibbald's copy; he also annotated it with information, much of it derived from Beaton.

It is worth reflecting that Lhuyd's tour represented the first occasion on which someone domiciled in England who was interested in such matters had actually visited Scotland rather than expecting those living there to furnish data about it. This acted as a stimulus to further interest in such matters in Scotland, complementing the co-ordinating activities in which Sir Robert Sibbald had engaged since the 1680s (which, it is perhaps worth noting, do not seem to have included any enquiry into second sight). For Lhuyd circulated queries about antiquities, customs and phenomena like second sight, and his queries were taken up and extended by another active collector and co-ordinator of information who was just coming to the fore at this time, Robert Wodrow, the divine and librarian of Glasgow University. Wodrow is best known for the collection of religious and other phenomena recorded in his *Analecta*, but he was also assiduous in collecting natural historical and antiquarian information.<sup>87</sup> We have the answers to Wodrow's queries supplied both by John MacLean, apparently mainly on the basis of information gleaned from John Beaton, and by John Fraser, Dean of the Isles, who had in fact earlier responded to queries from Sibbald about the topography of the Western Isles.<sup>88</sup>

However, by this time John Fraser had himself already written a book on second sight, *Δευτεροσκοπια* (1707), which is also included here, and which was (appropriately) dedicated to Boyle's original informant on the subject, Lord Tarbat, whose leading role in Scottish politics at the turn of the century was reflected in the fact that in 1703 he was created Earl of Cromartie.<sup>89</sup> Fraser died in 1702 and the advertisement by the publisher, Andrew Symson, another former minister who was related to Fraser, is unfortunately not forthcoming on the question of how long prior to Fraser's death the work was written. Virtually the only dating clue is Fraser's reference to the visit to Tobermory of Sir William Sacheverell, Governor of the Isle of Man and author of a book on that island, to salvage spoils from the galleon *San Juan de Sicilia*, which had exploded there during the Armada campaign a century earlier.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>86</sup> From Lhuyd's notes, now in Trinity College, Dublin, MSH 4 8, p. 9, translated in Campbell and Thomson, *Lhuyd in the Scottish Highlands*, pp. 54–5. On Beaton, see Bannerman, *The Beatons*, pp. 35ff, 130ff. Lhuyd's contact with Beaton was at least partly while he was in exile in Ireland.

<sup>87</sup> See Withers, 'Geography, Science and National Identity', pp. 57–8; id., 'Reporting, Mapping, Trusting', pp. 504–5. See also Wodrow, *Early Letters*, passim, and Yeoman, 'The Devil as Doctor'.

<sup>88</sup> See Macfarlane, *Geographical Collections*, ii, 216–23.

<sup>89</sup> For an appraisal, see Riley, *Union of England and Scotland*, pp. 40–1 and passim.

<sup>90</sup> Below, pp. 192–3. See Sacheverell, *Account of the Isle of Man*, esp. pp. 95ff. For the *San Juan*

This visit occurred in the summer of 1698, by which time Fraser had certainly started collecting data on second sight, since he speaks of comparing his own observations on the phenomenon with those that Sacheverell had made in the Isle of Man (notes on such matters are indeed included in Sacheverell's *Account of the Isle of Man* (1702)).<sup>91</sup> Whether, as in the case of Kirk, this external interest acted as a stimulus to Fraser to extend his notes into a formal treatise or to consider publishing it is unclear.

Certainly the text states that, though initially done 'for my own satisfaction', Fraser was persuaded by 'some serious Friends' to disseminate it: though this took place only posthumously, it is interesting that in response to Wodrow's enquiry on this topic in his questionnaire, printed below, Fraser stated 'you may Shortly gett ane accompt from my son what my judgement of it is'.<sup>92</sup> His text is highly significant in its own right, with some similarity to Kirk's, though the Victorian littérateur and folklorist, Andrew Lang, thought more highly of Fraser's than Kirk's, seeing the difference between them as 'as great as that between Herodotus and Thucydides'.<sup>93</sup> Fraser himself clearly saw it as appropriate to deal with second sight in the context of learned culture, and much of his rationale for it is pitched in such terms. Particularly interesting is his discussion of it in terms of his theory of vision and the way in which this was affected by bodily humours. This apparently reflects the reading in Renaissance natural philosophy that he had done during or since his days at Glasgow University in the early 1660s, since his ideas on the subject closely echo those of the thirteenth-century author, John Pecham, as disseminated by sixteenth-century commentators.<sup>94</sup> He was clearly also attuned to the new science, describing an 'Optick Experiment' that he made, and speaking the language of 'matters of fact' (and, for that matter, of 'virtuosi' as those likely to be interested in such topics).<sup>95</sup> Equally interesting is the way in which, like Kirk, he ultimately comes back to God's power, to the role of angels, and to the Devil and the extent to which he could apparently manipulate nature – the tropes that we have already come across in other discussions of the phenomenon.

It is worth ending this section by referring to perhaps the best known work of natural history to emanate from Scotland at this time, Martin Martin's *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703). This celebrated work clearly reflects the pattern of Scottish reaction to curiosity emanating from England that has been in evidence throughout this book. In Martin's case, he was taken up by English savants like the Secretary of the Royal Society, Hans Sloane, in the 1690s; his initial find-

*de Sicilia*, see Fernandez-Armesto, *The Spanish Armada*, p. 15. For the date of this episode, see Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, p. 375; in Sacheverell's book it is given as 1688.

<sup>91</sup> Sacheverell, *Account of the Isle of Man*, pp. 20–2.

<sup>92</sup> See below, pp. 192, 212.

<sup>93</sup> Lang, *Cock Lane and Common-sense*, p. 242.

<sup>94</sup> See Lindberg, *Pecham and the Science of Optics*, pp. 29ff, 34ff. The *editio princeps* of the book of 1482/3 was edited by Fazio Cardano, on whom see below, p. 97.

<sup>95</sup> See below, pp. 193, 199, 200.

ings were published in *Philosophical Transactions* in 1697.<sup>96</sup> He then brought out his first book, dealing specifically with St Kilda, in 1698, followed by his magnum opus in 1703. As Charles Withers points out in the new edition of Martin's work that has just appeared, Martin was a kind of intermediate figure, thriving on the liaison between the local milieu from which he originated and the London intelligentsia whom he provided with the information from such remote places that they required.<sup>97</sup>

Moreover, his 1703 book has a lengthy section on second sight, which the title-page specifically announced as 'A Particular Account of the *Second Sight*, or Faculty of foreseeing things to come, by way of Vision, so common among them'.<sup>98</sup> This is not included here, in view of the ready availability of the book in its newly reprinted form. It resembles certain of the texts reprinted here, such as the letters of Tarbat and Garden, in that Martin recounts a number of instances of second sight. But there is a striking contrast between Martin's account and the treatises of his fellow Scots, Robert Kirk and John Fraser, which is worth dwelling on here. For whereas their intellectual background meant that Kirk and Fraser saw it as axiomatic that they should offer an explanation of the phenomenon in terms of hypotheses of bodily humours, the quality of the air, or the role of fairies and angels, Martin resolutely refused to offer any explanation of the phenomena that he observed. Instead, he showed himself a strict devotee to the cult of 'matters of fact' to the exclusion of theorisation that has been observed as a feature of the culture of natural philosophy in the late seventeenth century, not necessarily with productive results.<sup>99</sup> Martin lay particular stress on the reliability of his informants and the integrity of the information that he purveyed, and he clearly felt that he was establishing the reality of phenomena that challenged those who tried to explain everything in nature in purely materialist terms. But, unlike his two Scottish predecessors, he refrains from speculating what caused the strange phenomena that he recorded. It is an interesting reflection of the intellectual changes that the vogue for the new philosophy had brought about.

### Postscript and conclusion: second sight debunked

The reception of Martin's book brings us to a final theme which it is appropriate to explore in this Introduction. This will take us back to the motives that had inspired Boyle's initial interest in second sight. Moreover, by placing this in context, more general issues will arise as to who stood where in the process of intellectual change at the time. As we saw in the first section of this Introduction, and as has repeatedly

<sup>96</sup> *Philosophical Transactions*, 19 (1697), 727–9. A further article by Martin appeared in *ibid.*, 25 (1707), 2469–70.

<sup>97</sup> Martin, *Description of the Western Islands*, ed. Withers, pp. 1–11.

<sup>98</sup> This is unfortunately not included in the new edition, but it is reproduced in facsimile in that of 1934. For the section of text, see pp. 180–99 of the new edition.

<sup>99</sup> See esp. Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, pp. 240ff.

become apparent since, the motivation for recording data about second sight was more or less explicitly apologetic, and the phenomenon was regularly discussed in a context that took for granted the reality of an active supernatural realm which seemed as legitimate an object of speculation as anything purely natural.

However, it is clear that this co-existed with a current of scepticism, both about second sight and about the economy of supernatural activity in the world of which it formed part. Almost all the authors whose writings are printed here show signs of awareness of this. To take a single instance, Lord Reay, writing to Pepys about second sight in the Highlands and Islands, wrote: 'one would be More Laught at, for not believing it there Than affirmeing it elsewhere' (below, p. 163).

Who was it that they were concerned about? Here, we return to the concern about 'atheists' that Boyle and others had expressed in the first place, those secular-minded and critical thinkers who congregated in coffee-houses and other fashionable London milieux. These had struck Kirk during his visit to the metropolis in 1689–90. As he wrote in his diary: 'Court & coffee-house-Conferences & so many witty printed discourses in London, makes any man thats capable & master of a litle time & money, exceeding Witty, and a prompt Companion in Society. Which fits them so much to Banter, out-droll & vapour one another.'<sup>100</sup> Moreover the extent to which such sarcasm was directed specifically at the phenomena that have concerned us here was well-captured by the pious Yorkshire antiquary, Ralph Thoresby, in the entry that he wrote in his diary when he was in London on 21 August 1712:

Was troubled at some expressions in company, that dropped from some who would be thought the only wits, and glory in the style of Free-thinkers, who deny the existence of spirits, downright affirming those expressions in Scripture, the works of the flesh, and the works of the Devil are synonymous, there being no such thing as a Devil in their opinion. The Lord enlighten their dark minds, and let not learning make them mad! Stayed too late, being earnest in opposing them. Lord pity and pardon!<sup>101</sup>

As we saw earlier in this Introduction, it was arguably in the circles of 'wit' – in the sense of an essentially pragmatic, humanist, sceptical milieu, that had little time for the laborious empiricism of the new science – that a dismissive attitude towards magical phenomena was pioneered. Meanwhile, scientists like Boyle and those who investigated second sight under his influence remained pusillanimous, largely because of their fear of the dangerous corollaries for religion that such a dismissive attitude towards the supernatural realm might have.

Indeed, an almost perfect example of this polarisation is provided by the reaction of two 'wits' to Martin Martin's *Description of the Western Islands*, evidenced in this case by the remarkable survival of a copy of the work profusely annotated by the Deist, John Toland, and his friend and patron, the political writer, Lord Molesworth. The copy in question, of the second edition of Martin's book, is now in the British Library, and the annotations – which richly deserve publication – illustrate the

<sup>100</sup> Kirk, *London Diary*, fol. 115v.

<sup>101</sup> Thoresby, *Diary*, ii, 159.

confrontation of two quite different outlooks.<sup>102</sup> Throughout the book as a whole, and not least in the section devoted to second sight, Toland and Molesworth presume that all of the supposedly supernatural phenomena that Martin reported as ‘matters of fact’ were either fraudulent or could be explained by entirely natural causes. Moreover, they saw the promotion of beliefs of this kind as corollaries of the ‘priestcraft’ to which they were so bitterly opposed, and which they saw as especially upheld by Catholic beliefs in the Western Isles.

Indeed, though their scepticism is relentless throughout the book, it is particularly marked in the section on second sight. Toland was caustic even about Lord Tarbat, noting: ‘This Lord Tarbat (afterward Earl of Cromarty) was, tho an ingenious man, of a very bounded genius, as I have observ’d several of his countrymen never to pass over a certain pitch.’ Not least revealing was their response to Martin’s story of a second-sighted man who assisted his master at card-playing. Molesworth wrote: ‘how such a Butler might assist his master to rook & cheat all the topp gamesters of the town? such a man in Southsea time woud have bin a jewell’. Moreover, to Martin’s parting assertion that ‘These Accounts I had from Persons of as great Integrity as any are in the World’, Molesworth’s riposte was: ‘All impostures.’<sup>103</sup>

In fact, it seems that such scepticism may at this juncture have been specifically targeted on second sight, perhaps because of all the effort to vindicate it that has been documented here. It is as if, the harder such well-intentioned apologists as Martin worked to produce their ‘matters of fact’, the more it made the wits scoff. Martin was aware of this. As he wrote in the preface to his *Description* concerning second sight:

There is such an Account given here of the *Second Sight*, as the Nature of the thing will bear. This has always been reckon’d sufficient among the unbyass’d part of Mankind; but for those that will not be satisfy’d, they ought to oblige us with a new Scheme, by which we may judg of Matters of Fact.<sup>104</sup>

He echoed this when writing to Edward Lhuyd on 21 August 1703, when he stated: ‘there are several who approve of the Book that do not give credit to the Instances related of the second sight, tho at the same time they can bring no reasonable objection against it’.<sup>105</sup>

Here, one is reminded of the critical reception accorded to Aubrey’s *Miscellanies*, the publication of which arguably gave him the reputation of a credulous old fool

<sup>102</sup> British Library C.45.c.1. It came from the Heber Library, having previously been owned by James Bindley, Peter Thompson and Richard Mead. Toland’s notes on the fly-leaf are dated Sept. 1720; a subsequent note dated October 1721 records Molesworth’s borrowing and annotating the book. It is perhaps worth noting here that Toland had been at the University of Edinburgh in 1689–90 and might have met Martin.

<sup>103</sup> C.45.c.1, pp. 320, 326 (brackets accidentally closed after ‘man’ as well as after ‘Cromarty’), 335.

<sup>104</sup> Martin, *Description* (1716), p. xiii. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 307. Martin’s preface is unfortunately omitted from the new edition of his work.

<sup>105</sup> Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 1816, fol. 338, quoted in Stiùbhart, ‘Martin Martin: Raw Materials for a Life’.



that has dominated perceptions of him ever since.<sup>106</sup> It may not be coincidental that, as we have seen, it was here that a detailed account of second sight was first published. It is almost as if – following the publication of that book, if not before – second sight became a coffee-house joke, a shibboleth of the polarisation between scoffing wits and earnest virtuosi. ‘Second-sighted Highlanders’ turn up in burlesques of magical claims in Addison and Steele’s *Spectator*, for example, and in pamphlets by Daniel Defoe.<sup>107</sup> Even more telling is an anecdote of Lord Molesworth’s in his annotations to Martin’s book. Among his marginalia, he explains how ‘I knew this poor ignorant Martin, & one day exposed him so much to the ridicule of very good company (whither he was brought to dine) upon the account of the second sight which he pretended to maintain, that he never afterwards durst appear again in that company.’ Molesworth added: ‘the Royal Society were much to blame to admit such a person among them as a Philosopher, who was the farthest from that Character that could possibly be. *Nullius in Verba* was no Motto for him.’<sup>108</sup>

What, then, can one conclude from this entire episode? In fact, it is ironic that the careful, non-speculative account of second sight produced by Martin failed to convince the wits, since it could be argued that it was in response to similarly sarcastic reactions to Glanvill’s earnest demonology that Boyle had first made enquiries about second sight in 1678, thus beginning the tradition of investigation which this book chronicles. It genuinely seems as if Boyle and others like him hoped that by offering a low-key, dispassionate account of a plausible phenomenon like this, they would vindicate the reality of the supernatural realm in a way that extravagant tales of diabolical activity could not. Of course, this did not entirely exclude discussion of the moral and theological implications of second sight: if a supernatural realm were to be proved real, these were its natural corollaries, and certain of those who wrote about it were preoccupied by such matters. But there is no doubt that it was confidence in the sober verisimilitude of reports from an area where such practices were common that led Boyle and his like to pursue this topic in the way they did, in the hope that sceptics might be convinced. They may have been wrong, but the episode is nevertheless a revealing sign of the times. Moreover, its result was to bring to light crucial information about belief systems which might otherwise never have been fully recorded at all. Boyle and his successors deserve at once our thanks, and our sympathy.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>106</sup> See Hunter, *Robert Boyle: Scrupulosity and Science*, pp. 234–5. It is perhaps worth noting Toland’s view of Aubrey: ‘tho he was extremely superstitious, or seem’d to be so: yet he was a very honest man, and most accurate in his accounts of matters of fact’: Hunter, *John Aubrey*, p. 212.

<sup>107</sup> See *The Spectator*, iv, 293, 365; see also *ibid.*, v, 65. For such writings by Defoe, including two pamphlets entitled *The Second-Sighted Highlander* (1713, 1715), see Baine, *Defoe and the Supernatural*, ch. 5. However, see the rest of Baine’s book for an exploration of Defoe’s ambivalence on such issues, and the convictions that he shared with figures like Glanvill.

<sup>108</sup> C.45.c.1, pp. 303–4.

<sup>109</sup> As an *envoi*, it is worth noting the renewed interest in second sight that occurred half a century later, first in the liaison between the virtuosi Henry Baker and Archibald Blair in the late 1740s; then in McLeod’s *Treatise on the Second Sight* (1763), which is referred to



## Appendix

**John Evelyn's note on the Mason Word:  
from his commonplace book, British Library  
Evelyn Papers JE C4, p. 24<sup>110</sup>**

That the Company of Masons have a *word* which through all Christendome they deliver to divers of their trade, by which they immediately have the knowledg of any man throughout the world, that hath that word, and it is so powerfull that if a stranger be never so farr off that hath that word, they cannot forebear <but must><sup>111</sup> leave their worke, & goe to meete such a one, with whom there is immediatly such an affection & acquaintance (though they never either saw or heard of one another before) as if they had bin long & deare intimates: but this word, they neither will, nor can expresse to any but to such as desyre to know it, nor can one, but many of them, give it. The Assembly of Scotch divines hearing of this did lately call diver of the Trade before them, & would have known the word; but they told them they had no powre to tell it: but withall that if they would appoynt any particular person amongst them, to receive it, they would tell it him: which (fearing it was some witchcraft) they all refused: but a learned & religious gentleman, whose curiosity prompted him to desyre it, after he had bin acquainted with it, was infinitely troubled in conscience,<sup>112</sup> for a long while: I suppose there was something of vile Blasphemy in it, & sorcery, in so much as they confesse that no one alone can speake it. This I had from a Scotch Lady, who assured me of the Truth of it: & as I remember from Sir Rob: Morray my most religious friend.<sup>113</sup>

below; and most famously in the comments on the subject by Johnson and Boswell in connection with their tour of the Western Isles in 1773. See below, pp. 40, 47; Hunter, *Robert Boyle: Scrupulosity and Science*, p. 244; and Johnson and Boswell, *Journey to the Western Isles*, pp. 97–100, 262–3, 265–6, 311–12, 376–7, 402 and 423–4.

<sup>110</sup> This entry follows notes from Meric Casaubon's *Treatise concerning Enthusiasm* (1655), but is not linked to them. The episode concerning the General Assembly could conceivably be that referred to in Stevenson, *Origins of Freemasonry*, p. 127.

<sup>111</sup> replacing 'to' deleted. There is a further illegible small deletion after 'of' three words from the end of this sentence: 'A' [?].

<sup>112</sup> followed by 'after' deleted.

<sup>113</sup> The phrase concerning Moray is a later addition, in a different ink. For Moray, see above, p. 3. The other figure Evelyn mentions has not been identified.

## INTRODUCTORY NOTES ON THE TEXTS

### General

These notes are intended to supplement the Introduction by providing more specific information about each of the texts that follow, its provenance, dating, and previous publication history. In addition, any complication about the texts and any special features of their annotation are noted here.

All texts from manuscript sources have been presented according to principles outlined elsewhere, which are becoming standard in dealing with material of this kind.<sup>1</sup> Briefly, the MSS have been transcribed literally, retaining original spelling, capitalisation and punctuation; the ampersand has also been retained. Underlining in the original has been denoted by the use of italic. Words or phrases inserted above the line in the original have been denoted <thus>. Words or passages deleted or altered in the original are recorded in the textual notes at the end of the book; in cases where a word is interlined above another but the original is not deleted, this is denoted as 'duplicating' what was originally written. Editorial additions are indicated in square brackets: these include punctuation added to assist the reader, and words or letters obscured by damage to the manuscript. Standard abbreviations have been silently expanded, with square brackets being used in doubtful cases; the thorn has throughout been expanded to 'th', and u/v and i/j have been modernised. Catchwords in the original have been ignored unless they fail to tally with the text that follows. In general, paragraphing reflects the original, but additional spacing has occasionally been added for clarity (where this occurs, it is indicated in the notes that follow). Marginal references in the original (e.g. to the Bible) have been placed in footnotes, but insertions which appear in the margin with the intention that they should be incorporated in the text have been placed there (with an accompanying note stating this). Original foliation or pagination has been indicated by the insertion of 'fol. 2' between solidi at the point where each recto or verso of the manuscript text begins (though, if a word is split at the page break, the page number is placed after it). In the single case where the text is taken from a printed book, Fraser's *ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣΟΦΙΑ*, the text is reproduced exactly as in the original.

In most of the texts, words in Gaelic are given in Roman script and they are here transliterated exactly as they appear in the original. In Kirk's *Secret Commonwealth*, however, they appear in Irish characters, which have here been transliterated into Roman script, with italic type used to signal this fact. Italic has also been used for Gaelic words given in footnotes, where a rendering in present-day (University of

<sup>1</sup> See Hunter, 'How to Edit a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript'. Cf. Bédoyère, *Particular Friends*, p. 24; Principe, *Aspiring Adept*, pp. 231–2.

Edinburgh) orthography has been added in cases where the orthography in the original MS is peculiar. Words and passages in Latin or Greek are translated in footnotes unless a translation is included in the adjacent text. Footnotes have been used to identify individuals and books cited by each of the authors and to throw light on other matters which might puzzle the reader. On the other hand, dialect and other unusual or obsolete words have not been annotated piecemeal, to avoid potential repetition, but are included in the glossary at the end of the book. For the reader's convenience, biblical passages cited but not quoted by the various authors have been included in full in an appendix.

### 1. Robert Boyle's notes on his interview with Lord Tarbat, 3 October 1678

This document, the earliest extant item evidencing a sustained interest in second sight on the part of an English or Scottish intellectual, survives among the Boyle Papers at the Royal Society, BP 39, fols. 216–17. It has not previously been published. It is a folded sheet of foolscap format and is in hand A, i.e. the hand of an amanuensis who has unfortunately not been identified, but who worked for Boyle in the years around 1680.<sup>2</sup> The manner in which Boyle dictated an account of Lord Tarbat's visit and their conversation together later on the same day has some similarity to the narratives of interviews with aristocrats from the imperial court printed by Lawrence Principe in *The Aspiring Adept*: it is perhaps worthy of note that these are of comparable date.<sup>3</sup>

The document appears to bear the following relationship to Tarbat's letter to Boyle, of which copies were preserved both by Kirk and by Pepys and which was printed without attribution by John Beaumont.<sup>4</sup> The letter from Tarbat is undated, but it must be later than the interview, since the way in which the interview is presented implies that, at it, Boyle was learning about these events for the first time. Reread in this light, the letter has a slightly formal tone, perhaps implying that Tarbat wrote it for Boyle after the interview by way of providing written confirmation of the information conveyed orally on that occasion. This may have been stimulated by a letter from Boyle, to judge from what Tarbat later told Lord Reay (below, p. 161). The interview and letter are similar in their accounts of the two main instances of second sight that Tarbat recorded. Indeed, if anything, the interview is very slightly fuller, though this is largely because the detail is recounted differently. It is notable that in his report Boyle stresses '*the two things*' [my italics] that convinced Tarbat of the reality of the phenomenon, whereas the letter adds other examples, together with general introductory and concluding comments, the former being quite different from the comments by Boyle which introduce the interview.

<sup>2</sup> Hunter, *Letters and Papers*, p. xxxvi. See also *ibid.*, p. 64, for the document itself.

<sup>3</sup> Principe, *Aspiring Adept*, pp. 296–300.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 10, and below, pp. 90–4, 165–9.

## 2. 'A Collection of Highland Rites and Customs'

This text, Bodleian Library MS Carte 269, survives among the papers of the antiquary, Thomas Carte, presented to the Bodleian in 1753. It is something of a hybrid, in that it comprises Edward Lhuyd's annotated copy of Sir Robert Sibbald's copy of James Kirkwood's copy of a lost original. An edition of it was published by J.L.Campbell for the Folklore Society in 1975. This edition interspersed the original text not only with Lhuyd's additions but also – more confusingly – with the editor's annotations, in order to provide a repository of early information on Highland folklore. Those who wish to use it for that purpose may prefer to consult that edition, since here it has not seemed appropriate to burden the text with references to ancillary accounts which simply corroborate the same phenomenon (for instance by Martin Martin). Instead, an attempt has been made to present the original text as it existed prior to Lhuyd's transcription and annotation of it, on the grounds that it appears to have comprised a very early and significant record in its own right.

Lhuyd's copy is to be found in a notebook that he evidently took with him to Scotland for his tour (see above, pp. 25–6). On the cover is the inscription 'Some Account of the Highlands of Scotland'.<sup>5</sup> In addition to the 'Collection' it contains various memoranda, directions from Sibbald, notes on Scottish MSS, etc. It also has more miscellaneous material, some of it relating to Ireland and Cornwall, including material on Irish customs from Camden's *Britannia*, the section in which on Irish rites and customs was itself a pioneering collection of folklore.<sup>6</sup>

Having made a copy of Sibbald's manuscript, Lhuyd then annotated it, partly by adding sentences in juxtaposition with the text (though it is obvious that these are added retrospectively, since they are inserted into spaces, sometimes tucked into corners or written at a right angle to the text), and sometimes by adding notes separately at the end. Much of this information came from John Beaton, minister of Kilninian, whose help to Lhuyd on his Scottish tour has already been referred to. Lhuyd's separate notes are here printed after the main text, as they appear in the MS. His additions to the text itself have been placed in footnotes, keyed to the point in the original to which they refer. Lhuyd's distance from the original text is indicated by the fact that he evidently sometimes had difficulty reading words in it, sometimes putting dots under words to indicate this, and sometimes going back and elucidating points. He also placed asterisks in the margin keyed to similar marks in the text, presumably to draw his attention to passages of interest; these have been consigned to the apparatus.

As we have already seen, when writing to various correspondents at the time of his Scottish trip in 1699–1700, Lhuyd described this text as 'about 3 sheets of the customes & Rites of the Highlands; which the famous Mr Boyl had procur'd from some correspondent'. As J.L.Campbell pointed out in the previous edition of this work (p. 4), since the 'Collection' occupies fols. 2–25 of MS Carte 269, i.e. 48 pp.,

<sup>5</sup> There are also various further words which are now illegible.

<sup>6</sup> Fols. 33ff. See Hunter, *John Aubrey*, p. 156n. This is juxtaposed with material from J. Good, 'a priest educated at Oxford & school-master at Lymrick A° 1566' (fol. 33v).

this would be the equivalent of three sheets if each sheet comprised 16 pages. Though not noted by Campbell, a clear internal dating clue for the original is provided near the start of the text, where its author speaks of the Psalms having ‘lately’ been translated into Gaelic by Robert Kirk (i.e. in 1684), also describing the 1685 edition of Bedell’s Irish Old Testament as ‘lately’ produced. The Irish New Testament of 1681, on the other hand, is noted, but is not said to have appeared ‘lately’. This implies a date of composition soon after 1684–5.

Hence the original text is almost as early as Boyle’s notes on his interview with Tarbat, and it predates the other texts presented here by some years. Its authorship is unclear. J.L.Campbell speculated that it might be by Kirkwood, Boyle’s principal contact in the project for providing Bibles for the Highlanders, partly on the basis of the non-Highland areas reported on, namely mid and east Lothian and the Merse (p. 6), partly because of Kirkwood’s links with Boyle (pp. 4–5). On this basis, the work is treated as by Kirkwood at various points in the apparatus (e.g. pp. 58, 85, 97) and in the cataloguing data on the verso of the title-page.<sup>7</sup> However, in his introduction Campbell is more ambivalent, and, as a secondary hypothesis, he put forward the idea that the text might be by Robert Kirk, noting the overlap between its subject matter and the deleted part of the title of *The Secret Commonwealth* in Laing III 551 (pp. 5–6; see below, p. 78).

In fact, both of these suggestions are implausible. It seems unlikely that Kirkwood, or anyone else known to Lhuyd, was the author of the MS, or he would surely have noted this fact rather than describing its authorship in the vague terms already quoted. In addition, the dating clue already cited pushes the book back to the very start of the Bible project which brought both Kirkwood and Kirk in contact with Boyle, if not earlier still. One possibility may be recorded here, and this is as follows. In his *Compleat History of Providences* (1697), the cleric William Turner gives a completely different account of this episode from the normal one, writing how Boyle ‘commiserating the Ignorance of the poor *Highlanders*, agreed with one Mr. W. *Hewsdon*, M.A., formerly of *Edinburgh*, for £10 and the Defraying of all his Charges, to make a Journey into those Parts, and to procure a fit Person, to Translate, for him, the *New Testament*, *Psalter*, and *Church Catechism*, into Irish; who accordingly went, and procured one Mr *Kirk* for the purpose’. Turner continued by noting how he (i.e. presumably Hewsdon) and Kirk journeyed to the Highlands to distribute these books, adding that all this was based on an account ‘signed with the aforesaid Mr *Hewsdon*’s own Hand, and attested by Sir *Peter Pett* – in other words, one of Boyle’s closest friends, who wrote a memoir of him after his death.<sup>8</sup>

Although some details of this account are a little folklorish, and although it conflates with Boyle’s various other projects – including Kirk’s own translation of the psalter, as also the schools for which Kirkwood *was* responsible – it does not seem entirely implausible. William Houston, the man evidently involved, is a shadowy

<sup>7</sup> As a result, the work has since been cited as Kirkwood’s, e.g. in Bannerman, *The Beatons*, p. 133.

<sup>8</sup> Turner, *History of Providences*, 3rd pagination, pp. 72–6 [sic: for 73]. For Pett, see Hunter, *Boyle by Himself and his Friends*, pp. xxxiiff, 58ff.

figure who in 1683 had published an anti-Catholic pamphlet dedicated to Pett's friend, the Earl of Anglesey, which would explain his link with Pett.<sup>9</sup> Subsequently, we hear of his activity as a Cameronian in the events surrounding the Williamite Revolution, while in 1691–2 he got into trouble with the leaders of the Kirk over his claims to serve the parish of Kilsyth; in the course of this various allegations were made, including that Houston had toyed with the idea of becoming a Catholic in the early 1680s, though he responded by accusing his opponents of time-serving, and of resenting his learning.<sup>10</sup>

That Houston should have been involved as the Scottish 'front man' in the Bible project is perfectly plausible, as Kirkwood was in England at the time. Indeed, it was clearly *not* Kirkwood who initially found Kirk, since from the letter to Boyle of 27 December 1687 in which he told Boyle about Kirk, it is quite clear that he had not previously known him himself. Elsewhere, Kirkwood vaguely refers to 'my friends in Scotland' who assisted him.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, Houston's subsequent difficulties would well explain why he was later forgotten.

On the other hand, this is completely hypothetical, and Boyle may have had other informants, such as the Earl of Perth, as mentioned in the Introduction. Yet another possibility is Boyle's later protégé, David Abercromby, who hailed from Scotland and had in fact been involved in the controversy to which Houston's pamphlet contributed.<sup>12</sup> However, in this case the formula 'some correspondent' might seem odd. Beyond this, the authorship of the work is the purest speculation. It is also unclear who – apart from Kirkwood and Sibbald – saw the MS prior to Lhuyd. On the other hand, since it comments on many of the topics which subsequent commentators dealt with, including second sight, fairies, magical spells and invocations, observances, dreams, bards and stone circles, it seems worthy of a place here.

The text has been freshly collated with the manuscript in the Bodleian Library. Paragraphing omitted by Campbell has been restored and some words that he could not read have been inserted. As already noted, Lhuyd's notes have been separated

<sup>9</sup> *Scotland Pulling down the Gates of Rome* (London, 1683) (in which his name is given as 'Houschone').

<sup>10</sup> See especially Houston's 'Memorial' to Robert Harley, Secretary of State, dated 20 April 1705 (HMC *Portland*, viii, 371–4; cf. *ibid.*, iv, 174; viii, 194, 201, 275, 331) and his 'Pawls Peacable Plea for Christian Truth Against Peters dissimulation', National Library of Scotland, MS 9255, fols. 100–1. See also MSS 9250, fols. 272, 292, 294, 296; MS 9251, fol. 3; MS 9255, fols. 92, 94, 97–8, 102, 108–9, 110–11, 114–15, 117, 119–20, 122–3. See also NLS Ch. 8462. I am indebted to Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart for these references. See also National Archives of Scotland, E7/7, p. 318, which shows that Houston was granted the stipend from the parish of Buittle, Kircudbrightshire, in 1693, and NAS, CC8/8/84, fols. 270v–271v, a testamentary record showing that he died intestate in London sometime before 7 December 1709: these references were very kindly provided by Tristram Clarke.

<sup>11</sup> Kirkwood to James Ramsay, Bishop of Ross, 14 Dec. 1687; cf. Kirk to Boyle, 5 Nov. 1687: Boyle, *Correspondence*.

<sup>12</sup> *Scotland Pulling down the Gates of Rome* is described in 'Pauls Peacable Plea' as a sequel to John Menzies' *Roma Mendax* (1675), a response to *Scolding no Scholarship* (1669), published anonymously but actually by Abercromby, itself an attack on Menzies' earlier *Papismus Lucifugus* (1668). See Davis, 'Anonymous Writings of Boyle', pp. 625–6. See *ibid.*, *passim*, for Abercromby's later career.

from the text and have been included in footnotes along with editorial notes elucidating matters dealt with in the text. The titles have been made consistent in style throughout, with the first two, which do not appear in capitals, being capitalised, and space being inserted in instances where the text runs straight on after the title.

### 3. Robert Kirk's *The Secret Commonwealth*

The text of this work is taken from the earliest surviving manuscript, Edinburgh University Library MS Laing III 551. This is dated 1692 on the title-page (though 1691 at the end, presumably because the process of revision spanned both years) and is in a hand which is identified within the MS as that of Robert Campbell, perhaps a relative of Kirk's.<sup>13</sup> It is apparently a dictation copy, which was the subject of emendation at the author's behest, since the changes made subsequent to its original composition seem to have authorial authority; indeed, in some cases (e.g. pp. 104, 106) they are in Kirk's hand, though others are in the same hand as the main text. At one point (p. 105), an extra section is inserted on a part leaf. The handwriting changes slightly at intervals, suggesting that it was written in stages. The title-page is extraneous to the pagination of the MS, and 'An Essay' begins on p. 1; thereafter, the MS is made up of four sections, pp. 1–40, 41–100, 101–10 and 112–27 (128–9 is a separate leaf); as this illustrates 'A Short Treatise' is an integral part of the volume. The original pagination extends only as far as p. 33 (pp. 32 and 33 are incorrectly paginated).

It is perhaps worth noting that two changes that have been made extensively throughout the MS – the alteration of '-ie' to '-y' and the deletion of terminal 'e's to words – have been silently ignored. In places, the first word on a page is capitalised despite the fact that it appears in the middle of a sentence (and is not capitalised in the catchword on the preceding page), and this has been silently ignored. In addition, superfluous full stops in Kirk's glossary have been omitted. Gaelic words are written in ill-formed Irish script throughout the MS; here, they have been transliterated into Roman letters. The scribe (i.e. presumably Robert Campbell) was evidently unfamiliar with Gaelic script, copying the words out – presumably from Kirk's original – laboriously and not always accurately; in particular, he often confused 'd' and 'b' and occasionally 'r' and 's'. Where appropriate, we have added a footnote indicating how the word probably appeared in Kirk's notional original: these footnotes are introduced by the word 'recte' to differentiate them from notes in which a version has been offered in modern orthography. It is perhaps worth adding that, since Kirk was the author of a Gaelic glossary as well of the translations referred to above, it seems unlikely that his own MS rendering of Gaelic words would have been faulty, indicating that it was at the copying stage that the problems arose.<sup>14</sup>

Two other MSS survive, both of eighteenth-century (or early nineteenth-century) date: Edinburgh University Library MS Gen 308D, acquired in 1964, and

<sup>13</sup> See below, p. 117; Sanderson, *Secret Commonwealth*, p. 17.

<sup>14</sup> For his glossary, see Nicolson, *Scottish Historical Library*, pp. 127–34.



National Library of Scotland MS 5022, acquired in 1949. MS 308D was owned by Dr William Henderson in 1814; the provenance of MS 5022 is unclear.<sup>15</sup> These differ from Laing III 551 most significantly in that the text of both is truncated, ending at p. 111 of the current text; significant sections of the pages preceding this (pp. 108–9, 110–11) are also omitted. In addition, the title-pages of both MSS have an extra phrase concerning atheism, which fails to appear in Laing III 551, while MS 5022 also has the note concerning the dispatch of the work to Mrs Stillingfleet that has been discussed in the Introduction: these are quoted in notes at the relevant point in the text below.<sup>16</sup>

In addition, there are a number of minor differences of wording between the MSS, which may be summarised as follows. Taking MS 5022 first, in many cases it differs from Laing III 551 in lacking last-minute additions made to the Laing III 551 text, some of them inserted into the existing MS after it was originally composed (oddly, MS 5022 includes the passage added on a separate piece of paper at p. 90 of Laing III 551, which possibly had to be inserted thus due to being omitted accidentally). These include the alteration of biblical references, and in one instance a reference is to be found in MS 5022 which is altogether superseded in Laing III 551 (p. 100). Where the two versions differ, the Laing III 551 text is almost always preferable, many of the differences being explicable in terms of conscious revision on Kirk's part, while others seem likely to be the result of omission or unauthorised emendation by the copyist of MS 5022. Indeed, that it is a rather unintelligent transcript is suggested by the fact that the note about Mrs Stillingfleet is apparently an endorsement which should not have been copied verbatim into the middle of the text, as it is in the extant MS. On the other hand, MS 5022 sometimes has viable alternative readings, and occasionally ones that seem preferable to those in Laing III 551. These have been adopted below, with a footnote at the appropriate place recording this, and other places where MS 5022 has a significant variant reading (especially where it includes an extra word or words, though not where it omits them) have also been noted. On the other hand, it has not seemed appropriate to burden the text with a complete tabulation of the differences between the two MSS: any readers who require this will find it in Rossi's edition (see below).

The element of independence of MS 5022 does, however, imply that it is copied from a further MS, now lost, which presumably represents a copy made by or for Kirk from an intermediate text of which Laing III 551 is an emended copy (whether this intermediate version was truncated like MS 5022 is unclear). Evidently inspired by these differences, and perhaps particularly those on the title-page, Rossi initially took the view that Laing III 551 was superseded by a fair copy sent to Mrs Stillingfleet, and that MS 5022, as the nearest witness to this, should be taken as the copy text.<sup>17</sup> However, in *Il Cappellano delle Fate* he reverted to taking the Laing III 551

<sup>15</sup> See Sanderson, *Secret Commonwealth*, p. 27; Rossi, 'Text-Criticism', p. 261.

<sup>16</sup> See p. 77. The other differences to the wording of the title-page are trivial.

<sup>17</sup> Rossi, 'Text-Criticism', p. 267 and *passim*.



text as his copy text, evidently on the basis of the fuller scrutiny of the differences between the MSS that he had by then carried out.<sup>18</sup>

The third MS, 308D, is a cruder copy; it has four blank pages at the equivalent of pp. 96–8 of the current edition and it shares many of the different readings to be found in MS 5022 but adds others, most of them unintelligent misreadings of the text; these are also noted in full by Rossi but have been ignored here. The only exception are two words in Gaelic which appear in MS 308D but not in Laing III 551 (in MS 5022, blanks are left for all Gaelic words, presumably because they defeated the copyist): these have therefore been included in the text at the appropriate point (p. 109).

The copy of the work that Lord Reay saw (see p. 163) was presumably yet another recension, evidently lacking the first title-page that appears in all extant MSS, since he quotes the title given on p. 1 of Laing III 551 rather than that on the unpaginated leaf that precedes it.<sup>19</sup> A further MS, now lost, formed the basis of the first printed edition of the work, issued in 1815 apparently at the behest of Sir Walter Scott.<sup>20</sup> On p. v, it is stated that this was ‘printed literally from a Manuscript Copy preserved in the Advocates’ Library’, but its source is no longer extant. This version has both the title-pages found in the extant MSS, the second appearing first, as part of the main title-page of the book on which the imprint also appears, and the first following, being printed in a style evidently intended to give a sense of a seventeenth-century title-page.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, it ends at the equivalent of p. 86 in Laing III 551 (in other words, in the middle of Kirk’s commentary on Tarbat), where it has the note: ‘See the Rest in a little Manuscript belonging to Coline Kirk – *Note by the Transcriber*.’<sup>22</sup> It is followed in the printed text by an appendix comprising substantial extracts from *A Treatise on the Second Sight, Dreams and Apparitions* published in 1763 by ‘Theophilus Insulanus’, in other words, the Rev. Donald McLeod of Hamer in Skye. One hundred copies only were printed. This 1815 edition constitutes the first edition of the work, notwithstanding the misleading assertion that an edition of 1691 existed made by Scott in his *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* of 1830.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Rossi, *Il Cappellano*, esp. pp. 205–7.

<sup>19</sup> See Rossi, ‘Text-Criticism’, pp. 267–8. It is perhaps worth noting that Spence, *Second Sight*, p. 30, is certainly wrong in suggesting that the work Reay had might have been Fraser’s.

<sup>20</sup> For the link with Scott, see Lang, *Cock Lane and Common Sense*, p. 235, which cites evidence to this effect both from a copy that he owned and from C.K.Sharpe’s copy. See also Sanderson, *Secret Commonwealth*, pp. 21–2.

<sup>21</sup> Insofar as the two differ (see above, p. 39), its textual affiliation is with MS 5022 rather than Laing III 551. The quotation from Job 26, 5 is given in Greek, which is not the case in any of the extant MSS, though this could be due to editorial intervention.

<sup>22</sup> Kirk, *An Essay*, p. 45. Two of Kirk’s notebooks, Laing III 549 and National Library of Scotland 3932, have the ownership inscription of Colin Kirk, the former dated 1697. On Colin Kirk see Rossi, ‘Text-Criticism’, p. 263.

<sup>23</sup> Scott, *Letters on Demonology*, pp. 163–4n. He was probably misled in retrospect by the fact that the imprint of the 1815 edition uses the formula ‘reprinted’ – which was appropriate to McLeod’s *Treatise on the Second Sight* but not to Kirk’s book – and perhaps by the quasi-facsimile title-page.

The 1815 text was reprinted in 1893 with a lengthy introductory essay by Andrew Lang. It was in this edition that the work was given the title *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns, & Fairies*, by which it has often been referred to since, though, as will be seen from the text that follows, this is a conflation of different parts of the original title which has no mandate there. It also has the sub-title 'A Study in Folk-Lore & Psychical Research', and Lang's Introduction comprises quite a serious attempt to place the work in this context. It was printed by David Nutt in the Strand, in an edition of 550 copies. This formed vol. 8 of the 'Bibliothèque de Carabas', and it includes a dedication to Robert Louis Stevenson, an epitaph to Kirk, a frontispiece by Lockhart Bogle and a whimsical vignette at the end of the Introduction. This text was then reprinted (not very accurately) by Eneas Mackay of Stirling in 1933, including Lang's Introduction together with a further, rather gushing and generalised introductory note by R.B.Cunningham Graham. This edition lacks the sub-title of that of 1893, while it has a different frontispiece, a reproduction of a watercolour of the Fairy Hill at Aberfoyle by Sir D.Y.Cameron, RA. This is an allusion to the story, recounted by Scott and others, that Kirk did not die in 1692 but was abducted by the fairies to become chaplain to the Fairy Queen.<sup>24</sup>

More recently, there have been two scholarly editions of the work, both of them taking as their copy text the MS deployed here, Laing III 551. One forms part of a book by Mario M.Rossi, *Il Cappellano delle Fate* (Naples, Giannini, 1964), pp. 208–461 of which comprise an edition of the MS with an Italian translation on facing pages. Also included is the full collation with the two extant later MSS already referred to. The remainder of Rossi's book comprises a lengthy account of Kirk and his background, which has been drawn on here. Considering its interest, it is unfortunate that this book is very scarce in the British Isles: I know of no copy of it in any library south of the Border, and consulted it in Edinburgh University Library.

Secondly, in 1976 Stewart Sanderson produced a further edition for the Folklore Society's Mistletoe Series. This was published by D.S.Brewer and Rowan and Littlefield. It was produced from typewritten copy, with the inevitable crudeness of presentation resulting from that; on the other hand, it is generally a good text, though with various minor defects which have been corrected in the current version. It is accompanied by a helpful introduction, which ranges more widely than the present one in terms of Kirk's background in folklore, though it is rather thin on the intellectual background dealt with here. In 1990, a modernised text of the work based on Sanderson's was produced by R.J.Stewart as part of his book, *Robert Kirk: Walker between Worlds* (Shaftesbury: Element Books), in which Kirk is presented as a mystic seer who penetrated another world.

<sup>24</sup> See Scott, *Letters on Demonology*, pp. 165–6, citing Graham, *Sketches of Perthshire*, pp. 253–5. See also Rossi, *Il Cappellano*, esp. pp. 7–8, and Sanderson, *Secret Commonwealth*, pp. 17–20.

#### 4. James Garden's letters to John Aubrey

The background to the approach by Aubrey to the Aberdeen academic, Dr James Garden, has been sketched in the Introduction. As was there noted, Aubrey must have expounded his theory and his anxieties about it to Garden, who provided information about various megalithic antiquities, some of it based on data supplied by his university colleagues. He also provided an account of the 'bards', which has provided scholars with valuable, early information on this phenomenon. Both this and some of the data concerning second sight came from a figure described by Garden as 'by profession a student of Divinity, & by birth a gentlemans son in Strathspey', who lived between Aviemore and Grantown on Spey and has sometimes been identified as Robert Stewart, one of Edward Lhuyd's informants.<sup>25</sup> This identification stems solely from the fact that both Garden's informant and Stewart came from Speyside, whereas the clues provided by the letters themselves – especially the incident in Dundee's campaign of 1689 – suggest that he might equally easily have been a member of the Grant family living at Lynchurn or Gartenmore, though his identity remains frustratingly obscure.<sup>26</sup> In the final two letters Garden deals with two other matters, evidently in response to further requests from Aubrey. Letter 8 deals with transportation by an invisible power, and, like letters 6 and 7, was partly incorporated in Aubrey's *Miscellanies*, while Letter 9 deals with herbal cures in the Orkneys.

The text of eight of the nine letters from Garden to Aubrey survives in Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Aubrey 12, fols. 123–37. The other letter, Letter 2, is preserved between pages 62 and 63 of John Britton's grangerised copy of his *Memoir of John Aubrey* (1845) in the Library of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society at Devizes, Wiltshire. Aubrey copied extracts from letters 1–5, 7 and 9 in the manuscript of his *Monumenta Britannica*, and substantial sections of these have been reproduced in facsimile in the edition of that work by John Fowles and Rodney Legg, published in 1980.<sup>27</sup> Aubrey also published the two letters relating to second sight in his *Miscellanies* (1696), preceded by a separate title-page and followed by 'Additaments'.<sup>28</sup> Prior to this, copies of the letters together with Aubrey's 'Additaments' were circulated in manuscript. John Beaumont stated that Aubrey showed him these letters before he printed them.<sup>29</sup> In addition, John Locke's copy of them, Bodleian MS Locke c. 31, fols. 110–25, differs both from the originals and from the printed

<sup>25</sup> Below, p. 124; Campbell and Thomson, *Lhuyd in the Scottish Highlands*, pp. 92–3 and n.

<sup>26</sup> See John Buchanan-Brown's examination of the matter in Aubrey, *Three Prose Works*, pp. 398–400.

<sup>27</sup> Bodleian Library MS Top. Gen. c. 24, fols. 114–31; Aubrey, *Monumenta Britannica*, i, 170–220. Aubrey there only includes the section of the second letter dealing with the 'Bards', quoting it as if it were a self-contained letter from Garden.

<sup>28</sup> Aubrey, *Three Prose Works*, pp. 111ff, with lengthy commentary by the editor, John Buchanan-Brown, on pp. 392ff, in which he quotes the sections of Letters 6–7 omitted by Aubrey from the printed text. He also quotes extracts from Letter 1 on p. 397 and Letter 2 on pp. 437–8, while the whole of Letter 9 appears as Appendix II, pp. 471–5.

<sup>29</sup> Beaumont, *Treatise*, p. 84, and pp. 84ff passim.

version, and is presumably based on a lost exemplar. This text comprises a small paperbook, entitled 'Of Second Sight' and 'J Garden concerning the 2<sup>d</sup> Sight 94'. Insofar as it differs from the original MSS and the printed text, it is closer to the original than to the published version. It also has various differences in the 'Addiments' (which appear between the two letters, rather than at the end, as in the printed text), presumably reflecting revision by Aubrey between his original composition of this section and its publication. These differences are fully documented by John Buchanan-Brown in his edition of *Three Prose Works* by Aubrey.<sup>30</sup>

The letters dealing with megaliths and the Druids seem also to have been seen by others than Aubrey, since they are cited in the section on Anglesey in the 1695 edition of Camden's *Britannia*.<sup>31</sup> In addition, Thomas Hearne records seeing these letters in 1718.<sup>32</sup> The first letter was published in *Archaeologia*, 1 (1770), 312–19, having been read at the Society of Antiquaries on 4 December 1766.<sup>33</sup> The letters on second sight were reprinted in subsequent editions of Aubrey's *Miscellanies* in 1784, 1857 and 1890, while they were separately reprinted in the anthology of *Treatises on Second Sight* in *Miscellanea Scotica*, 3 (1819), 207–27. More recently, an annotated edition of the second letter was published by Cosmo A. Gordon, assisted by John Macdonald, in *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 8 (1955), while a complete text of all nine letters was published by Gordon in the Miscellany of the Third Spalding Club of Aberdeen in 1960. The annotations to the latter text have been heavily drawn on in the current edition, though the text is based on the original MSS. It is perhaps worth noting that it has not seemed appropriate to repeat here all the detailed antiquarian and etymological information that Gordon provided, since it readily available in his edition. On the other hand, it will be found that his edition does little to elucidate the references to classical and more recent authors and to the personalities introduced in connection with second sight; on the latter, John Buchanan-Brown's annotations to his edition of Aubrey's *Miscellanies* have been most helpful.

The letters have been printed exactly as they survive, except that in certain of them, especially Letter 3, Garden indicated paragraphs by including extra spacing but without actually starting a new line so as to save space: here, these breaks have been denoted as full paragraphs. In addition, although Garden sent a replacement for part of the first letter in the second, and although Aubrey deleted the original, substituting the replacement copy, in the version in *Monumenta Britannica*,<sup>34</sup> here both versions have been reproduced in full. The title is reproduced from the cover-sheet with which Aubrey prefaced them in his collection of letters, now Bodleian Aubrey MSS 12–13.

<sup>30</sup> Aubrey, *Three Prose Works*, pp. 395–6.

<sup>31</sup> Gibson, *Camden's Britannia*, col. 678. Letter 2 was the subject of a commentary by the antiquary Thomas Tanner (1674–1735) which a note by Britton indicates formerly accompanied it, though this is no longer present.

<sup>32</sup> Hearne, *Collections*, vi, 240–1. He was shown them by Mr Whiteside of the Ashmolean Museum.

<sup>33</sup> Oddly, Aubrey's Christian name is left blank in the title, although he had been named in full on p. xxiii of the same volume.

<sup>34</sup> Bodleian MS Top. Gen. c. 24, fol. 119; Aubrey, *Monumenta Britannica*, i, 178.

All the letters have postmarks and impressions of seals apart from Letter 4, which (as Garden explains at the beginning of it) was evidently sent with Letter 3. The postmarks are standard examples of the London Post Office, and their dates indicate that the letters were postmarked in London nine or ten days after their date of writing. Two seals are used. All the letters except the first are sealed with a circular seal showing a bird with wings outstretched, perched on a rock, which is probably not heraldic. The first letter is sealed with a different seal, also circular, which shows an achievement of arms: shield: field lozengy (or possibly for colour Murrey).

### 5. Samuel Pepys's collection of letters on second sight

These letters appear together at the beginning of the second volume of the Pepys-Cockerell collection of Pepys letters.<sup>35</sup> All of the letters relating to second sight are grouped together, along with some duplicates, and they are arranged only partially in chronological order. That this grouping was assembled by Pepys is suggested by the fact that it was provided with a cover-sheet by his amanuensis, which is reproduced here as the title. The grouping was obscured by J.R. Tanner in his edition of Pepys's *Private Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers*, in which the letters are scattered, each of them being placed at the appropriate chronological point in Pepys's correspondence as a whole. However, in the earlier editions of Pepys's *Diary and Correspondence*, stemming from that of Lord Braybrooke in 1825, they were kept together. Indeed Braybrooke introduced them with the following note: 'The Letters which follow, relating to the SECOND SIGHT ordinarily pretended to in the Highlands, are here/ introduced *seriatim*, without reference to the Chronological order observed in the Correspondence.'<sup>36</sup> Braybrooke published the bulk of the letters, though he omitted Pepys's 'Letter-Notes', along with Reay's letter of 10 October 1699, Smith's of 6 July 1700 and Pepys's letter to Clarendon of 10 July 1700 [sic]. The third edition of 1848–9 includes the same letters as the edition of 1825, except that the follow-up letters between Pepys and Hickee are omitted, and all subsequent reprints of the Braybrooke edition follow this.<sup>37</sup>

All the letters which form part of the group relating to second sight are here printed in full, but there are two further brief references to second sight in letters which appear in the main sequence in the Pepys–Cockerell collection because they predominantly relate to other matters. The first is in a letter from the Earl of Clarendon to Pepys of 1 July 1700, replying to a letter from Pepys of 24 June which is now lost, in which Clarendon prepares the way for the letters from Smith and himself that *do* form part of the group by writing:<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> On the history of this collection, see Bédoyère, *Particular Friends*, pp. 15–16, 17. See also *ibid.*, p. 278, concerning a further letter from Pepys to Clarendon dated 24 June 1700, which dealt with second sight among other subjects but which is not extant.

<sup>36</sup> Pepys, *Diary and Correspondence* (1825), ii, 174n., and 174–98, *passim*.

<sup>37</sup> Pepys, *Diary and Correspondence* (1848–9), v, 354–75.

<sup>38</sup> Pepys, *Private Correspondence*, ii, 1. For the lost letter from Pepys, see above, n. 35.

As to your inquiry concerning the second sight, and of what hapned to me in reference to my first wife upon that occasion, I will tell the story to your selfe when I see you, and in the mean time to Dr Smith, and if either of you thinke it worth notice, I will putt it in writing as exactly as I can.

The second is in a letter from Pepys to Thomas Smith dated 31 July 1700, the relevant section of which acknowledges Smith's lengthy letter of 6 July and anticipates the arrival of Clarendon's, as follows:<sup>39</sup>

And first, for your learned reflexions upon the business of the *second-sight*, and what you have so kindly anticipated of the satisfaction which I must now wait longer for from that noble Lord, and with much less uneasiness on my own behalf than (for the afflicting occasion of it) on his Lordshipp's. To whom, when it shall be proper and you have opportunity for it, pray let my duty be tendered in the style due to his present trouble.<sup>40</sup>

I thank you too for your story of the country gentleman, with your *Thus and Thus* at the tail of it: but must own my self more than a little partial, not to the *second-sight* but *second-experience* of my Doctor in the boldness of his verdict thereon;<sup>41</sup> as remembring what a learned friend of mine lately noted to me touching the near affinity between the words of an *experimental diviner* and a *prophet*. And *so be it*, as to that point.

The initiative in this episode was certainly Pepys's, as we saw in the Introduction. It was clearly at his behest that Lord Reay contacted Lord Tarbat, who not only sent a copy of his letter to Boyle, but also gave some ancillary information. Reay also recounted stories that he had heard himself, the bulk of them recent, and he states that he had Kirk's book in his possession, promising to send it to Pepys, though whether he ever did so is unknown. Indeed, it appears that, although Pepys was obviously hoping to take matters further, no more letters were to materialise than those printed here. It is worth noting that careful scrutiny of Pepys's 'Letter-Notes' shows that these must post-date both Reay's letter of 24 October 1699 and Hickeys' letter to Pepys of 19 June 1700, since they draw on information derived from those, and they clearly represent notes for the intended letter to Reay to which Pepys refers in his letter to Hickeys of 2 August 1700. If Pepys did write such a letter, however, it failed to elicit any further response from Reay.

Perhaps the most important of the letters is that of Hickeys. Not only does this show a striking curiosity about second sight which has been commented on in the Introduction; it also displays the learning that might have been expected from the author of the *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus* of 1703–5. On the other hand, although Pepys's friend, William Hewer, with whom Pepys was then living, subscribed to the latter work, it is not clear why Hickeys seems to have thought that he was the person to whom information on this subject should be communicated. The text of the letter is in the hand of an amanuensis, signed by Hickeys; this amanu-

<sup>39</sup> Pepys, *Private Correspondence*, ii, 25.

<sup>40</sup> Clarendon had just been bereaved: *ibid.*, ii, 24n.

<sup>41</sup> A reference to Hickeys and his categorisation of second sight: see below, pp. 172–3.

ensis formed certain letters slightly eccentrically, especially the 'w' in 'which'. Lord Reay's letter of 24 October 1699 with the enclosure in the form of Lord Tarbat's letter to Boyle was also predominantly written by an amanuensis whose spelling is at times slightly eccentric and who had an odd way of writing the letter 'u'.

The letter from Lord Reay dated 10 October 1699 has a standard London postmark; the two Hickes letters bear the characteristic triangular postmark of the London Penny Post. The letters of Hickes, Smith and Clarendon have their original seals. That on the Smith letter is non-heraldic, apparently showing an antique female bust; the details of those on the letters from Hickes and Clarendon are unfortunately indecipherable.

In presenting the letters, the original order in the Pepys–Cockerell collection has been as far as possible retained. However, as already stated, Pepys's 'Letter-Notes' have been moved to what is clearly their correct chronological position in the series, and so has Pepys's acknowledgment of the Earl of Clarendon's letter, the date of which in the original, 1700 [sic], must be erroneous; it has therefore been moved to follow Clarendon's letter at the end of the series. The primary method of reference for the letters is a series of document numbers, as cited in the existing published text.<sup>42</sup> However, in conjunction with this, some of the letters have an early pagination marked on them, and this has been recorded here.

Bound into the Pepys–Cockerell collection among the originals are various copies of letters made at Pepys's behest, which have been recorded in footnotes at the appropriate point. However, it has not seemed appropriate to include a complete record of the changes made in these copies, which often severely truncate the original. Thus in Reay's letter of 24 October 1699 the miscellaneous information about Scottish natural history is completely omitted, as are his speculations about the rationale of second sight, while the section concerning Kirk is abbreviated, omitting the title of the book, the initials of the author, and the sentence about his disagreement with Tarbat. (It is perhaps worth recording that in one sentence that is retained, the first in the penultimate paragraph on p. 163, 'was' is altered to 'tho', thus enhancing the polarisation between Kirk's status as a divine and his defence of second by comparison with the original.) A text of Pepys's copies is in fact available in Lord Braybrooke's edition, since, probably because they were easier to read than the originals, his versions of the texts in question were invariably based on the copies in the cases where these existed. J.R. Tanner draws attention to various errors, omissions and bowdlerisations in Lord Braybrooke's versions in his edition of Pepys's *Private Correspondence*.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> See Pepys, *Private Correspondence*, passim.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 213n., 220n., 240n., 268n.; ii, 222n.



## 6. John Fraser's *Δευτεροσκοπία*

Much of what is known about the history of this book and its author derives from the preface to the first edition of it, published after Fraser's death by Andrew Symson (c. 1638–1712) at Edinburgh in 1707, from which the text presented here is derived. As has already been explained, Fraser, like Kirk, was a man of Highland origin who was educated at university, in his case at Glasgow. He then returned to the Isles as chaplain to Sir Allan MacLean, prior to succeeding his father as minister of Tiree and Coll. As we saw in the Introduction, Fraser bears some resemblance to Kirk in the way in which he sought to make sense of phenomena commonly accepted in his place of origin and ministry in terms of the intellectual traditions to which he had been exposed at university. Andrew Symson, the posthumous publisher of the work, was related to Fraser since the latter had married his niece, only daughter of his brother Mathias Symson, Minister of Stirling, who died in 1664. Symson himself had been educated at Edinburgh, graduating in 1661, and he was minister at Kirkinner from 1663 to 1686, and at Douglas from 1686–9, prior to going to Edinburgh and setting up as a bookseller and printer.<sup>44</sup> Symson supplies a preface in which, in addition to biographical data, he recounts further instances of second sight.

The first edition is a rare book, and it was unknown (for instance) to J.L. Campbell in 1968.<sup>45</sup> The current text is based on the copies in the British Library (8630.a.31) and the Bodleian (265.k.203). Fraser's book was twice reprinted verbatim: first in 1754, with the title *A Treatise, containing a Description of Deuteroscopia, commonly called the Second Sight* and the imprint 'EDINBURGH: Reprinted in the Year M.DCC.LIV', and then in 1820 in David Webster's *Collection of Rare and Curious Tracts on Witchcraft and the Second Sight*.<sup>46</sup> In addition, it had been noticed and the five principal 'instances' of second sight that it contained (together with the main one given by Symson in his preface) had been quoted verbatim (in one case with a slight addition) in *A Treatise on the Second Sight* (1763) by 'Theophilus Insulanus', i.e. the Rev. D. McLeod.<sup>47</sup> It was evidently for this reason that, when McLeod's book was printed in vol. 3 of *Miscellanea Scotica* in 1819 along with material on second sight by Martin and Aubrey, the title-page described the work as 'Treatises on the Second Sight. By Theophilus Insulanus, Rev. Mr Frazer, Mr Martin and John Aubrey Esq. FRS', as if Fraser's book was reprinted in full.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup> For further information, see Couper, 'Andrew Symson', which notes Fraser and his book on p. 62. On these various figures, see also Scott, *Fasti*, iii, 301–3; iv, 119–20, 319, 324.

<sup>45</sup> See Campbell and Hall, *Strange Things*, p. 19n., where it is specifically stated that the book was first published in 1820. However, it is puzzling that the 1707 edition is cited in Campbell and Thomson, *Lhuyd in the Scottish Highlands*, p. 54, though the bibliography to that work only gives the 1820 edition.

<sup>46</sup> See Webster, *A Collection*, pp. 146–83.

<sup>47</sup> [McLeod], *Treatise on the Second Sight*, pp. 70ff. See p. 72 for the extra sentence which, though obviously intrusive, has been quoted at the point in Fraser's work at which it appears below (p. 194).

<sup>48</sup> For this edition, see above, p. 43.



## 7. Edward Lhuyd's and Robert Wodrow's questionnaires and the responses of John Fraser and John MacLean

Various recensions survive of a list of queries originally compiled by Lhuyd, and then reused by Wodrow. The first text included here is the earliest version of Lhuyd's questionnaire, addressed to James Fraser, minister of Kirkhill in the Aird, Inverness.<sup>49</sup> Lhuyd wrote this on 18 December 1699 while he was at Falkirk; the copy quoted here survives in MS Carte 269, interspersing the text of the 'Collection of Highland Rites and Customs' and Lhuyd's notes on it. Subsequently, Lhuyd sent an almost identical version to Colin Campbell, dated 20 December the same year. The text of this was printed in J.L.Campbell and Derick Thomson's *Edward Lhuyd in the Scottish Highlands*; a version of the same queries was distributed by Wodrow.<sup>50</sup> Both of these have been collated with Lhuyd's original, and the differences recorded in footnotes.<sup>51</sup> As will be seen, Wodrow's version is particularly misleading in its adaptation of Lhuyd's words, already quoted above, about the source of the MS of 'A Collection of Highland Rites and Customs'.<sup>52</sup>

Two years later, Wodrow produced a somewhat different questionnaire dated 13 April 1701, which survives in his letterbook because he sent it to John MacLean, who is probably to be identified with a Glasgow student of that name who in 1702 succeeded John Beaton as Minister of Kilninian and Kilmore.<sup>53</sup> This still overlaps with Lhuyd's original, not least in reverting to Lhuyd's original wording concerning the 'Collection' (no. 7). Thus no. 6 of Wodrow's queries overlaps with no. 3 of Lhuyd's, no. 7 with no. 4, no. 8 with no. 5 (with additions), no. 9 with no. 7, and no. 10 with no. 8 (again with additions). As noted in the Introduction, it thus interestingly illustrates the process by which an agenda that had originated south of the Border was taken up by Scottish intellectuals themselves. In addition to the version addressed to MacLean printed here, which survives in Wodrow's letterbook, a similar list of questions was evidently sent to John Fraser, author of *ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣΟΚΟΠΙΑ* (see above).

Equally interesting are the responses that Wodrow's queries elicited. MacLean's answers, dated 20 April 1702, survive among Wodrow's papers, National Library of Scotland Wod. Qu. Lett. ii, 12–14; a further letter from Wodrow to MacLean, dated 12 May 1702, in which he thanked him for his help and enclosed a message for John Beaton, also survives.<sup>54</sup> In fact, MacLean's answers were evidently significantly based on information gleaned from Beaton, his predecessor at Kilninian and Kilmore, whose input to Lhuyd's notes on the 'Collection of Highland Rites and Customs' has already been noted. The volume of Wodrow's papers which contains

<sup>49</sup> See below, p. 205n.

<sup>50</sup> Campbell and Thomson, *Lhuyd in the Highlands*, pp. 4–5; Wodrow, *Early Letters*, pp. 32–3.

<sup>51</sup> In the textual notes, 'W' denotes Wodrow's version and 'C' the version sent by Lhuyd to Colin Campbell.

<sup>52</sup> See below, pp. 227–8, n. 7.

<sup>53</sup> Edinburgh University Library MS Laing III 355, fols. 117v–119, printed in Wodrow, *Early Letters*, pp. 159–62. For MacLean, see Scott, *Fasti*, iv, 114.

<sup>54</sup> Wodrow, *Early Letters*, pp. 207–9 (from Laing III 355, fols. 148v–9).

MacLean's response also contains Fraser's, *Wod. Qu. Lett.* ii, 5–8, the latter undated but obviously preceding his death on 25 August 1702. Both responses were printed in *Analecta Scotica* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1834–7), i, 117–25, and reprinted in Campbell and Thomson, *Lhuyd in the Highlands*, pp. 23–36. In the latter, they were split up so that the answers of each informant to each question were juxtaposed; here, they have been restored to their original format. It will be noted that, whereas MacLean furnished an answer to each of the first nine of Wodrow's questions, Fraser failed to give any answer to nos. 2 and 5, while after 8 his answers diverge from Wodrow's extant questions to an extent that suggests that he may have been responding to a slightly different questionnaire that is now lost, perhaps comparable to the further, overlapping questionnaire that Wodrow sent to Daniel MacNeill in 1700:<sup>55</sup> this section of Fraser's response was omitted in *Lhuyd in the Highlands*. As will be seen, both responses provide interesting supplementary data on second sight and various of the other topics dealt with in the earlier texts in this book.

<sup>55</sup> Wodrow, *Early Letters*, pp. 68–9 (from Laing III 355, fol. 44). No answer to this letter survives. Cf. Wodrow, *Early Letters*, pp. 73–7 (from Laing III 355, fols. 48–50) and passim. In Wodrow, *Early Letters*, p. 32n., it is wrongly presumed that Fraser's answers were to a set of queries identical to those printed there on pp. 32–3.



1.

*Robert Boyle's notes on his interview  
with Lord Tarbat, 3 October 1678 (Royal Society  
Boyle Papers 39, fols. 216-17)*

London October 3  
1678.

This afternoon I <(R.B.)> received the honnour of a visit from my Lord of Tarbot, accompanied with a very ingenious gentlman of his acquaintance and mine.<sup>a</sup> After some discourse about some rare particulars of the natural History of his Lo[rds]hip's contrey Scotland, occasion was given me, to take notice, that I had been told, that no man was better able than he, to gratify the curiosity I had, to receive some credible information about those, who are said in Scotland to have, what they call The Second Sight, which information invited me to beg his Lo[rds]hip] to let me know what I might beleive and especially what he had observed about a thinge, that not only is not to be meet with in the course of Nature bot is not to be matched in the books of Magick, I have hitherto read:

In compliance with this request his Lo[rds]hip] told me, that he was att first much indisposed, to beleive any such sto<rr>ys, as those that went about in Scotland, touching the Second sight yet he was afterwards convinced that many of them might be true, and tho he had known divers persons endowed with that scarce credible gift, yet the two things that satisfied him first or most, were things that happened to himself the former whereof was this.

Whilest dureing the late troubles Cromwels armie was in Scotland he and Lieutenant Colonel Menro: who is<sup>1</sup> now in town,<sup>b</sup> retired them selves to a remote part of the Contrey very far from the English forces, where one morning walking abroad early in the beginning of May, they espyed a Contrey fellow who's back was almost turned to them that had a Turf Spad in his hand and yet as they passed by <him> seem'd to look very attentivly at the middle of a very high hill that was not<sup>2</sup> far

<sup>a</sup> For George MacKenzie, Lord Tarbat (1630–1714), see Introduction, above, pp. 2, 26. The identity of his companion is unclear; one possibility is Alexander Bruce, 2nd Earl of Kincardine (c. 1629–80).

<sup>b</sup> Alexander Munro was Major (1666) and subsequently Lieutenant Colonel (1673) in the Scottish regiment of foot commanded by Lord George Douglas (1636?–92), created 1st Earl of Dumbarton in 1675. Originally part of the French army, after 1678 it served in the English establishment as the First Royal Regiment of Foot or Royal Scots: Childs, *Army of Charles II*, p. 244.

from them, and this way he look'd so stedfastly that not only he intermitted his cutting of Turf but soon after he came to laugh, which My Lo[rd] Tarbot observeing suspected and told his companion, that this fellow was a second sighted Man and they comeing up to him to satisfy them selves, the fellow that either saw or minded them not before<sup>3</sup> appeared surprised, and being asked what he gazed att so stedfastly; he told them, that he saw a gread body of English horse coming down that hill, that was befor them and that they did not march in order, bot led their horses in their hands. This Answer confirming my Lo[rdship] in his conjecture <who><sup>4</sup> knew there were no troops in those parts, he enquired of the man how he knew they were English, whereto he replied because they/ fol. 216v/ had not Coats and bonnets the habit of that Contrey bot Cloaks and Hats <and> being further asked what made him laugh, he Ansuered he could not bot doe so, to see fourscore or a 100 horses feeding upon the Barley growing up in that great field on the side of the Hill tho att that tyme as these Gentlemen might see, they were sowing Barley in that ground. A while after my Lo[rd] Tarbot and L[iutenant] C[olonel] Menro parted, and some what early in September following his Lo[rdship] received a letter from this Gentlman who let him know he could not forbear to writ to him, to give him notice <that> L[ord] General Midlton<sup>c</sup> <and he> were by certain accidents obleiged to come in to the Contrey where they had meet the Turfdigger with the body of 8 or 9 hundred horse well furnished with Cloaks and hatts and hearing and knowing them in that Contrey and intending to refresh themselves a <while><sup>5</sup>, most of them lighted off their horses and walked carelesly down the Hill, till finding a great field of Barley grown up, near a 100 of the troopers turned in their horses to feed which easily minded him of what the Contrey fellow told him in the preceeding May[;] he write this note to his Lo[rdship] upon that very Spote of Ground to assure him of the accomplishmenet of the vision or prediction.

Another Instance, which was one of the first that convinced this Lo[rd] of the reality of the 2d sight, was att least as memorable, as the former<sup>6</sup> the substance of this relation being this,<sup>d</sup> as his Lo[rdship] travilled one winter in the remoter part of Scotland, Whilst the English forces were in that contrey; he was meet with by a Gentlman whom he named to me, who had an estate therabouts and was urgently pressed by him to take a lodging <in his house><sup>7</sup> assureing his Lo[rdship] that ther was no English troopers quartered there nor had been for divers dayes before[.] My Lo[rd] hereupon goeing home with him pretty late found a good fire made in a great chimney, att some distance from which were placed divers plain wooden chairs, with arms and very near one another, in one of these he sate down and perceiveing that of two men that were sitting att the same fire befor he /fol. 217/ came in and were strangers to him bot freinds to his landlord, one looked very stedfastly att him, he suspecting<sup>8</sup> some thinge, desired to know the reason why he did so where upon the other told him that he advised him to leave the place he sate in, and being asked why, he replied, becaus I see in the nixt chair that is just by you a dead man with

c John Middleton, later 1st Earl of Middleton (1619–74), leader of the royalist forces in the Highlands in the early 1650s.

d For more details, see Tarbat's letter to Boyle, below, pp. 93, 167–8.

<his> head hanging carelesly backward, and yet his hatt upon it, the blood runs from him, one of his arms<sup>9</sup> hangs broken ower one of the Arms of the chair and one of his legs is broken too. This being spoken by a man that was said to have the gift of the 2d sight some what startled my relator, bot <not> being then <so much> convinced of such things as afterwards he came to be, he removed not from his seat bot spent some tyme in discoursing with the gentleman that gave him the advise till they were interrupted by a great noise they heard att the door att which the Landlo[rd] went forth followed by<sup>10</sup> this 2d sighted man, who found that the noise was made by some English troopers that were comeing to quarter there and presently after brought in with them one of their number whom they were fain to carry, and my Lo[rd] Tarbot who would not seem to be affrayd<sup>11</sup> of them haveing not quited his seat bot only stood up att their comeing in they made choyce of the nixt chair, as being near to the fire to sett down in it <a man><sup>12</sup> that seem'd to be newly dead for he was yett bleeding and when they had set him down his head upon which his hat that (it seemed) had been pulled ower his forehead to keep it on the faster hung backwards ower the back of the Chair, one of his Arms being broken hung dangling on one side of the chair and his Leg one the other side was found to be broken too; so that his posture was the very same that the 2d sighted man had a litle before described as if he had seen him as perfectly as the rest of the companie <then> did. this unlucky man was a /fol. 217v/ trooper who marching with the rest of the company in the dark and frosty night towards this house had the ill fortune to have his horse fall under him, in a place where there were divers peices of solid Ice by which<sup>13</sup> together with [the] fall one of his Arms and the opposite leg were broken, and he being taken up not far from the house, was caried in for dead, tho he were <indeed> [not] dead<sup>14</sup> bot in a <swoone> and by the help of Aqua vitæ and rubbing and such other ordinary means was after a while brought to himselfe.

## 2.

### 'A Collection of Highland Rites and Customs' (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Carte 269, fols. 2-31)

Fol. 2/

Ex Adversarijs V.C.D.R.S.  
Excerpta de libro Domini Kirkwood  
manuscripto dicto<sup>a</sup> *A Collection of  
Highland Rites & Customes.*

#### 1. OBSERVATIONS UPON THEIR COMPUTATION OF TYME

They borrow the names of Feasts moveable & immovable from the Christian Account; onely they have mercat days held in Saints names unknown in other Languages as Feil Seirbh (thought to be St. Serf or Serbanus) Feil Domhingart, makessag, haden, moden &c.<sup>b</sup>

They reckon not by moneths of 30 or 31 days but by four weeks, computing by the Moon, which they much observe almost in all maters.

They have no proper names to any month except April which they call Diblin; onely, they reckon them by certain Seasons as the most cold Season fourteen days before Candlmasse & 14 days after they terme by an irony Faoldach,<sup>c</sup> the loving Season: The 8 days after that, they /fol. 2v/ call Feadag id est the whistling week of cold winds. 8 days after that Gear[r]lshion i.e. curt, unconstant tempests. 14 days before Beltan<sup>d</sup> or May & 14 days after they call Ceothom i.e. the soft misty moneth: 14 days before Lammas [,] Eochar<sup>e</sup> i.e. the Key of Harvest. They have an other Key called Feil Hethan<sup>f</sup> thereafter.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup> 'From the notes of the most illustrious [Sir] R[obert] S[ibbald], excerpts from the manuscript book of the Revd. Kirkwood called'. In the title that follows, 'A' has been altered from 'a' in the MS.

<sup>b</sup> I.e. the names of various saints who lived in the sixth century, including Kessoch and Aidan of Lindisfarne. In the case of *Domingart*, Lhuyd placed dots under the latter part of the word to denote that he was unsure of the reading.

<sup>c</sup> I.e. *Faoilteach*. Lhuyd has placed dots under the next word but one, 'loving'. In the next line, 'Feadag id est' in fact appears as 'Feadagrdest'.

<sup>d</sup> *Bealltainn*.

<sup>e</sup> *Iuchar*.

<sup>f</sup> I.e. *Fáll Sheathaith*.

<sup>g</sup> Feil Eoin i.e. St John's. [Lhuyd's annotation, at which point he deleted the adjacent sentence in the original.]

The Number *Three* is sacred with them (hence in any hard work we say thrice of all things) next to that *Nine*. When any thing succeeds not for three times<sup>1</sup> they try it nine times & then give it over ordinarily.<sup>h</sup>

## 2. THEIR LANGUAGE

Of their Language there are several Dialects, which make them to one another partly unintelligible, partly ridiculous. The purest Dialect is thought to be in Cantyre, Argyle & the Western Isles. Where they confine with the Lowlands they speak most corrupt. They can discern the country one is of by /fol. 3/ his Dialect.

Their Language is both copious & significant. The new Testament is translated it [sic] in an Irish Print. the Psalms lately by Mr Kirk in an ordinary character. The old Testament was translated by Bishop Bedel & is lately printed in the Saxon character.<sup>i</sup> Knoxes's Liturgy too, is translated into it.<sup>j</sup>

Their Language is near akin to the Latin & next to the French; somewhat also to the Hebrew & Greek.

They pronounce as the French write.

They abound with Proverbs.

In the South every Country has its own accent & mode of Speech; by which ordinarily they know one another.

In TeviotDale for *all* they say *aw*: for Andrew David<sup>k</sup> for *Robert Habb*: for *eleven*, *leen*: for *seaven*, *seen*; A Bair they call Bread. When they are surpriz'd at anything they say *Bennadistie* i.e. *Benedicite*[;] for *Craig*, *Craag*: for *away*, *awaas*; for *me*, *mey*; *Be*, *Bey*, &c. /fol. 3v/

## 3. THEIR HABIT & ORNAMENT.

They alter not much their Habit; except in the fashion of their sleeves. Their ordinary habit at home is their Trewes & when they goe abroad they use belted playd; & short hose.

The woemans playd is belted<sup>l</sup> also & side to the Ground. They wear a Broach on the Breast of Silver or Brasse according to their Quality.

The poorer women wear nothing but their plaid.

<sup>h</sup> This from the Trinity says Mr Beaton. They honour also the number 7 from the 7 angels. [Lhuyd's annotation.]

<sup>i</sup> The books referred to here are as follows. Bedell's edition of the Old Testament had appeared in 1685; Kirk's translation of the psalter in 1684. The Irish New Testament had appeared in 1681 – hence not 'lately', if the text was written within a year or two of the publication of Bedell's and Kirk's books.

<sup>j</sup> I.e. John Carswell's translation of John Knox's *Book of Common Order* (1564), his *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh*.

<sup>k</sup> Perhaps a copying error for 'Dand'. Lhuyd added asterisks after this word and in the margin. In the next line, 'bannoch' is possibly omitted after 'Bair'.

<sup>l</sup> Lhuyd placed an asterisk here and in the margin.



Their plaids serve them for Bed-covering, Bodily cloathing; Towel, Sayls, mort-claith &c.

Women of Better Quality wear broad leather Belts with Studs of Silver or Brasse.

All the common people wear Rings on their Fingers; some of Horn, some of Brasse, some of Silver, &c.<sup>m</sup>

In the South the women have fine plaiding blankets which they wear instead of plaids.

The men at the Head of the waters in Teviotdale & Forest wear black coats & elsewhere /fol. 4/ they use blew coats.

They use to put on the right foot hose and the Right foot shoe first.

#### 4. BUILDING

When they buyld a new house, the 1st fire they kindle they hide iron uder the Hearth.

They cast also a Goats head over the couples, which if it meet with no stop, they think a good omen.

At the setting up of the couples a woman is necessary to put to her hand.

Their houses for the most Sheilds made of earth or stone & clay & riveted with Rivets. In Loch Aber the Walls of their houses is of Juniper & such like pletted together.

The Chimney in the midle of the House, to which the vent answers. The Company sits round about the Ground <sup>n</sup> it burns.

In the South the old houses are t'eel<sup>o</sup> houses for defence against sudden risings. Of these there are in Redward Forrest about 54. /fol. 4v/

#### 5. THEIR BEDDING & SLEEPING

They ly on the Ground either on Straw, Hay, Fairns, or Feathers according to the Season of the year.

Their Bed-cloaths are ordinarily of marld<sup>2</sup> plaids some are very fine & they make Propines of them.

Except among the Gentry there are no sheets.

The common Servants lye promiscuously head & Throwes.

If any awake out of their sleep suddenly by a Fearfull Dream; they say it is for want of Saining or praying ere they went to bed.

When they go to bed, they crosse themselvs & say the Lords Prayer.

They'l not sleep on a Fayry hill.

They roll up themselves in the bed-pledts.

<sup>m</sup> This is in the mainland not much in the Isles. [Lhuyd's note, added between the lines.]

<sup>n</sup> Blank left in MS, presumably for 'where'.

<sup>o</sup> 't'eel', is underdotted by Lhuyd and is possibly mistranscribed from 'peel'. Five lines later, 'marld' is also underdotted.

In some of the Isles they make use of Quairrs<sup>p</sup> to conciliate rest & sleep.  
They'l not rise out of bed both at once. /fol. 5/

## 6. THEIR CLANNES & NAMES

Clan in the Irish signifies Children.

The most numerous is the *Clan Odwin*<sup>q</sup> i.e. Campbells so calld from the first man of that name who was Odwin.

Next are the MacDonalds of which are several subalternat Clans, as Mac Alestr, Mac Lain, Macjons, Mac Nabs, Mac Clauds, Gordons, MacEnzies, Mackin Tosh, Frazers, Camerons, MacAnalds, MacNeils, Mac Lachlands, Lamonds, Chaltans, Buchannans, MacDugals.<sup>r</sup>

They are able to reckon their Genealogy for 20 degrees.

Their Tribes have generally peculiar names as the Maclains<sup>s</sup> have Hector, Allen, & Lachrland: The Frazers Ferquard, The MacDugals Dugal.

They design the Chief of the Family from the first Founder therof.

Fo[r] Distinction among their names, they call a person /fol. 5v/ by five or seven names viz. Jeam mac Owle<sup>s</sup> &c. reckoning Father, Grandfather, Great Grandfather &c. by their christen'd names in a long web.

In the South the Great Clans are Humes, in the Merce.

In Teviot Dale Scots, Kers.

Liddisdale Eliots Armstrong:

Anandale Johnsons,

Nithisdale Maxwells

Chadisdale Hamiltons

Carrik Kenedy.

Kile Boyd

Cuninghame Wallace Crawford,

Galloway; Gordon, Stuart, Macculloch, MacDugal, Agnew.

Cathnesse, Sinclare.

Lennox, Flemming, Colyhoon.

Rosse, Rosse, MacEnzi.

Stirlingshire; Stirlin, Levistone.

Fife; Weems, Aston, Betoun, Halket.

Anguse: Lyon, Carnagie /fol. 6/

Perthshire Drummond, Murray.

Merns, Arbuthnet, Burnet, Straitton, Falkner, Ogilby.

<sup>p</sup> Marked with an asterisk by Lhuyd, with another in the margin, perhaps because he was unable to understand the word.

<sup>q</sup> *Clann Duibhne* .

<sup>r</sup> B. These all formerly held of the M<sup>c</sup>Donalds. [Lhuyd's note, from John Beaton. In the list of names that precedes this, 'Mac Lain' and 'Mac Lauds' are partially underdotted and deleted, perhaps at Beaton's behest. This passage is preceded by a mark keying to a note by Lhuyd on fol. 29v (below, p. 75).]

<sup>s</sup> *Iain MacDhubhghaill*.

Aberdeenshire; Skeen, Meingnies<sup>t</sup> Hay, Keith.  
Murray Dumbar, Brodie.

## 7. THEIR MEAT & THEIR DRINK

In time of scarcity they launce their cows neck & make <meat><sup>4</sup> of their Blood;<sup>u</sup>

The Lochabermen when they Kil a Cow, hang up the whole carcase, & eat it as they need.

When they are in the Hills they boyl their Flesh in the skin<sup>v</sup> with a fire of the bones <and other fuel>. They boyl also the Flesh in a Haggis.

They live most on milk & Fishes.

They (in the Isles especially) have a way of drying their corn before it be threshen, by burning the straw & it together, keeping the corn very dextrously from being wrongd with the Fire; then they grind it in Querns<sup>w</sup> /fol. 6v/

The Gentleman's Bread is made like a Triangle: The commons of a round Form.

They bake every day, morning & evening, not excepting the Lords day.

They have no ovens nor chimneys.

Except that they may eat a litle in the morning, usually they eat none til night, when they come in from their labour.

In great Houses when they kil Kine, in some places every Servant has his own piece assign'd. e.g. the Smith, the Head; The Piper the Liver; They who sing best the rump &c.

The Master gets onely the four Quarters.

When they are at dinner they lay a white rod across the Door, and none who see it will come in. This they doe also when they are on servets.

When they kill a Calf, they must not speak a word til the head be taken off; otherwise /fol. 7/ they are punished.<sup>5</sup>

Their Drink is meal & Water boyl'd together, called *Brochan*.

Of Aqua Vitæ they drink plentifully; some will drink a Mutchkin of it at a Draught, espec. in Summer

Generally Masters & Servants diet together.<sup>x</sup>

They'l not eat the first bread of a Crop without Butter.

In time of their Diet there are some they call Hallinshakers who look gaping over a partition waiting for some Victuals.

They have a tall-man who attends them at meat called *sleokach an lâir*.<sup>y</sup>

<sup>t</sup> The second syllable of this word underlined with dots by Lhuyd, who adds: 'vulgo Minies'.

<sup>u</sup> Lhuyd adds: 'with butter or milk when boyl'd in time of Dearth'. To the next sentence he adds: 'This is all over the Highlands'.

<sup>v</sup> Altered by Lhuyd to 'Belly or Haggas'. Six words later, he underlines 'bones' with dots, and glosses it: '& other fuel'.

<sup>w</sup> This expeditious way of drying corn is frequently used in Kery, Ireland. [Lhuyd's note.]

<sup>x</sup> Tis commonly contrary, Mr Beaton: [Lhuyd's note. In the margin adjacent to this line is a cross by Lhuyd, who also draws a discontinuous line across the page above it, accompanied by an asterisk.]

<sup>y</sup> or *Lekach lâir*. [*eachlach ùrlair*.] [Lhuyd's note; he also underdots the end of 'sleokach'.]

They usually eat but twice a day; their Breakfast called Diot lâ & supper Cuid-oidh.<sup>z</sup>

Of old all sat together; & what was broken above the salt-fat was<sup>6</sup> sent down the Board. /fol. 7v/

When good eaters continue lean they say, they are attended with one Ceart <chomach><sup>7</sup> who takes away the Foyson of his meat betwixt his hand & his Mouth;

The Caninus Appetitus<sup>a</sup> they call *Lon* <Kreish><sup>b 8</sup> as if it were a Gnawing meagr, insatiable creature, within them.

They say the Elfs feed on the faison of our corn whereof they make an Excellent Liquor. Others of Grosser Bodies are heard to take Bread.

Instead of salt to their cheese they use Sea-wrack<sup>9</sup> which they burn; & with the Ashes therof they salt their cheese, by rubbing it outwardly; & after some days they wash it.

Theyl not make any butter on Fryday.

For salt to their butter in some places they cut Sea Dulse very small & mix it therewith.<sup>c</sup> /fol. 8/

## 8. OF<sup>10</sup> THEIR AUGURY, PREDICTIONS & SECOND SIGHT

When they hear first the Gougous<sup>d</sup> they observe whether they are then fasting, or not: if fasting they take it as an ill omen. They observe also to what Airth they are looking; & accordingly they conclude they are to live in that same Airth that year. Thus the Observants observe.

Also they look to the Sole of their left foot, & if they get ane black hair its an ill omen; if white good; if mixt indiffrent.

When they are in the fields at meat; if a Corby come near they throw it meat, which if it take they think that they shall live that year, otherwise they expect death.

If they see a Snayl in a base place, they think it an ill sign. .

If Bees live long they think the master a good man.

In the South they are great Noticers of the Pyots<sup>e</sup> crying about the Houses of sick<sup>11</sup> Folk as a Token of Death & of Ravens. /fol. 8v/

Sometimes they call the Piots foreTokeners of Strangers.

When they hear the Gowgow<sup>f</sup> they have a Rythm (Scabbed Croik that sits on the Tree &c.) So many times as it cries, so many years will they live.

They foretell Events by looking on the Shoulderbone of a Sheep. They have a care not to touch it with the Teeth or a Knife. They by it foretell Deaths, Commotions, and Tumultuary Conventions within the bounds.

<sup>z</sup> *diathad là* and *cuid-oidhche*.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. 'greedy worm', i.e. insatiable appetite.

<sup>b</sup> *Làn-chraois* .

<sup>c</sup> This is true but not used as salt. [Lhuyd's note.]

<sup>d</sup> Cookoe [Lhuyd's note; he also underdots 'Gougous' and adds an asterisk at the start of the line, and a cross above 'Airth'.]

<sup>e</sup> Followed by an asterisk, keying to an asterisk in the margin.

<sup>f</sup> Here and in the margin, Lhuyd has placed an asterisk.

They can let others see very strange Things in the Bone by setting their Foot on the persons Foot, to whom they make the Discovery.<sup>g</sup> The bone onely servs for that moon.

Some pretend to prophetic Inspirations & foretel very fortuitous events. Their Responses are deliver'd in very ambiguous Terms, so that they are not known til the event. They call these that have that Foresight Fisich i.e. *Sciens*.<sup>h</sup> Such persons are /fol. 9/ very reserv'd; and give not Answers when asked but of their own Accord.

The *Second Sight* descends from Father to Son for some Generations.

These who have it can prevent the Evil which doth threaten others, but cannot save themselves. It's so very troublsome to many, that theyd be gladly free from it.

These persons observe that Spirits are great Lovers of Flesh & they see them some times taking Flesh out of the pots, putting that which is worse in its place, of whilk they'l not taste.

These who have this foresight by compact give Responses being ask'd.

Sometymes they bring back to life these who are giving up the Ghost; but an other dies in his place, & it always provs fatal.

They come (as some say) by the 2<sup>d</sup> Sight<sup>12</sup> thus: They look through the Knot of a piece of Tree & the boals of sheers at a Southdoor /fol. 9v/ upon a Burial as it passeth by.

RHAMANTA. When they'd have a Response there are four or more sturdy persons who go to a Loch end, or a Kiln which hath two Doors; in which they roast a Cat<sup>13</sup> alive backwards [Edrych ymdhidhan Ithel a Gronw ynghylch bwrw câth i Gythrel].<sup>i</sup> One of them goes under a Cauldron, a third invocats the Divel and a fourth faceth him. Sometimes there appear men with their heads in their hands. The Devil first asks somewhat,<sup>14</sup> then they take the Cat & throw it <at> his Face. Then they ask the Devil & get answers, and obtain Requests, as the having meat, Lives prolong'd &c.

## 9. THEIR BARDS

The Bardi of old were men of Acute spirits skilfull in Genealogies & poesy whose office was to record in poesy the Acts of Valorous men & their Genealogies: and for this they had a portion of Land assign'd them. Now they are such /fol. 10/ whom we call jockies which go up & down using Rythmes & Satyrs and are plentifully rewarded.

Every considerable ancient family hath Clans who depend of them owning them for their Chief; & when they die, they leav the Chief a Legacy.

Some Families will have 7 or 8 of these Clans, who give a Bond of Fealty unto the Chief.

g Followed by 'Q.mel' [?], evidently an addition by Lhuyd.

h I.e. Gaelic *fiosaiche* and Latin 'the one who knows'.

i 'Look into the conversation of Ithel and Gronw about casting a cat to the Devil.' The significance of this is unclear. 'Rhamanta' means 'Romances'.

10. THEIR WARRS & ARMOUR

When they goe upon any martial Expedition who ever first occur to them men or beast they kil it thô never so innocent, if it be not of their party.<sup>j</sup>

They eat before they goe upon any hazard, otherwise if they be killed fasting, they think they will always trouble people in their dreams by appearing to them.

Some of them have charms against all manner of weapons but their own.

In fighting they think he wins the day that gives the first wound.

Of old they usd Bow, Sword, two-handed Swords, Mailcoats, Head-pieces; Loch Aber <axes><sup>15</sup> & that which they /fol. 10v/ called Scapul which covered their Shoulders, Sheild of Oak & Willow Wands, narrow below & broad above. Targets made of oak covered with bull-hyde of an orbicular Form, Durks, & Skeens.

Now they have most in use Guns, Pistols, Sword, Durk & Target which they also carry along to Church and wear also an Head-piece.

The chief Families wear shields of steel. There are Hereditary Offices of War assign'd to underfamilies. The Head of ane Family hath commonly ane Armour Bearer who goes in his Full Armour before his Master, intervening betwixt him & all Hazard in tyme of Warr.<sup>k</sup>

In the South anciently they us'd Gurk<sup>16</sup> & Spear, Sword, Gantlet and <Steel> Caps<sup>17</sup> call'd Bonnet

11. THEIR FEUDS

There are a great many Feuds among them. There are two Clans viz. the MacGregors & Buchanans who have had endlesse Feuds one with an other. The first occasion of it was the killing of a /fol. 11/ black sheep, to revenge which they have killed now one & then an other every one striving to be even with another,<sup>18</sup> so that now the MacGegroirs have killed 20 & the Buchanans 21.<sup>l</sup>

To keep up the Feuds they erect a Cairn of Stones in the place where their Friend was killed, calling it by his name. There also they draw a deep Crosse that so they may be kept in mynde to be reveng'd.<sup>m</sup>

Whoever of the Clan cometh that way they repair the Crosse. Its calld Crosse Failleacht,<sup>19</sup> the Crosse of Feud or Enmity.

Married women will take part with their Kinred against their own Husband, and will upbraid them very tartly.

There are great animosities 'twixt the Campbels & Mac-Donalds, the Mac orquodils<sup>m</sup> and their Dependants side with the Campbels; all the rest of the Macks side with the MacDonalds. /fol. 11v/

j This is in the land of their enemy Mr Beaton. [Lhuyd's note.]

k This is calld Gallôglach. [Lhuyd's note.]

l At this point, an asterisk keys to 'Prÿn ai devaid ai Dynion?' 'whether sheep or men?' This is Lhuyd's query, placed in the text, but underlined to differentiate it. At the end of the next paragraph, he adds: 'The Crosse is call Krosh Folliacht. [*Crois folachd*].'

m This is underdotted and crossed through. The title to the next section, 'Their Flitting', has an asterisk, which is evidently Lhuyd's.

In the South formerly there were great Feuds 'twixt the Johnsons, & Maxwells, the Kers and Turnbolls.

## 12. THEIR FLITTING

When they are flitting; if their carriage fall off the Horse they think it an ill omen.

When they goe Southward they flit on Munday, and when Northwards on Saturday.

In the place wither they go they kindle a Fire before their kine enter upon its marches.

The first coag of Water they bring in, they put rushes therin.

They have no will that another should come in their steed, til they be gone least some mischance should befall them.

In the south they flit on Fryday calld flitting Fryday.

The first thing they take into their House is Salt; then meal & Bear. /fol. 12/

## 13. THEIR HOSPITALITY

They are generally very hospitable.<sup>20</sup> Strangers may travail amongst them gratis. When a Stranger comes they direct him to an house which is design'd a purpose for that use; and they send him his Victuals plentifully. Snuff is usefull amongst them to make acquaintance.

If the Stranger be an Acquaintance or person of Account, they send or go themselves to attend him. when the number of Strangers is great, then the people contribute for provision to them which is called Coinaeh<sup>n</sup> i.e. common.

Gentlemen are very charitable to their poor: some will have 20 or moe every meal in the house.

## 14. THEIR MONUMENTS

There are a great many high stones by the way side 4 or 5 or moe in a circle & the biggest looketh towards the East. Some alledge them to be the Burial places of the Giants; others the /fol. 12v/ Giants Finger-stones which were casten from the Hills. Others, the places where the Culdees conven'd:<sup>o</sup> others, Obelisks set up in memory of some Skirmish or Battel. Others, places where Hunters met to divide the<sup>21</sup> prey. Others, Boundaries of Land. Others, the places where pagans sacrific'd.

On high Hills there are Vestiges of great Bulwarks of very big dry stones, so big as four oxen can not draw. These they say, were the Habitation of Giants who were the Attendants of Fin Mac Cúil, who is a Famous Giant in *Boeth*.<sup>p</sup>

<sup>n</sup> *Coinmheadh*.

<sup>o</sup> The culdees were members of an ancient Scotto-Irish religious order.

<sup>p</sup> I.e. Hector Boece (c. 1465–1536), regent of the University of Aberdeen and author of *Historia Scotorum* (1527). Fion Mac Cumhail was the giant leader of a band of heroes. Boece is also the source of information about Guinevere in Scotland (book ix, ch. 12) and about Galdus (after whom, according to Boece, Galloway was named) and his battles against the Romans (book iv, chs. 8–21).

There are places of great distance calld the Gyants jump: some of which are twixt hil & hil.

In I columb kil there is a broad stone with a hole in it; every one going there, turns the Bullet about; and the prophesy goeth that when the stone is worn through, then cometh Doomsday. /fol. 13/

Queen Vyonar (*Gwenhwyvar*) wife to Arthur King of the Britans about the year 500 falling into Disgrace on Suspicion of Adultery was condemn'd to be torn by Dogs; but escaping she fled into Scotland dying on a Hill of Stormond (where she had liv'd some time) she was buryed at Meigle in Perthshire.

About three miles from the Hill, where she is buried there is a Stone higher than a man with her *picture & dogs tearing* in one side, and on the other men pursuing her. There's an other Grave stone where her servants were her Servants were buried.[sic]

In Galloway ther's the Burial place of King Galdus or Gallus the first who did fight with the Romans. It is neare Wigton circl'd with 13 great Stones and two in the midle.

They have some big stones here & there the Occasion wherof is not known.

## 15. MUSIC

The Greatest Music is Harp, Pipe, Viol, & Trump. /fol. 13v/ Most part of the Gentry play on the Harp.

Pipers are held in great Request. so that they are train'd up at the Expençe of Grandees & have a Portion of Land assignd & are design'd such a man's Piper.

Their women are good at vocal music; and inventing of Songs.

## 16. THEIR FEASTS

They are very carefull that the Servants of these who feast with them be so intoxicated with drink that They must be carried out to their Bed on Barrows.

They never give over til all the Drink be Spent.

Thô they drink never so much they must drink at the Door; & this they call *Deoch an Dorus*,<sup>q</sup> the Drink of the Door.

## 17. THEIR FARMERS

Generally Tenants are oblig'd to all Carriage & Arage, at all times when they are called. They are Lyable in some places to pay all Impositions & public Burdens, & commonly the one half.

They are to attend their Masters /fol. 14/ at Hosting (i.e. *warring*)<sup>r</sup> Hunting and Stenting.

Besides their paying of Duties & Presents they pay also good Wills.

They are generally wont to entertain their Masters whole Family for a Day to two

<sup>q</sup> *deoch an dorais*.

<sup>r</sup> Underlined by Lhuyd (as is 'picture & dogs tearing' earlier on the page); it is also marked by an asterisk, as is 'Stenting'.



once a year, which was called <Kwyd eihie><sup>s 22</sup> i.e. the Nights entertainment, which is yet in use in some places. Others have converted it into money. When Strangers come to their Master's House they send a great deal of *Good Will*.

They contribute towards the Portion of their Master's eldest daughter.

#### 18. THEIR TRYING OFFENCES

They bore a hole in a Tree & cause the person whom they suspect to put in his Finger, and then they drive in a wedge to extort confession; in some place they cause Fornicators ride the meec, tying some weights to their Feet.

When any contest falleth out, their most ancient & usual way is to choose 2 or 3 Arbitrators of equal /fol. 14v/ degree <on> <sup>23</sup> a side, & they ordinarily healf<sup>t</sup> the matter in debate betwixt the parties.

#### 19. PLOUGHING, HARROWING, DUNGING THE GROUND

They plough onely with Horse of which four goe in a breast<sup>u</sup> & two next to the plough. In some places he who leads the Horses goeth back always & strikes the Horses on the Face.

In many places they delve more than they til, & they carry the muck on their backs in a Criel.

Some when they yoak first sprinkle the Horses with Urine.

They begin nothing without saying In the name of the Father, Son & Holy Ghôst.

In some places they tye the Harrow to the horse tayl.

When they go to plough folding they make pottage & butter there.

The first spoonfull they take & hide in a Furrow of the Foldings. /fol. 15/

#### 20. CLER SHEANCHAN<sup>v</sup>

The Cler Sheanchan were a Company of itinerant poets who went along Gentlemens Houses, giving Account of their Genealogies, & as they were rewarded return'd either a Satyr or Panegyric. Their Reflexions were either mystic call'd *Cam-Ran*<sup>w</sup> or playn and evident call'd *Dân direach*.<sup>x</sup>

#### 21. THEIR DEFERENCE & REGARD TO SOME PERSONS

After meat they pray for their Chief & the King, naming the Chief first. Some also pray for their Superiors & Benefactors.

<sup>s</sup> *cuid-oidhche*.

<sup>t</sup> Lhuyd marks dots under this word.

<sup>u</sup> viz. in Ila & elsewhere [Lhuyd's note.]

<sup>v</sup> *Cliar Sheanchain*.

<sup>w</sup> *cam-rann*.

<sup>x</sup> *dân direach*.

The[y] have a Relation which is called *Coaltus*<sup>y</sup> from *Coalo*, which is 'twixt the Children of the Foster child, & the Nurse's Children which continueth to the 20th Generation.

They reckon a Foster Brother Dearer to a man than his own Brother & will dye for one an other.

They reckon him their chief, whom they choose for their patron: thô he be not of their name.

They'l ingage for their chief against all, deadly. /fol. 15v/

When they are a dying they leave a Legacy to their Chief, a *Collopy*<sup>z</sup> viz. the best horse<sup>a</sup> or cow<sup>24</sup> &c. according to their wealth in retaliation of which the Chief giveth to their Eldest Son a Sword, or Gun or both when he comes to years.

When Tenents dye they leive the best Cattel which they have to their Master called *Damh iwrain*<sup>b</sup> The Door Ox. They have very few Titles of Honour.

## 22. THEIR FUEL

Their fewel is Piets, Turf, Firwood &c.

They have no coals but in Cantyre & one of the West Isles.

For Fire tongues the Countrey people use a piece of Forked wood. For Candles in many places they use the Roots of Firrs. In other places they use Ruffies which are made of wrought Tallow compassd about with a clean rag. Some fill the weason of a Ship with melted Tallow, putting a weik into it which gives great Light. /fol. 16/

The Gentry use a Candle 3 qrs. long.

In the Isles they make the Candles of the Oyle, which they take from the melts of Fishes, & for a wyke they use rushes; some use the oyl of Herring Guts.

Gentlemen who use Fir Candles have a man who servs for a Candelstick, holding it perpetually in his hand.

## 23. FIRE & SALT

They reckon Fire & Salt hallowd things: They cast fire after such as goe about any work as Hunting, Fishing &c. When they renew Children's Cloaths, they let a litle coal of Fyre fall through them thrice.

If any beast taste of their meat, they circle the Dish with Fire. When they suspect a witch to have been in the House, they cast fire after her.

If a beast be torn they'l not take it into their house, til they sprinke it with Salt or Ashes; & this they doe if a beast fall over a Rock; when they make it ready /fol. 16v/ they give the first piece of it to a Dog.

For Salt in some places they use an Herb pulveriz'd.

y *Comhdhaltas*; the next word but one is perhaps intended for *comhaladh*.

z *colpa*.

a Glossed by Lhuyd as 'eih-kollopy' [*each-colpa*].

b *Damh ursainn*.

24. THEIR HUNTING

When <one><sup>25</sup> goeth a hunting, any who hate him take a Bone of some Beast which he had taken formerly putting it into a Tree, thinking that so long as it sticks there he'll never come speed.<sup>c</sup>

When they go a hunting if a woman passe by on their left hand, they think they'll not luch.

If one go out to hunt Venison for the use of any man in particular, & easily find it They say that such a person is Fey & will not live long; but if it be found with difficulty he'll live long.

25. BUYING<sup>26</sup> & SELLING

In buying a Horse the Seller holds him by the Bridle without & the Buyer within with a wisp in his hand, which the seller giveth him going sungates<sup>27</sup> about.

When this is done they go to a /fol. 17/ Tavarn [i.e. Alehouse] and taking a cake or Bannok, they put them into as many pyles as they can; & the Buyer takes three Bitles.

They think it a good omen if a horse dungs in tyme of buying but if he pisse they'll not medle with him.<sup>d</sup>

They seek a Cautioner for suspected Goods. When they compleate one an other in their conditions they say his soul get the odds who ever wants it.

26. FISHING & SHIPPING

When they goe to sea they use a certain Short Form of Prayer.<sup>e</sup> The Skipper sayth blesse their Ship: one answers God the Father blesse her. The Skipper sayth again blesse the Ship: Answr. God the Son blesse her. Then he asks what do you fear? one answears nothing God the Father being with us, &c. Then the Skipper prayeth that he that preservd the Israelites in the red sea, & Jonas & Paul &c. may blesse them: & so they conclude with the Lord's Prayer. Before they put a /fol. 17v/ Boat to sea, they kil a Goat upon its rudder, thereby hoping for the better Successe.<sup>f</sup>

When a ship is in Hazard they Boro a piece of money which they give to the first poor Body they meet with and<sup>28</sup> pray for the Ship.<sup>g</sup> They say also to one an other Keep a good heart & patience; the Night is coming, wherin all Faythfull men pray for all distressed men at Sea we will then get Relief.

In the Western Isles they sel a Gale of Wind ordinarily.

c The last two words underlined with dots by Lhuyd, as is 'luch' at the end of the next sentence.

d Q. mel. [Lhuyd's note.]

e This appears in Carswell, *Foirm na n-Urrmuidheadh*, pp. 110–11. See above, p. 55.

f This is when they wait a Fayr wind; & then they chop of the head at one stroak: others kill it on the bow. [Lhuyd's note.]

g They name the person at sea, when they bin [?] the money. [Lhuyd's note; he also underdots 'we' in the next sentence.]

When they Fish with a Line & a Bait they spit on the Bait, thinking otherwise they will not speed.

The first fish they take they say this is a Little Fish<sup>h</sup> and putting its head into their mouth chew it. They'l not count their Fish. They have a Charm wherby to get plenty themselv & hinder others. /fol. 18/

## 27. CHARMES

They use Charms for preventing diseases in man & <sup>29</sup>beast & for curing them; & many other diseases<sup>30</sup>

They cure the Headake & Toothake by charms.<sup>31</sup>

There is a Family of the name of Stuart in Appin of Lorn which has a sovereign Charm against the Fairies, which they communicate onely to their Offspring.

The Charm they write on a piece of paper, the words are intermingl'd with Crosses. It is hung about the neck of the person affected. They call this Charm the Gospell.

If they get the name of a person who has a mote in his eye (thô at never so great a distance) by taking water into their Mouth & mumbling over the Charm, they spit out the mote with the water. This water they will not set on the earth but on a Tree, when they bring it from the well.<sup>1</sup> /fol. 18v/

They use the water of 3 boats for the Rickets and a Charm with it.

Against the Evil Eye they use Salt & Ashes, and on the pronouncing the words they spit on the Salt & Ashes.<sup>j</sup>

Those who rage at some Fits and awake with Fury through their sleep once in two nights or oftner who otherwise are well enough they say such are not baptizd or have not got enough of water; For cure of this they clap a Bible frequently on their Faces.<sup>k</sup>

They charm especially on the Lord's Day: & if it be a Chronical Disease, they charm on the first Sunday of the Quarter.

They have charms for diseases of the Spleen, Hepatic Diseases & evel eye which hurts what they look on. They use to blesse first those who have the Evel Eye to prevent the danger.

They use against Witchcraft<sup>32</sup> /fol. 19/ the *Ran* tree,<sup>l</sup> especially when they go to Sea. By charms they take away the Substance of Milk.

They use to charm Beasts with Words, Gems & Herbs.

Christus vim verbis, Vim Gemmis, vim dedit herbis.<sup>m</sup>

<sup>h</sup> Glossed by Lhuyd as 'Brianan'.

<sup>i</sup> Prob[at]us est Jo. Beaton. [It has been proved, according to John Beaton.] Coviwch y Glain Neidr a'r Ychelwydh. [Remember the Snake-stone and the Honeysuckle] [Lhuyd's note, keyed to the text by a cross.]

<sup>j</sup> This is called Eppi or hwl [*Obaidh air shùil*]. They give this salt & water in a spoon to the person affected. [Lhuyd's note.]

<sup>k</sup> viz. they let the leaves fly with their thumb & this they call Gyrhain leabhair [*Gaoth roimh'n leabhar*] [Lhuyd's note.]

<sup>l</sup> Kyrthyne [*Caorthann*] [Lhuyd's gloss, written in the margin and keyed to the text by an asterisk.]

<sup>m</sup> 'Christ gave strength to charms, to gems, and to herbs.'

On the 3<sup>d</sup> of May they take the Urine & Dung of the Catle together with mans urine and therwith they sprinkle their Catle; thinking this an Antidose against all Charms & Divilrie.

For several Diseases they have several Stones called by Saints names: the principal is St Marie's nut.<sup>n</sup>

The Elf Arrow is like a barbed Arrow of an Orange colour, which they hang about the neck.

## 28. DISEASES & PHYSIC

They are not much troubl'd with any Diseases but feavours;<sup>33</sup> wherof they die commonly. The women are subject to headaches.

They abhor physic & bloodletting & so they have few or no physicians.<sup>34</sup> Their Catholicon is Aq[u]a Vitæ either alone or with Butter & Honey. They retain a prescription from a Tramontan Doctor, <such as><sup>35</sup> /fol. 19v/ they call Olluib<sup>o</sup> which is to keep the Head Feet & Heart warm & to be blyth & innocent.

They think that there are Superfluities & Extremities in every man's Body that would cure every Disease of the same Body: if there were skil to make, temper & apply them; e.g. the Hair, Nails, Urin, Spittle &c. which are Antidotes for any Poyson.<sup>p</sup>

They think he who suffers much payn in his Body here by long sicknesse, is on purpose put on that pennance by Almighty God, that the Body it self (which onely sins say they) may suffer & satisfy for its own sins, and so purg'd purely go to heaven.<sup>q</sup>

They say that where one dies of a Consumption, if any Friends be in the room at [the] expyring<sup>36</sup> the same Disease will stil seize one of them.<sup>37</sup>

## 30. ANENT THUNDER

They are exceedingly affrighted with Thunder and Lightning. At that time they shut their windows.

The Commons think that Thunder is a Fight between ane old man and ane old wife, beating one an other with a Budget full of Air.<sup>r</sup> A Budget is a Skin sew'd together wherein they use to put their meal.

In time of Lightning they use to put iron into the Fire: fearing otherwise the conflagration of their houses; or they cover their Fire with the Gridiron.

In the South they think the thunder /fol. 20v/ breaks upon any thing that is red &

<sup>n</sup> A kind of bean brought to the north-west coast by the Gulf stream and considered lucky.

<sup>o</sup> viz. Ollr Ilach [*Ollamh Íleach*.] [Lhuyd's gloss.]

<sup>p</sup> This Mr Beaton says is a practise but of late years. [Lhuyd's note.]

<sup>q</sup> This is an Ecclesiastic Doctrine of Penance &c. Mr Beaton. [Lhuyd's note. At the end of the following sentence, he adds Q.]

<sup>r</sup> This sentence is deleted in the MS, and Lhuyd has added the note: 'Ni vynne Mr B. adel hyn' [Mr Beaton would not allow this].

therefore at that tyme such who have any red thing upon them hide it. When the Fire<sup>s</sup> is without [the] house they cover it.

### 31. CALLING PERSONS BY THEIR NAMES

In the night time they will not call upon children by their name, least the Devil get power over them. When persons of elder years are called on in the night by their name, they'l not answer unless they be called 3 times, fearing that it is a Spirit.

### 32. THIGGING

To thig is to beg assistance of Friends which is very ordinary among persons of every Quality. Men thig Horses & corn; women thig cows, sheep & Goats. When a person of Quality thigs he is attended with a great many servants, whereof one is the Spokesman and intimates to the Master of the House the end of their coming. By this /fol. 21/ means they get a great deal of one kind and other.

When young men of the common sort are to plenis they thig corn, both in seed time & harvest. Some times great persons onely send Letters, with one or other to receive their good will.

### 33. BIRTH & BAPTISM

A woman with child <when she sees a Hare or steps over a Hair rope> slits up a litle of her petticoat to prevent Hares haw.<sup>t</sup>

When a male is born they put a sword or knife in his hand, and a spindle<sup>u</sup> into the hand of a Female.

When they are carried out to be baptiz'd they cast a litle Fire after them; v.g. a litle coal, straw &c.

Instead of Butter saps they mix meal & Ale together; which every person at the Feast must taste in order.<sup>v</sup>

They put a piece of iron on the bottom of the Cradle, that no evil eye wrong the Child.

In Badzenoch, LochAber &c the Midwife or any one that can read, baptizeth dipping the child in cold water, naked with some Form of Words. Their Gossips & Comers take the Child in their Arms after Baptism /fol. 21v/ & promise in the Childs name. Yet some such will be rebaptizd at 17 or<sup>38</sup> 18 years of age by a minister.

A lad born on Sunday they call Donald, a lass Jennet.<sup>w</sup>

<sup>s</sup> in Lightning time [Lhuyd's gloss.]

<sup>t</sup> i.e. least they [sic] Child should prove Hairlip'd. [Lhuyd's note, added upside down in the lower margin and keyed to the text with an asterisk. The earlier insertion in this sentence is probably of a passage accidentally omitted in copying.]

<sup>u</sup> or a Rock i.e. Distaff [Lhuyd's gloss.]

<sup>v</sup> This may be perhaps in the South. [Lhuyd's note; he also adds 'Q.' at the end of the next sentence, and underdots the first half of 'Badzenoch' in the sentence after that.]

<sup>w</sup> This can be but in some places. [Lhuyd's note.]

When they come from Church at their eating in the House they put the Child into a Basket full of Bread & Cheese, and then take him out, all who enter must <eat> thereof & then take a Drink.<sup>x</sup>

At the end of the Feast the Nurse or Midwife, gives the Child to the Godfather or Godmother who name their Gift to the Child viz. a Cow, meer &c. and then the Child is given round about & every one bestoweth a Gift, all which the parents undertake to preserve for the use of the Child.

The Laws of Godfather and God-mother, of Gossips and Cummers are better kept than those of Blood.<sup>y</sup> /fol. 22/

They'l not marry any of the <Gossip><sup>39</sup> Relation, more than they were Parents & Children.<sup>z</sup>

For Physic they pour a litle Urin down their throats in a morning to make them excrete.

They put the meat out of their own mouths into the Childs.

For about a year they use to wash their children in cold water Evening & Morning.

Before they wash the Child they dip their Finger thrice & put it into the Child's mouth.<sup>a</sup> They use Wollen Cloaths about their Children.

Til six or seaven years they suffer not their children to wear Shoe or Stoken.

Few of the Children of the Commons are taught to read.

The Bairns are taught the Lords Prayer, Beleif & Ten commandmands.

#### 34. FOSTERING

Generally they send their children out to Foster til 6.7.8. <or> 9 years of age. /fol. 22v/

They to whom the children are sent, to be fostered get<sup>40</sup> a part such a portion of Goods freely for the use of the Foster child and so doe the Parents, which the Foster Father engageth to keep for the Foster child,<sup>b</sup> & return it with the product when he cometh to years.

He who giveth his child to be fostered, bestoweth on the Foster-mother a silver Broach which is worn on the Breast or a Necklace of stones which are of greatest Account amongst them.

The Foster Father lyimayet leavs a Legacy to the Foster child as well as to his own children.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>x</sup> Probably in the S. Countrey. [Lhuyd's note.]

<sup>y</sup> Glossed by Lhuyd as: 'are strictly observed & conscientiously' [sic]. In connection with this he deleted 'are better. . . Blood'; within his insertion '&' is superimposed on 'in', which it was presumably meant to replace.

<sup>z</sup> This the Romans observe. [Lhuyd's note.]

<sup>a</sup> This says Mr B. is after washing. [Lhuyd's note.]

<sup>b</sup> at the Parents expences [Lhuyd's addition.]

<sup>c</sup> He has a Barn's part of the Gear. Mr Beaton. [Lhuyd's note. Earlier, he placed dots under 'lyimayet', which is perhaps intended for 'legitimate'.]

35. DREAMS

They greatly observe Dreams ‹& pretend great Skil in Dreams›. Ordinarily before the Death of any Friend, they have some intimation of it by Dreams; as by falling the upper Teeth, or any part of the House[,] rain running through, undermining &c. /fol. 23/

36. LAKEWAKES

The poorest are kept after death one night, & then they use disguises musc of all kinds, [except the Baggpipe] Dancing all exercises of Agility, Every one who comes into the place where the corps is, prayeth over it.

In some places<sup>41</sup> they had singing women who were called to Lac-wakes, ‹& at Funerals› where they diverted the Company. They called them from one ‹parish›<sup>42</sup> to another.

37. BURIAL

They generally desire to be buried with their Ancestors.

The women make a crying while the corps is carried & when they have done, the Piper plays after the corps with his great pipe. When they come to the churchyard all the women (who always go along to the Burial place) make a ‹hideous›<sup>43</sup> Lamentation together & then they have their particular Mournfull Song for their /fol. 23v/ other Friends that lye ‹there›.

They bury strangers in a corner of the churchyard & they bury with them a penny which they call<sup>44</sup> the penny of Friendship; thinking thereby to make Friends among the dead.

They have great Feastings at their Burials & all kind of Music.

The[y] Bury Pipers with the mouth downwards.<sup>d</sup>

38. LORDS SUPPER

They are not at the Lords Supper to give the Bread, from hand to hand, but every one takes to himself.<sup>e</sup>

39. OBSERVATION<sup>45</sup> OF DAYS

On Tuseday they yoak their ploughs & begin their sowing and their sheiring on edensday.<sup>f</sup> They begin nothing on Saturday. The 3d of May is the great Dismal day. /fol. 24/

<sup>d</sup> Q. where. [Lhuyd's note.]

<sup>e</sup> Q. whether the Presbyterians do this. [Lhuyd's note.]

<sup>f</sup> They'l not begin any work on the day of the year i.e. 3 of May. [Lhuyd's note; he has also put dots under the first syllable of 'edensday'.]



They think the Lords Day is consecrat to ane Angel called Domhin.<sup>46</sup>

They think water drawn on that day hath more vertue then upon an other day.

They say no common Exercise is lawfull on Sunday yet they think they may hunt the Fox & kil it if they light on it, though in time of Sermon.<sup>g</sup>

[40.] SWEARING

The men swear by the hand of their Cheif. <Men &><sup>47</sup> woman [sic] sweareth by the Tutelar saint of the Countrey, some swear by the hand of their Gossip who holds up their children. They swear by their Fathers hand, which if another doe, it is the greatest provocation.

[41.] PUBLIK WORSHIP

In prayer they usually repeat after the minister; & generally both men & women kneel /fol. 24v/ at their entring the Church[.]

They have their private prayers.

[42.] BENEDICTIONS

In their Benedictions they usually wish their Benefactors, Children & nephews to many Generations. Riches and honesty, & <sup>48</sup> safety from Friends Fraud & their enemies Foarce.

When they appeal to God as judge of their Integrity they look up to the sun & say, o Founder of yonder eye see & Judge.

[43.] SACRED PLACES

They have wells dedicat to certain Saints to which hik<sup>h</sup> people resort as Straphyllan in Perthshire.

The Gentry have their burial places in Churches & thô they sel their lands, will not alienat them. Half a /fol. 25/ mile about the Kirk was a place of Refuge formerly.<sup>i</sup>

[44.] THE MOON

When first they see the moon new; they turn themselves about thrice, & take up Grasse<sup>49</sup> & cast towards it, & bless God for it.<sup>j</sup>

g Query. [Lhuyd's note.]

h Underlined with dots by Lhuyd; it is perhaps intended for *sik*.

i Six miles (any way) from Y Columb Kil was a Refuge. [Lhuyd's note.]

j Mr B. has seen men doe it. [Lhuyd's note.]

[45.] THE SUN

They call the Sun the eye of God.

When they crist<sup>k</sup> a Water that is deep they take hold of a cow's Tayle & commit themselves to the stream.

On their travelling they always lye in their plaids. <Formerly><sup>50</sup> some marryd onely for a year & a day & gave the woman a consideration at parting.

They marry at the new moon.

[46.] CROSTARITH<sup>l</sup>

In suddein Danger, they cleav a staf, & put a sticc off it, burning it a litle, /fol. 25v/ which they send [?] from hand to hand, and all convene at the place appointed.<sup>m</sup>

[47.] RARITIES

The Pear<sup>51</sup> of Castoun<sup>n</sup> sayd to be <keep> 300 years

The Beef of Borthwick<sup>52</sup> Castle.<sup>o</sup>

The Watdish<sup>p</sup> of Bily in the Merse

The Beafpot of Aunraw

The craw egg at Canglton<sup>q</sup>

Hauthiendame<sup>r</sup> <caves><sup>53</sup>

Roslin College & house

The oily well near Edenb.<sup>s</sup>

The Monument at Dumbar

Tentallan well

I to a lage in hunsdail

Hidem<sup>t</sup> cives & ward <stones>.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>k</sup> Underlined with dots by Lhuyd. At the end of this section, he has written 'Q'.

<sup>l</sup> *crois-tàraidh*.

<sup>m</sup> They doe not burn it but in case of Life or burning of Houses &c. when one finds it sticking [?] in a door 'tis death not to carry it to the next Town. [Lhuyd's note.]

<sup>n</sup> Underlined with dots by Lhuyd. Evidently 'Castletown', but which place of this name is unclear.

<sup>o</sup> On this strange substance see below, p. 164.

<sup>p</sup> Underlined with dots by Lhuyd. Bily is in the parish of Preston and Bonkell, Berwickshire, also called the Merse.

<sup>q</sup> I.e. Cangleton in Dirleton parish, East Lothian.

<sup>r</sup> I.e. Hawthornden.

<sup>s</sup> The sites referred to in this and the next two lines are: the well near Liberton Kirk, Midlothian, with oily water thought to have medicinal properties; the tomb of Sir George Home, Earl of Dunbar, Lord High Treasurer, d. 1611; and Tantallon Castle, N. Berwick.

Notes on the Rites & Customs &c.<sup>t</sup>

1. January is call'd *mîos marbh*.<sup>u</sup> which is divided in *Fwyliach gabhri*<sup>v</sup> i.e. *Fwyliach hyemalis* and *Fwyll*.<sup>55</sup>

*Fwyliach gavrwii*<sup>w</sup> is the last 15 days of January. And the first 15 days of <February><sup>56</sup> is called *Fuilliach errich*<sup>x</sup> i.e. The *Fuilliach* of the Spring. Both these computed together makes the *mios marbh*.

*Kalwyn* or *Kolwyn*<sup>y</sup> is the last night of the old year, & that night they go about seeking bread & cheese. This cheese they keep til that night 12 month; and if they are beclouded at any time either on sea or mountain, they bruise a litle of it and through [sic] it into the aer to dispel the Clouds; or mist. Prob. est.<sup>z</sup>

*Mios y Fylih*, is the wint[er] & spr[ing] seas[on] above mentiond.

*Kyikiys Garrain*<sup>a</sup> <alias *Garrain borb*<sup>b</sup> i.e. *umentum audax*>,<sup>c</sup> the next fortnight;

3. *Seachdown no Kehar la Feddag*<sup>d</sup> i.e. the Plover week. /fol. 28v/

4. The first three days of March *Eym scobyg na Faoilach*.<sup>e</sup> because it's a severe tyme <then> with the Catle.

5. The last 15 days of April & the first 15 of May are call'd *Keitan*; viz. the 15 of April *Keitan aerrich* & the other *Keitan savrih*.<sup>f</sup>

*Shrove Tuesday* is call'd *Martinid*; and *Ash Wednesday* *Kedin yn lwairih*.<sup>g</sup>

*Donach na slat*<sup>h</sup> *Palm Sunday*

*Donach Kask*<sup>i</sup> *Easter Sunday*: the thirsdays before *Dierdwyn Martain*; <sup>j</sup> because then they barberize & not before during Lent.

*La baltin*<sup>k</sup> *May day*. *Baltin vôr*<sup>l</sup> the 1st of May & *Baltin beg*<sup>m</sup> that day 8 days.

<sup>t</sup> Fols. 28–31. I.e. Lhuyd's further notes, supplementing those added piecemeal to the main text. In the original MS, this section is separated from the preceding by the copy of Lhuyd's letter to the Rev. James Fraser of Kirkhill, printed on pp. 205–6 below (fols. 26–8).

<sup>u</sup> 'The dead month'.

<sup>v</sup> *Faoilleach geamhraidh*.

<sup>w</sup> 'The *Faoilleach* of winter'.

<sup>x</sup> *Faoilleach earraich*.

<sup>y</sup> *Callainn, Collainn*.

<sup>z</sup> 'It has been proved'. The word which follows is *mîos an Fhaoillich*.

<sup>a</sup> *Cáthigheas gearrain*.

<sup>b</sup> *Gearran borb*, wild *Gearran*.

<sup>c</sup> 'An audacious beast of burden'.

<sup>d</sup> *seachdain nan ceithir làfeadaig*.

<sup>e</sup> *àm sgobadh nam Faoilleach*, 'the biting time of the *Faoilleachs*'.

<sup>f</sup> *Cátein, Cátein earraich*, 'the *Céitein* of spring', *Cátein Samhraidh*, 'the *Céitein* of summer'.

<sup>g</sup> *Ceudaoin an luaithridh*.

<sup>h</sup> *Dòmhnach nan Slat*.

<sup>i</sup> *Dòmhnach Cäs*.

<sup>j</sup> *Diardaoin Märtainn*, 'St Martin's Thursday'.

<sup>k</sup> *LàBealltainn*.

<sup>l</sup> *Bealltainn mhór*.

<sup>m</sup> *Bealltainn bheag*.

2. Every Shire in Scotland has a different Dialect; but that of Mul is esteemd the purest Irish next unto<sup>57</sup> Connacht Irish in Ireland.

Lwnystal<sup>n</sup> is Lambmasse; Feil cholym Kil<sup>o</sup> Kolumb Kil's Feast. /fol. 29/ Feil na Krohi, Festum crucis<sup>p</sup>

Koila deag na Daveir.<sup>q</sup> Because 'tis rutting time with the deer. The great stags sydh yn ymrain y pryd ymma mewn cors.<sup>58</sup> herwydh idho ev bhrydhwidio am ewig wen a chystiæ cochion ag etto medhy i chael hi.<sup>r</sup>

Mem. to enq. about the Ceremony of St Bride on the 1st of February.

When they go out <at night> to shut the Window, he without says *benedicite*; & they within say *benedicat nos Deus*<sup>s</sup> & pray two or 3 sentences.

The milkwomen use brasse rings & sometimes milk through them against witchcraft; viz.<sup>59</sup> that the <wiches> may never milk their cows.

In the making their broags & hose; they make a distinction between their right & left. At the lanshing out of a boat, they cry out to each other to use their right hand.

They have Quern Songs and rowings [sic] songs for <&c.>.<sup>60</sup> The Boat sings [sic] they call irrairm.<sup>t</sup> Kronan<sup>u</sup> is a raucous Song; /fol. 29v/ Lwiniyg;<sup>v</sup> a melodious chearfull song.

Awbhran<sup>w</sup> (or Ôran)<sup>x</sup> any Grave serious song.

The MacDonalds says Mr Beaton are incomparably the most numerous, & takes precedence.<sup>y</sup>

When people are windbound they <erect a> Templ Chleaman<sup>z</sup> i.e. 2 or 3 foot of clods & stones in form of a Buyliding and put up in it a rag on a<sup>61</sup> stick representing a Mast. the face of the Sail towards the airth they desire the wind. This is usd in the Hebrides espec. when they want a northerly wind. Clement being patron of the Herries.

At Teampyl Chÿnih<sup>a</sup> in Y Colym Kil hard by Knock an Riddiy<sup>b</sup> Theirs a Stone Trough calld /fol. 30/ Lossit Kheyinnih<sup>c</sup> or Kenneths Trough; where the custome is that when they want<sup>62</sup> a fair wind, they cause a true Virgin empty out the water of it,

<sup>n</sup> Lînasdal .

<sup>o</sup> Fáll Cholum Cille . I.e. St Columba, whose feast occurred on 9 June.

<sup>p</sup> Fáll na Croiche , presumably the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, 14 September.

<sup>q</sup> colladeug na Dànhair , 'the fortnight of rutting'.

<sup>r</sup> 'which are rutting at this time in a bog because of their desire for a white hind with red legs and still failing to get her'.

<sup>s</sup> 'Bless you', 'May God bless us'.

<sup>t</sup> iorram.

<sup>u</sup> crànan .

<sup>v</sup> luinneag.

<sup>w</sup> amhran.

<sup>x</sup> òran .

<sup>y</sup> This sentence is preceded by a mark keying to fol. 5 of the original text. See above, p. 57.

<sup>z</sup> Teampull Chliamain.

<sup>a</sup> Teampull Choinnich.

<sup>b</sup> Cnoc an Ridire.

throwing it betwixt her legs backward: her face being towards the aird from whence they want the wind. & within 24 hours 'tis common to be supply'd with the wind they want[.] prob. est. Mr John Beaton.

To cure a broken bone they take a Brier and<sup>63</sup> cleave it almost from one end to the other, and put therein a charm; viz. they speak 3 or 4 words at the cleaving holding the rod to their mouths at the utterance; Then this brier they put upon the wall above the sick persons bed; and as the Rod joyns so will the Bone. Probat. est. J. Beat. /fol. 30v/

To have a piece of iron which has been in the fire to strike fire They say *Tephig gle gioch*; *Tephig gioch glê*; & *Tephig gle giochy*.<sup>d</sup>

Arver yr hen vedhygon gynt yn yr ycheldir oedh: lhadh gwaed ar y kleirion a phigæ *Echinus marinus orbiculatus*.<sup>e</sup>

The Highlanders are as other nations subject to Apoplexies, Epilepsies, Phrensies, & Mania, Hypochondria, Rheumatisms, K[ing's] Evil <very common>, Bohem, Squinancy in abundance; also Apostems, Exulcerations of the Lungs, Pleurisies &c. Phthisis, peripneumonia, Consumptions[,] in short, all Diseases incident to other nations.

They have the Pases [sic] oft /fol. 31/ as also<sup>64</sup> sorts of Dropsies & Fluxes but the Gout is very rare amongst them.

Universally of old & in some places at this day in the Highlands the Gossip takes the Child and holding it on his Arm he stands at the Door holding the childs head so as to be over the threshold and then pours on water sayin[g] *Nomine Patris, & Filii & Sp. Sancti*; I baptiz thee A.

A child born & christend on the Sabb: day will never take the plague.

At the sight of the new moon<sup>65</sup> they cut a crosse in the ground saying I have wounded you <or bled you Deurragne artl.> [?] (viz. the Earth) before I am wounded: after which they hope not to be wounded during the course of that moon.

c *Losaid Choinnich*.

d *Tapadh glád h . . .*, 'Good luck keep . . .'. The meaning of the third word is unclear. Lluyd places dots under all these words, evidently because he was unsure of them himself.

e 'Formerly the custom of the old doctors in the Highlands was: to let the blood of a sick person with the spines of the sea urchin.' The following sentence is preceded by a mark keying to fol. 19 of the main text. See above, p. 68.

3.

THE SECRET COMMON-WEALTH<sup>a</sup>  
OR  
A TREATISE DISPLAYING  
THE CHIEF CURIOSITIES  
AMONG THE PEOPLE OF  
SCOTLAND AS THEY  
ARE IN<sup>1</sup>  
USE TO THIS DAY

Being for the most part  
Singular to that Nation<sup>2</sup>

A Subject not heir to fore  
discoursed of by any of our writers.<sup>b</sup>

Done for the satisfaction of  
his friends by a modest in-  
quirer, living among the  
Scottish-Irish.

1.6.9.2.

<sup>a</sup> For details of the various MSS of Robert Kirk's *Secret Commonwealth*, see Introductory Notes on the Texts, above, pp. 38–40. This text is based on Edinburgh University Library MS Laing III 551.

<sup>b</sup> At this point, MS 5022 diverges markedly, reading:

And yet ventured on in <an> Essay, To suppress the impudent and growing Atheism of this age; And to satisfie the desire of some choice Friends. By a Circumspect inquirer, Resideing among the Scottish-Irish in Scotland.

Earlier in the title, MS 5022 has 'as they are in use' before, rather than after, 'among the people of Scotland' and 'diverse of' after 'among'. It also has 'Singularities for the most part peculiar to that Nation' rather than 'Being for the most part Singular'. In addition, the biblical quotations that follow are in a different order, with the one that is last here appearing first, while, among them, MS 5022 adds:

Sent by the writer to the right Reverend and most Learned Divine Dr Still-  
ingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, His Lady.

The reference is presumably to Stillingfleet's second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nicholas Pedley, who died in 1697. For elucidation, see Introduction, pp. 18, 20.

/verso/

—— This is a Rebellious people, which say to the seers see not; and to the prophets, prophesie not <unto us> right things but smooth things.

Isa. 30.9, 10.

—— And the man, whose eyes were open, hath said.

numb. 24, 15.

—— For now we see through a Glass, darkly, but then face to face:

1 Corrinth. 13.12.<sup>3</sup>

—— It doth not <yet> appear what we shall be; but we shall be like God, and see him as he is

1 John. 3.2.

—— Shall the dead bee borne under the Waters, and the Inhabitants thereof.

Job. 26.5.

—— Then a spirit passed befor my face, the hair of my flesh stood up. it stood stil, but I could not discern the forme thereof: an Image was befor my Eyes.

Job. 4.15.16.

/p. 1/

## AN ESSAY

off the Nature and actions of the Subterranean (and for the most part) Invisible people, heirtofor going under the names of ELVES. FAUNES. and FAIRIES: or the like, among the Low-Country Scots, and termed *hubhrísgedh*, *caiben*, *lusbartan* 7 *siotbrudh*<sup>c</sup> among the Tramontaines or Scottish-Irish, as they are described by those who have the Second Sight: and now, to occasione further enquiry, collected & compared.<sup>4</sup>

[With ane accompt of the Irish-Charmes. being part of a larger discourse, of the Ancient customs of the Scottish-Irish, their nature, habit, manner of warr, husbandry, the air & productiones of their Countrey &c.]<sup>d</sup>

<sup>c</sup> For the treatment of Gaelic words, see Introductory Notes on the Texts, p. 38. Of those given here, *hubhrísgedh* is probably for *irúisg*; *caiben* may be mistranscribed from *taibhsen* (*taibhsean*, 'ghosts') or may be connected with the obselete *coimh-dhean*, 'a troop'; *lusbartan*, *luspardan*, a pigmy, dwarf or sprite; 7, *agus*, 'and'; and *siotbrudh*, for *sith-bhrugh*.

<sup>d</sup> The bracketed passage is deleted in the MS, perhaps because the relevant text was removed from one version. In MS 5022, 'compared' is followed by 'by Mr Robert Kirk Minister at Aberfoyle'; it then lacks the bracketed passage. It also lacks the heading that follows: 'CHAP. I. of the Subterranean Inhabitants'.

## CHAP. I. of the Subterranean Inhabitants.

1. THESE sith,<sup>s</sup> or Fairies, they call *sluagh*[h] *maith*<sup>e</sup> or the good people: (it would seem, to prevent the dint of their ill attempts: for the Irish use to bless all they fear harme of) and are said to be of a midle nature betwixt man and Angell (as were dæmons thought to be of old); of intelligent studious /p. 2/ Spirits, and light changable bodies (lik those called Astrall) somewhat of the nature of a condens'd cloud, and best seen in twilight. These bodies be<sup>5</sup> so plyable thorough the subtilty of the spirits, that agitate them, that they can make them appeare or disappear at pleasure. Some have bodies or vehicles so spungious, thin and defecate,<sup>f</sup> that they are fed by only sucking<sup>g</sup> into some fine spirituou liquor <that pierce like pure air and oyl>: others feed more gross on the foyson or substance of cornes and liquors, or on corn itselfe, that grows on the surface of the Earth; which these fairies steall away, partly invisible, partly preying on the grain as do Crows and Mice. Wherefore <in this sam age> they are somtimes heard to bake bread, strike hammers, and to do such <like> services within the litle hillocks where they <most> haunt: som whereof of old befor the Gospel dispell'd paganism, and in som Barbarous places as yett, enter houses after all are at rest, and <set><sup>6</sup> the kitchins <in order> cleansing all the vessells. Such drudgs goe under the name of Brownies. when we have plentie, they have scarcity at their homes; and on the Contrarie (for they are not impowered to catch /p. 3/ as much prey everie where as they please.) Their robberies notwithstanding, oftimes occasione great Ricks of corn not to bleed so well (as they call it) or prove so copious by verie far as was expected by the owner.

Their bodies of congealed air, are somtimes carried aloft, other whiles grovell in different shapes, and enter in anie Cranie or cleft of the Earth (where air enters) to their ordinary dwellings: The Earth being full of Cavities & cells, and their being no place or<sup>7</sup> creature but is supposed to have other Animals (greater or lesser) living in, or upon it, as Inhabitants; and no such thing as a pure wilderness in the whol Universe.

2. WEE then (the more Terrestriall <kind><sup>8</sup>) having now so numerouslie planted all countreyes, do labour for that abstruse people, as well as for ourselves. Albeit when severall Countreys were uninhabited by us, these had their easy tillage, above ground as we now, the print of whose furrowes do yet remaine to be seen on the shoulders of very high hills, which was don when the Champain ground was wood & Forrest. /p. 4/

They remove to other Lodgings at the begining of each quarter of the year, so traversing till doomsday, being impatient of staying<sup>9</sup> in on place, and finding som ease by sojourning and changeing habitations, Their Chamaeleon-like bodies swim in the air, neer the Earth with bagg and bagadge. And at such revolution of time, Seers or men of the second sight (Females being but seldom so qualified) have verie terrifying encounters with them, even on high-wayes; who therefor usually shune to

<sup>e</sup> *sluagh math*.

<sup>f</sup> Sic: perhaps for 'delicate'.

<sup>g</sup> 'Soaking' in MS 5022.



travell abroad at these four seasones of the year, and thereby have made it a custom to this day among the Scottish-Irish, to keep Church duly everie first Sunday of the quarter, to sene or hallow themselves, their corne and cattell, from the shots and stealth of these wandring Tribes. and many of these superstitious people will not been seen in Church again till the nixt quarter begin, as if no dutie were to be learned or don by them, but all the use of worship and sermons were to save them from those arrowes that fly in the dark. /p. 5/

They are distributed in Tribes and Orders; and have children, Nurses, marriages, deaths and burials, in appearance even as wee (unless they so do for a mock-show, or to prognosticate som such thing to be among us.)

3. They are clearly seen by these men of the second sight to eat at funerall banquets:<sup>h</sup> hence many of the Scottish-Irish will not tast meat at those meetings, least they have communion with, or be poysoned by them: So are they seen to carry the Bier or coffin with the Corps, among the middle-earth men, to the grave. Some men of that exalted sight (whither by airt or nature) have told me they have seen at those meetings a double-man, or the shape of the same man in two places, that is, a Superterranean and a Subterranean Inhabitant perfectly resembling one another in all points, whom he notwithstanding could easily distinguish <one> from<sup>10</sup> another by some <secret> tokens and operations, and so goe speake to the man his neighbour, and familiar, passing/p. 6/ by the apparition or resemblance of him. They avouch that every Element and different state of being, have Animals resembling those of another <Element>, as there be fishes sometimes caught at sea, resembling Monks of late order, in all their hoods & dresses, so as the Roman invention of good and bad dæmons: and guardian Angels particularly assigned, is call'd <by them> an ignorant mistake sprung <only> from this originall. They call this Reflex-man a *coimimechd*<sup>i</sup> or Co-walker, every way like the man, as a Twin-brother and Companion, haunting him as his shadow and is oft seen and known among men (resembling the Originall) both befor and after the Originall is dead, and was els often seen of old to enter a house; by which the people<sup>11</sup> knew that the person of that liknes was to visit them within a few dayes. This copy, Eccho, or living picture, goes at /p. 7/ last to his own herd. It accompanied that person so long and frequently, for ends best known to itselfe, whither to guard him from the secret assaults of som of its own folks, or only as a sportful Ape to counterfeit all his actions. however the stories of old Witches, prove beyond contradiction, that all sorts of spirits which assume light aery bodies, or crazed Bodies coacted by forrein spirits, seem to have som pleasure (at least to asswage som pain or Melancholy) by frisking and capering like Satyrs, or whistling and<sup>12</sup> shreecking (like unluckey<sup>j</sup> birds) in their unhallowed Synagogues and Sabboths. If invited and earnestly required, these companions make themselves known and familiar to men, otherwises, being in a different state and Element, they neither can nor will easily converse with them. They avouch that a

<sup>h</sup> Following MS 5022: Laing MS has 'funerals, Banqueetts'.

<sup>i</sup> *coimh-imeachd*.

<sup>j</sup> Followed by 'night' in MS 5022.

Heluo or great eater hath a voracious Elve to be his attender called *ceart-coimithech*,<sup>k</sup> a joynt-eater, or just-halver, feeding /p. 8/ on the pith and quintessence of what the man eats, and that therefore he continues lean like a hauke or heron, notwithstanding his devouring appetite. Yet it <would> seem they convey that substance elsewhere, for these Subterraneans eat but litle in their dwellings, their food being exactly clean, and served up by pleasant children like enchanted puppets. what food they extract from us is convey'd to their homes by secret pathes, as some skilfull women doe the pith of milk from their neighbours Cows, into their own Cheis-hold, thorow a hair-tedder, at a great distance by art Magic. or by drawing a spickot fastned in a post, which will bring milk as far off as a bull will be heard to roar. The Cheise made of the remaining milk of a Cow thus strain'd will swim in water like cork. The method /p. 9/ they take to recover their milk is A bitter chydng of the suspected Inchanters, charging them by a Counter-charme to give them back their own, in God, or their Masters name. But a litle of the mother's dung stroakt on the Calves mouth befor it suck any does prevent this theft.

4. Their houses are called<sup>l</sup> large & fair, and (unless at som odd occasions) unperceivable by vulgar eyes, like Rachland and other Incharnted Islands;<sup>m</sup> having for light continuall lamps, and fires, <often seen without fuel to sustein them;> women are yet alive who tell they were taken away when in Child-bed to nurse Fayrie Children, a lingring voracious image of their being left in their place (like their reflexion in a mirroure) which (as if it were som insatiable spirit in an assumed bodie) made first semblance to devoure the meat, that it cunningly carried by, and then left the carcase as if it expyred, and departed thence, by a naturall and common death.<sup>n</sup> The child & fire /p. 10/ with food, and all other necessaries are set befor the Nurse, how soon she enters, but she neither perceivs any passage out, nor sees what these people doe in other rooms of the Lodging. When the Child is wained, the nurse or dies, or is convey'd back, or gets<sup>13</sup> it to her choice to stay there. But if anie Superterraneans be soe subtile as to practise sleights for procuring a privacy to any of their Misteries (such as making use of their oyntments, which, as Gyges's ring, makes them invisible or nimble, or cast them in a Trance, or alters their shape, or maks things appear at a vast distance, &c.<sup>o</sup>) they smit them without pain as with a puff of wind, and bereave them of both the naturall and acquired sights in the twinkling of ane eye (<both> these <sights><sup>14</sup> where once they come, being in the sam organ and inseperable;) /p. 11/ or they strick them dumb. The Tramontaines to this day, put bread, the Bible, or a piece of iron, in womens bed when travelling, to save them from being thus stolen. And they commonly report that all uncouth unknown wights are terrified, by nothing<sup>15</sup> earthly so much as by cold iron, they deliver the reason to be, that Hell lying betwixt the chill tempests, and the fire-brands of scalding metalls, and iron of

<sup>k</sup> *ceart-choimh-itheach*.

<sup>l</sup> Lacking in MS 5022.

<sup>m</sup> Kirk's allusion is unclear.

<sup>n</sup> Kirk gave Stillingfleet an overlapping report on this during their conversation on second sight in 1689: see *London Diary*, fol. 19v. See also below, p. 88.

<sup>o</sup> In classical mythology, Gyges acquired the crown of Lydia by using a ring that made him invisible.

the North (hence the loadstone causes a Tendency to that point) by an antipathy therto, these odious far-senting creatures <shrug> and fright at all that comes thence, relating to so abhorred a place, whence their torment is either begun, or feared to come heirafter.

5. Their apparell and speech is like that of the people and countrey under which they live: so are they seen to wear plaids and variegated garments in the high-lands of Scotland and Suanochs heretofore in Ireland. They speak but /p. 12/ litle, and that by way of whistling, clear, not rough: the verie devils conjured in any Countrey, doe answer in the Language of the place: yet sometimes these Subterraneans speak more distinctly then at other times. Their women are said to spin, verie fine, to dy, to tissue and embroyder: but whither it be as manual operatione of substantiall refin'd stuffs with apt and solid instruments, or only curious cob-webs, impalpable rainbows, and a phantastic imitatione of the actiones of more terrestriall mortals, since it transcended all the senses of the seer to discern whither, I leave to conjecture as I found it.

6. Their men travell much abroad, either presageing or apeing the dismall and tragical actiones of som amongst us, and have also manie disastrous doings of their own, /p. 13/ as Convocationes, fightings, Gashes, wounds, and Burials, both in the Earth and air: They live much longer than wee, yet die at last, or least, vanish from that state: For 'tis one of their Tenets, That nothing perisheth, but (as the Sun and year) everie thing goes in a Circle; Lesser or Greater, and is renewed and refreshed in it's revolutiones, as 'tis another, That Every Body in the Creation, moves (which is a sort of Life:) and that nothing moves but what has another Animall<sup>16</sup> moving on it, and so on, to the utmost minutest corpuscle that's capable to be a receptacle of Lyfe.

7. They are said to have <Aristocratical> Rulers and Laws, but no discernible Religion, Love or Devotione towards God the Blessed Maker of all. They disappear whenever they hear his name invocked, or the name of Jesus (at which all do bow willingly or by constraint, that dwell above or Beneath within the Earth, philip.2.10.) nor can /p. 14/ they act ought at that time, after hearing of that Sacred Name. The Tabhaisder or Seer that corresponds with this kind of Familiars, can bring them with a spel to appear to himselfe or others when he pleases, as readily as Endor Witch Did <those of> her own kind.<sup>P</sup> He tells they are ever readiest to go on hurtfull errands, but seldom will be the Messengers of <a great> good to men. He is not terrified with their sight when he calls them. But seeing them in a surprise (as often he dos) frights him extreamly: and glad he would be quit of such, for the hideous spectacles seen among them, as the Torturing of som Wight, earnest ghastly staring looks, skirmishes, and the like. They do not all the harm which appearingly they have power to do: nor are they /p. 15/ perceived to be in great pain, save that they are usually silent & sullen. They are said to have many pleasant Toyish Books. But the operation of these peeces only appears in som

<sup>P</sup> See 1 Samuel 28, 7, which tells how Saul sought a woman with a familiar spirit, and his servants directed him to a woman of Endor who successfully summoned up the spirit of Samuel.

paroxysms of antic Corybantick<sup>17</sup> jollity – as if ravish't and prompted by a new Spirit entering <into> them at that instant, lighter and merrier then their own. Other Books they have of involved<sup>18</sup> abstruse sense, much like the Rosicrucian stile.<sup>q</sup> They have nothing of the Bible, save collected parcels for Charms, and counter-Charms; not to defend themselves withall, but to operat on other Animals: for they are a people invulnerabl by our weapons; And albeit Were-Wolves and Witches true Bodies, are (by the union of the Spirit of Nature, that runs thorow all, Echoing and doubling the Blow towards another) wounded at hom, when the Astral assumed Bodies are stricken elsewhere. /p. 16/ as the strings of a second harp tuned to an unison, sounds, tho only one be struck: yet these people have not a second, or so gross a bodie at all, to be so <pierced>;<sup>19</sup> but as air, which when divided, unitts again: or if they feel pain by a blow, they are better phisitians then wee, and quickly cure it. They are not subject to sore sicknesses, but dwindl and decay at a certan period, all about one age. Som<sup>20</sup> say their continuall sadness is because of their pendulous state (like those men Luc. 13. 26.) as uncertain what at the last Revolution will becom of them, when they are lockt up into an unchangable <condition>:<sup>21</sup> and if they have any frolic fits of mirth, 'tis as the constrained grinding of a Mort-head, or, rather as acted on a stage, and moved by another, then cordially /p. 17/ coming of themselves: But other Men of the second sight being illiterate and unwary in their observationes, vary from these. One averring those subterranean people to be departed souls attending a whil in this inferior state, and cloth'd with bodies procured through their Alms-deeds in this Lyfe, called *cuirp dhaonbachbach*<sup>r</sup> viz. <fluid, active æthereal><sup>22</sup> vehicles to hold them, that they <may not> scatter, nor wander and be lost in the Totum, or their first nothing. But if any were so impious as to have given no alms, they say when the souls of <such do><sup>23</sup> depart, they sleep in an unactive state till they resume the Terrestriall Bodies again. Others, that what the Low-countray-Scot calls a Wreath, and the Irish *úg*, or deaths Messenger (appearing somtimes as a litle rough dog; and if crossed, & conjur'd in tim will be pacified by the death of any other creature instead of the sick Man) /p. 18/ is only exuvius fumes of the Man approaching death, exhal'd and congeald into a various likeness,<sup>s</sup> (as Ships and<sup>24</sup> armies are <somtimes shapt> in the air) and called Astral Bodies, agitated as wild-fire with wind, and are neither Souls nor Counterfeiting Spirits. Yet not a few avouch (as is said) that surly these are a numerous people by themselves, having their own polities. Which diversity of judgments may occasione severall inconsonancies in this Rehearsall, after the narrowest scrutiny made about it.

8. Their weapons are most-what solid earthy bodies, nothing of iron, but much of a Stone, like to yellow soft flint shaped like a Barbed arrow head, but flung as a dart with great force, These armes (cute by art & tools it seems beyond humane) have somewhat of the natur of thunder-bolt subtilly & mortally wounding /p. 19/ the vitall parts without breaking the skin, <of which wounds, som I have observed<sup>25</sup> in beasts,

<sup>q</sup> An allusion to the proverbial obscurity of much alchemical literature.

<sup>r</sup> recte *cuirp dhaondachdach*: *cuirp* means 'body' and the whole phrase would appear to mean 'human' or 'mortal bodies'. Later in the sentence, 'Totum' is Latin for 'the whole'.

<sup>s</sup> Following MS 5022; Laing MS has 'sickness'.

and felt them with my hands.> They are not as infallibl Benjamites,<sup>t</sup> hiting at a hairs breadth; nor are they wholly unvanquishabl, at least in appearance.

The men of that second sight, do not discover strange things when asked, but at fits and Raptures, as if inspyred with som Genius at that instant, which befor did lurk in, or about them. Thus I have frequently spok to one of them who in his transport told, he cut the bodie of one of these people in two with his iron weapon, and so escaped this onset, yet he saw nothing, left behind, of that appearingly divided bodie, at other times he outwrestled som of them. His neighbours often perceivd this man to disappear at a certan place, and then about one hour after to become visible, and discover himselfe neer a bow-shot from the first place, : it was in that place where he becom invisible, said he, that these subterraneans did encounter and combate with him. /p. 20/ These who are unseened or unsanctified (called Fey ) are said to be *goinnt*,<sup>u</sup> that is, pierced or wounded with those peoples weapon, which makes them do somewhat very unlike their former practise, causing a sudden alteration, yet the cause thereof unperceivable at present: nor have they power (either they cannot make use of their natural powers, or ask not the Heavenly aid) to escape the Blow impendent. A man of the second sight perceivd a person standing by him (sound to others veiw) wholly gored in blood, and he (amazed-like) bid him instantly flee: the whole man laught at his art and warning, sinc there was no appearance of danger: he had scarc contracted his lips from laughter, when unexpectedly his enemy leapt in at his side and stab'd him. With their weapons /p. 21/ they also *gon* or pierce Cows or other Animals, usually said to be Elf-shot, whose purest substance (if they die) these Subterraneans take to live on, viz the aerial and æthereal parts, the most spirituous matter for prolonging of Lyfe, such as aqua-vitæ (moderatly taken) is among liquors; leaving the Terrestriall behind. The cure of such hurts is, only for a man to find out the hole with his finger; as if the spirits flowing from a mans warme hand were antidote sufficient against their poyson'd darts.<sup>26</sup>

9. As Birds and Beasts whose bodies are much used to the change of the free and open air, forsee stormes, so those invisible people are more sagacious to understand by the Book of Nature things to come, then wee, who are pester'd with the grosser dregs of all Elementary mixtures, and have our purer spirits choaked<sup>v</sup> by them. The Deer scents out a Man <and powder (tho a late invention)> at a great distance; a hungry hunter, Bread; and the Raven, a Carrion: their brains being long clarified by the<sup>27</sup> high /p. 22/ and subtil air, will observe a verie small <change> in a trice. Thus a Man of the second sight perceiving the operations of these forecasting invisible people among us (indulg'd thorow a stupendious providence to give warnings of som remarkable events, either in the Air, Earth or Waters) told he saw a winding-shroud creep up on a walking healthfull persons legs, till it came to the knee, and afterwards it came up to the midle, then to the shoulders, and at last over the head, which was visible to no other person. And by observing the spaces of time betwixt the several

<sup>t</sup> Cf. Judges 20, 16.

<sup>u</sup> *goint*'.

<sup>v</sup> MS 5022 has 'cloakt'.

stages, he easily guess'd how long the man was to live who <wore><sup>28</sup> the Shrowd, for when it approached his head, he told that such a <person> was ripe for the Grave.

10. There Be manie places called Fayrie hills, which the mountain-people think impious<sup>29</sup> and dangerous to peel or discover, by taking earth or wood from them; superstitiously beleiving the souls of their predecessors to dwell there. /p. 23/ And for that end (say they) a Mote or Mount was dedicate beside everie Churchyard, to receive the souls, till their adjacent Bodies arise, and so become as a Fayrie-hill. They using bodies of air when called abroad. They also affirm those Creatures that move invisibly in a house, and cast huge <great> stones, but do not much hurt (because counter-wrought by some more courteous and charitable Spirits that are every where readie to defend men Dan. 10. 13) to be Souls that have not atteaned their Rest, thorough a vehement desyre of revealing a murther, or notable injury don or receav'd, or a Treasure that was forgot in their Lyftime on Earth, which when disclos'd to a Conjuror alon the Ghost quite removes. In the nixt Countrey to that of my former residence about the year 1676,<sup>w</sup> when there was som scarcity of grain, a marvellous illapse and vision strongly struck the imaginatione of two Women in one night, living at a good distance from <one> other, about a Treasure hid in a hill called *sith-bhruaich*<sup>x</sup> or Fairie-hill. /p. 24/ The appearance of a Treasure was first represented to the Fancy, and than an audible voyce named the place where it was, to their awaking senses. Whereupon both arose and meeting accidentally at the place, discovered their design, and joyntly digging, found a vessel as large as a Scottish-peck full of smal peecs of good money, of ancient coyn;<sup>30</sup> which halving betwixt them, they sold in dish-fulls for dish-fulls of meall to the Countrey people, verie manie of undoubted credit saw, and had of the Coyn to this day: but whither it was a good or bad Angell, one of the Subterranean people, or the restless Soul of him who hid it, that discovered it, and to what end it was done; I leave to the examination of others.

11. These subterraneans have Controversies, doubts, disputs, Feuds, and syding of parties, there being som ignoranc in all Creatures, and the vastest created intelligences not compassing all things. /p. 25/ As to vice and sin, whatever their own Laws be, sure according to ours, and Equity naturall, civil and reveald, they transgress and committ acts of Injustice, and sin by what is abovesaid; as to their Stealing of Nurses, to their Children, and that other sort of Plagium in catching our Children away (may seem to <Heir><sup>31</sup> some Estate in those invisible dominions) which never return. For the incontinence of their *leannain sith*<sup>y</sup> or succubi who tryst with men, it is abominable. But for swearing and intemperance they are not observed so subject to those irregularities, as to Envy, Spit, Hypocrisy, lying and dissimulatione.

12. As our Religione obleidges us not, to make a peremptory & curious search into these abstrusenesses; so the Historys of all Ages<sup>32</sup> give as many plain exemples of extraordinary occurrences as make a modest inquiry, not contemptible. How

<sup>w</sup> I.e. presumably Balquhidder.

<sup>x</sup> *sith-bhruaich*, a rationalisation (*bruaich* meaning 'bank' in place of *brugh*, a (fairy) hillock) of *sith-bhruigh*, above, p. 78.

<sup>y</sup> *leannain sith*, 'fairy lovers'.

much is written of pigme's, Fayries, Nymphs, Syrens, Apparitions, which tho not the tenth part true, yet could not spring of nothing? Even English Authors relate /p. 26/ of Barry Island in Glamorgan-shyre that laying your<sup>33</sup> ear unto a cleft of the Rock; blowing of Bellows, stricking of hammers, clashing of armour, filing of irons will be heard distinctly, ever since Merlin enchanted those subterranean Wights to a solid manuell forging of arms to Aurelius Ambrosius and his Brittaines, till he returned, which <Merlin> being killed in battell, and not coming to loose the knot <these active Vulcans><sup>34</sup> are there ty'd to a perpetuall labour.<sup>2</sup> But to dip no deeper into this well, I will nixt give som accompt how the seer my informer comes to have this secret way of correspondence beyond other Mortals.

There be odd solemnities at investing a man with the priviledges of the whol Misterie of this Second Sight, He must run a <tedder><sup>35</sup> of hair (which bound a Corps to the Bier) in a Helix about his midle from end to end, then bow his head downward; <as did Elijah I King 18.42.> and look back thorow his legs untill he see a funerall advance, till the people cross two /p. 27/ Marches; or look thus back thorow a hole where was a knot of fir. But if the wind change points while the hair tedder is ty'd about him, he is in peril of his Lyfe. The usuall method for a curious person to get a transient sight of this otherwise invisible crew of Subterraneans (if importunately<sup>a</sup> & overrashly sought) is to put his foot on the Seers foot, and the Seers hand is put on the Inquirers head, who is to look over the Wizards right shoulder (which hes an ill appearance, as if by this ceremonie, an implicite surrender were made of all betwixt the Wizards foot and his hand ere the person can be admitted a privado to the art.) Then will he see a multitude of Wight's like furious hardie men flocking to him hastily from all quarters, as thick as atomes in the air, <which are<sup>36</sup> no nonentities or phantasms, creatures, proceeding from ane affrighted apprehensione confused or crazed sense; but Realities, appearing to a stable man in his awaking sense, and enduring a rational tryal of their being.> <Those><sup>37</sup> thorow fear strick him breathles and speechless, <But> the <Seer> defending the Lawfulness of his skill, forbids such horror, and comforts his Novice by telling of Zacharias being struck speechless at seeing /p. 28/ of apparitiones Luc.1.20. Then he further maintains his airt by vouching Elisha to have had the sam, and disclos'd it thus unto his servant, in 2 King.6.17. when he blinded the Syrians, and Peter in Act.5.9. forseeing the death of Sapphira, by perceiving as it were, her winding sheet about her befor hand. and Paul in 2 Corrin: 12.4. who got such a vision and sight, as should not, nor could be told.<sup>b</sup> Elisha also in his Chamber, saw Gehazi his servant at a great distance taking a reward from Naaman 2.King.5.26. Hence were the prophet's frequently called Seers, or men of a second & more exalted sight then others. He cites for his purpose also Mat.4.8. Where the Devil undertakes to give even Jesus a sight of all nationes, and

<sup>z</sup> *Itinerarium Cambriae*, cap. VI. [Giraldus Cambrensis mentions this cleft hole and the noise audible through it but makes no mention of Merlin. Cf. Camden, *Britain*, p. 643, who cites Giraldus and also Clement of Alexandria. For a discussion of Merlin and Merlin's prophecies see Tatlock, *Legendary History of Britain*, chs. 5 and 17.]

<sup>a</sup> Following MS 5022; Laing MS has 'impotently'.

<sup>b</sup> In fact, verses 3–4.



the finest things in the world, at one glance, tho in their natural situations & stations at a vast distance from other: /p. 29/ And 'tis said expresly he did let<sup>38</sup> him see them; not in a Map it seems; nor by a phantastick, Magical, juggling of the sight, which he could not impose upon so discerning a person. It would appear then to have been a sight of Real solid substances, and things of worth which he intended as a bait for his purpose. Whence it might seem (comparing this Relatione of Mat.4.8. with the former) that the extraordinary or second sight can be given by the Ministry of Bad as well as Good Spirits to those that will embrace it: And the instance of Balaam and the pythoniss make it nothing the less probable.<sup>c</sup> Thus also the Seer trains his schooller by telling <of> the Gradations of Nature, ordered by a wise providence; That as the sight of Bats & owles transcend that of Shrews and Moles, so the visive faculties of Men are clearer then those of Owles, as Eagles, Lynxes, and Cats, are brighter then Mens:<sup>d</sup> /p. 30/ And againe that Men of the second sight (being design'd to give warnings against secret engyns) surpass the ordinary vision of other men; which is a native habit in some, descended from their ancestors, and acquired as an artificiall improvement of their naturall sight in others; Resembling in their own kind, the usuall artificiall helps of Optic Glasses (as prospectives, Telescopes, and Microscopes) without which ascititious aids, those men heer treated of, do perceive things, that for their smalness, or subtilty, and secrecy, are invisible to others, tho daylie conversant with them; They having such a Beam continually about them, as that of the Sun; which when it shyne clear only, lets common eyes see the atomes in the air, that without these rayes, they could not discern; For some have this second sight transmitted from /p. 31/ Father to Son, thorow the whole family, without their own consent, or others teaching, proceeding only from a Bounty of providence, it seemes; or by a compact, or a complexionall quality of the first acquirer: as it may seem alike strange (yet nothing vicious) in such as Mr Greatrake the Irish stroaker,<sup>e</sup> Seventh-sons, and others that cure the Kings-Evil, & chase away diseases & pains, with only stroaking of the affected part. Which (if it be not the reliques of miraculous operationes <or some secret virtue in the womb of the parent, which increaseth untill 7 Sons be born, & decreaseth, by the sam degrees afterward>) proceeds onlie from the Sanative Balsome of their healthful constitutions; Virtue going<sup>39</sup> out from them by spirituuous effluxes unto the patient <And

<sup>c</sup> Kirk is evidently alluding to the story of the angel seen by Balaam and his ass (Numbers 22, 22ff), whom he treats as a pythoness or soothsayer. In the sentences that follow, there is considerable overlap with the *London Diary*, fols. 18v, 104v.

<sup>d</sup> Here and in the following sentence, Kirk expands on points that he had made to Stillingfleet when they discussed second sight in 1689: *London Diary*, fol. 19v. See also *ibid.*, fol. 104v.

<sup>e</sup> On Valentine Greatrakes (1629–83), the Irish Protestant landowner who achieved fame for curing illnesses by stroking, coming to England and arousing curiosity and controversy among intellectuals, including Boyle, in the mid-1660s, see Introduction, p. 5. On the following passage concerning the role of seventh sons, see above, Introduction, p. 17, and below, pp. 100, 105.



Their vigorous healthy spirits affecting the Sick, as usually the unhealthy fumes of the Sick, infect the sound and Whole. /p. 32/

13. The minor sort of seers prognosticate many future events, only for a moneth space, from the shoulder-bone of a sheep, on which a knife never came (for as befor is said, <(And the Nazarets of old had somthing of it)<sup>f</sup>> iron hinders all the operations of those that travell in the intrigues of these hidden dominions) this science is called *slinnenacd*.<sup>g</sup> By looking into the bon they will tel if whoredome be committed in the Ouners house; what money the Master of the sheep had, if any will die out of that house for that<sup>40</sup> moneth, and if anie cattell there will take a Trake (as if planet-struck) called *earchal*.<sup>h</sup> Then will they prescribe a preservative and prevention.

14. A Woman (it seems, an exceptione from the General Rule) singularly wise in these matters of for-sight Living in Colasnach<sup>i</sup> ane Isle of the Hebrides (in the tim of the Marquess of Montrose his wars with the States in<sup>41</sup> Scotland) being notorious /p. 33/ among many, and so examined by som that violently seized that Isle, If she saw them coming or not? She said, she saw them coming manie hours befor they came in view of the Isle: but earnestlie looking, she sometimes took them for Enemies, sometim for friends; and moreover they lookt as if they went from the Isle, not as men approaching it, which made her not put the Inhabitants on their guard. The matter was, That the Barge wherin the Enemie sailed was a litle befor taken from the Inhabitants of that sam Isle, and the men had their backs towards the Ile, when they were plying the oars towards it. Thus this old scout and Delphian Oracle was at last deceiv'd and did deceive: Being asked who gave her such sights and warnings, she said, that as soon as she sett three crosses of straw upon /p. 34/ the palm of her hand, a great ugly Beast sprang out of the Earth, neer her and flew in the air, If what she enquired had success according to her wish, the Beast would descend calmly, and lick up the crosses: If it would not succeed, the Beast would furiously thirst her and the crosses over on the ground, and so vanish to his place.

15. Among other instances of undoubted verity proving in Thesi The being of such<sup>42</sup> aerial people or species of Creatures not vulgarly known, I add these subsequent relationes, som wherof I have from my acquaintance with the actors and patients. And the rest from Eye-witnesses to the matter of fact. The first whereof shall be of a Woman taken out of <her> Child-bed, and having a liveing Image of her substituted<sup>43</sup> in her room, which resemblance /p. 35/ decay'd, dy'd, and was buri'd, but the person stoln returning to her husband after<sup>j</sup> two years space, he being convinc'd by many undeniable tockens, that she was his former wife, admitted her hom, and had diverse children by her.<sup>k</sup> Among other reports, she gave her husband, this was one, that she perceiv'd litle what they did in the spacious hous she lodg'd in;

<sup>f</sup> MS 5022 has 'Somewhat like it'. In the next sentence, it has 'Owner' for 'Master'.

<sup>g</sup> recte *slinneanachd*, from *slinnean*, 'a shoulder-blade'.

<sup>h</sup> *earchall*.

<sup>i</sup> Almost certainly Colonsay. The reference in the bracketed phrase that follows is to the campaigns in the mid 1640s of James Graham, 5th Earl and 1st Marquis of Montrose (1612–50), the chief royalist commander in Scotland.

<sup>j</sup> MS 5022 has 'within'.

<sup>k</sup> Cf. above, p. 81. Kirk also records this story in connection with his discussion of second

untill she annoynted one of her Eyes with a certan unctiōne that<sup>44</sup> was by her, which they perceiving to have acquainted her with their actions, they fann'd her blind of that Eye with a puff of their breath; she found the place full of light without anie fountain or Lamp from whence it did spring. This person livd in the countrey nixt to that of my last residence,<sup>1</sup> and might furnish matter of disput among Casuists, whither If her husband had been mary'd in the interim of her /p. 36/ two years absenc, he was obleidg'd to divorce from the second spous, at the return of the first. There is an art appearingly without superstition, for recovering of such as are thus stoln, but I think it superfluous to insert it.

I saw a woman of fourtie years age, and examin'd her (having another Clergie man in my company), about a report that past of her long fasting, her name is McIntyr, It was told<sup>m</sup> by them of the house as well as herselfe, that she took verie litle, or no food for several years past, that she tarry'd in the fields over night, saw, and convers'd with a people she knew not, having wandred in seeking of her sheep, and slept upon a hillock, and finding hirsselfe transported to another place befor day, The Woman had a Child sinc that time, and is still prettie melancholious /p. 37/ and silent, hardly ever seen to laugh. her natural heat and radical moisture seem to be equally ballanced, like ane unextinguishable Lamp, and going in a Circle, not unlike to the faint Lyf of Bees, and som sort of birds that sleep all the Winter over, and revive in the spring.

It is usual in all Magical Arts to have the Candidates prepossesst with a beleif <of> their Tutors skil and abilitie to perform <their> fats, [sic] and act their jugling pranks and legerdemain, but a person called Stewart possessed with a prejudice at all that was spokken of the second sight, and living neer to my house, was so put to it by a seer befor many witnesses, that he lost his speech, and power of his leggs, and breathing excessivly, as if expyryng, because of the many fearfull Wights that appear'd to him, the companie were forc'd to carie him into the house. /p. 38/

It is notoriously known what in Killin within Perthshyr fell tragically out with a Yeoman, that liv'd hard by, who coming to a companie within an aile-hous, where a Seer sat at table, that at the sight of the intrant neighbour, The Seer starting, rose to go out of the hous, and being asked, the reason of his hast, told, that the intrant man should die within two dayes, at which news the named intrant stabb'd the seer and was hirsselfe executed two dayes after for the fact.

A Minister verie intelligent but misbeleiving all such sights as were not ordinarie, chancing to be in a narrow lane with a seer, who perceiving a Wight of a known visage, furiously to encounter them, the seer desyrd the Minister to turne out of the way, who scorning his reason, and holding hirsselfe in the path with /p. 39/ them, when the <Seer> was going hastily <out of the way>,<sup>45</sup> They were both violently cast asid, to a good distance, and the fall made them laim all their Lyfe. A litle after the

sight and related topics with Stillingfleet in 1689: *London Diary*, fol. 19v. Stillingfleet observed: 'he ought not to accept her without deliberation'. Kirk again refers to it in *ibid.*, fol. 105.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Balquhidder.

<sup>m</sup> In MS 5022, followed by 'us'.

Minister was caried hom, one came to tol the bell for the death of the man, whose<sup>n</sup> representione meet them in the narrow path, some halfe an hour befor.<sup>o</sup>

Another example is, A seer in Kentyr, in Scotland, sitting at table with diverse others, suddenly did cast his head asid, The company asking why he did it, he answered, that such a friend of his, by name than in Ireland threatn'd immediatly to cast a dish-full of butter in his face, The men wrot down the day, and hour, and sent to the Gentlman to know the truth; which deed the Gentlman declared, /p. 40/ he did at that verie time, for he knew that his friend was a seer, and would make sport with it; The men that were present, and examyn'd the matter exactly, told me this storie, and withall, that a seer would, <with all his Opticks,> perceive no other <object> so readily as this, at such a distance. /p. 41/

A Succinct Account of My Lord of Tarbotts relationes in a letter to the Honorable Robert Boyle Esquire (of the predictions made by Seers whereof himselfe was ear and eye-witnes). I thought fit to adjoyne heirunto, that I might not be thought singular in this disquisition, that the matter of fact might be undenyably made out, and that I might with all submission give some <annotations with> animadversions<sup>46</sup> on his supposed causes of that phænomenon, with my reasons of dissent from his judgment.

Sir,<sup>p</sup>

I heard verie much but beleived verie litle of the second sight, yet it's being affirmed by severals of great veracity: I was induced to make inquirie after it in the year 1652 being then confined to abid in the North of Scotland by the English usurpers.<sup>q</sup> The more general accounts of it were, That many Highlanders, yet far more Islanders were qualified with this<sup>47</sup> sight. That /p. 42/ Men, Women, and Children indistinctlie were subject to it, and Children where parents were not: sometimes people cam to age who had it not when young, nor could any tell by what means produced. It is a trouble to most of them, who are subject to it, and they would be rid of it at any rate, if they could; The sight is of noe long duration, only continueing so long as they can keep their eye steady without twinkling. The hardy therefore fix their look, that they may see the longer, But the timorous see only glances, their eyes alwayes twinkling at the first sight of the object.

That which generally is seen by them are the species of Living Creatures, and of animate things which are in motion. such as ships and habits upon persons. They

<sup>n</sup> In MS 5022 followed by 'exact'.

<sup>o</sup> This story also appears in Kirk, *London Diary*, fol. 24v, where it is identified as relating to 'a town of the South of England'.

<sup>p</sup> From here to p. 44 of the manuscript the text was originally written in faint ink, and written over in darker ink later. Certain words were not renewed at that point, but deleted, and these are recorded in the endnotes.

<sup>q</sup> I.e. Cromwell and the Parliamentary forces.

never see the species of any person who is already dead[.] What they foresee fails not to exist in the mode and in that place where it appears to them[.] They /p. 43/ cannot well know what space of time shall intervene between the apparition and the real existence. But some of the hardiest and longest experience have some rules for conjectures as If they see a man with a shrewding sheet in the apparition, they will conjecture at the nearness or remoteness of his death by the more or less of his body that is covered by it. They will ordinarily see their absent friends tho at a great distance, sometimes no less than from America to Scotland, sitting standing, or walking in some certain place, and then they conclude with assurance, that they will see them so and there[.] If a man be in love with a Woman, They will ordinarily see the species of that man standing by her, and so likewise if a woman be in love, and they conjecture at their enjoyments (of each other) by the species. Touching (of) the person or appearing at a distance from her (if they enjoy not one another;) If they see the species of any person who is /p. 44/ sick to die they see them covered over with the shrowding sheet.

These Generals, I had verified to me by such of them as did see and were esteemed honest and sober by all the neighbourhood. for I inquired after such for my information: and because there were more of these seers in the Isles of Lewis, Harris and Uist than in any other place, I did intreat Sir James McDonald (who is now dead) Sir Norman MacLeod and Mr Daniel Morrison, a verie honest parson (who are still alive) to make inquiry in this uncouth sight and to acquaint me therewith, which they did, and all found an agreement in these Generals, and informed me of many instances, confirming what they said,<sup>r</sup> But tho men of discretion and honour, being but at second hand, I will choose rather to put myself than my friends on the hazard of being laughed at for Incredible Relationses. /p. 45/

I was once travelling in the Highlands, and a good number of servants with me,<sup>48</sup> as is usual there, and one of them going a little before me, entering in to a house where I was to stay all night, and going hastily to the door, he suddenly stepped back with a screech, and did fall by a stone which hit his foot. I asked what the matter was, for he seemed to be verie much frightened. He told me verie seriously that I should not lodge in that<sup>49</sup> house, because shortly a dead coffin would be carried out of it, for manie were carrying of it, when he was heard cry. I neglecting his words and staying there; he said to other of the servants he was sorry for it, and <that> surly what he saw

<sup>r</sup> The detail that Tarbat gives concerning his informants is coherent with a date for the letter of c. 1680. Sir Norman Macleod was a royalist soldier active in the Highlands in the early 1650s who was knighted at the Restoration; he was a noted patron of Gaelic poets and musicians. His second wife was Catherine, daughter of Sir James MacDonald of Sleat. Donald Morrison, who obtained an MA at St Andrews in 1640, was admitted to the parish of Barvas (then known as Ness and Cladich) but then moved to the charge of Stornoway (then known as Ui) in 1649, where he was still preaching in 1656. His son of the same name (d. 1699) was admitted to the charge of Barvas (Ness and Cladich) sometime before 1689. Another son, Kenneth (d. 1720), who was admitted to the charge of Stornoway (Ui) sometime between 1667 and 1689, was involved in an episode in which a parishioner threw water from the font on the face of her servant to prevent the servant having visions (Scott, *Fasti*, vii, 200, 205). However, Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart informs me that there is some uncertainty about this identification.

would shortly come to pass: tho noe sick person was than there, yet the Land-Lord a healthy Highlander died of an Apoplectick fit befor I left the house.

In the year 1653 Allexander Monro (afterward Lieutenant Col. to the Earle of Dunbartons Regiment)<sup>s</sup> and I were /p. 46/ walking in a place called Ullabill<sup>t</sup> in Lochbroom on a litle plain at the foot of a rugged hill, where was a servant working with a spade in the walk befor us, his back was to us, and his face to the hill[.] Befor wee came neer to him he lett the spade fall, and looked toward the hill, he took notice of us as wee passed neer by him, which made me look at him, and perceiving him to stare a litle strangely, I conjectured him to be a Seer, I call'd at him, at which he started, & smiled. What are you doing? said I, he answered, I have seen a verie strange thing, an armie of English-Men leading of horses, coming down that hill, and a number of them are come down to the plain, and eating the Barley which is growing in the field neir to the Hill. This was on the fourth of May (: for I noted the day) and it was four or five dayes befor the Barley was sown in the field he spok of. Allexander Monro asked /p. 47/ him how he knew they were Englishmen[.] he said, becaus they were leading of horses, and had on hatts and bootts, which he knew no Scotchman would have there. Wee took litle notice of the whol storie as other then a foolish Vision, but wished that an English partie were there, wee being than at warr with them, and the place almost unaccessabl for horsmen. But in the begining of Agust thereafter, the Earle of Midlton (then Lieutenant for the King in the Highlands)<sup>u</sup> having occasion to march a partie of his toward the South-Highlands, he sent his foot thorow a place called Inverlawell, and the fore-partie which was first down the hill did fall of eating the Barley which was on the litle plain under it, and Monro calling to mind what the seer told us in May preceeding, he wret of it, and sent an expresse to me to Lochsclin, in Ross, (where I than was) with it. /p. 48/

I had occasion once to be in Companie <where><sup>50</sup> a young Ladie was (excuse my not naming of persons) and I was told there was a notable Seer in the companie, I called him to speak with me, as I did ordinarily when I found anie of them, and after he had answered me to several questions, I asked, if he knew anie person to be in love with that Lady, he said, he did, but he knew not the person, for during the two days he had been in her companie, he perceivd one standing near her, and his head leaning on her shoulder, which (he said,) did for-tell that the man should marry her, and dye befor her (according to his observation). This was in the year 1655. I desired him to describe the person, which he did, so that I could conjecture by the description of such a one who was of that Ladies acquaintance, tho there were noe thought of their mariage till two years thereafter. /p. 49/

And having occasion in the year 1657 to find this Seer who was an<sup>51</sup> Islander in companie with the other person whom I conjectur'd to have been describd by him, I called him aside, and asked, if that was the person he saw beside the Lady neer two years than past, he said it was he indeed, for he had seen that Lady just than standing

<sup>s</sup> For Munro and the Earl of Dumbarton, see above, p. 51 and n.

<sup>t</sup> Ullapool. Inverlael, mentioned later, is also on Loch Broom. Loch Sclin is now known as Loch Eye.

<sup>u</sup> See above, p. 52.

by him hand in hand, This was som few moneths befor their mariadge and the man is since dead, and the Lady still alive.

I shall trouble you but with one mor which I thought most remarkable of any that ocured to me. In Jan. 1652. the above mentioned Lieu. Col. Al. Monro and I happened to be in the house of <one><sup>52</sup> William McLeud of FerrinLea in the County of Ross, he, the Land Lord, and I, were sitting in three chairs neir the fire, and in the corner of the great chimney, there were two Islanders, /p. 50/ who were that verie night come to the house, and were related to the LandLord, While the ane of them was talking with Monro, I perceivd the other to look oddly toward me, from this look, and his being an Islander, I conjectured him a Seer, and asked him, at what he stared? he answerd by desyring me to ryse from that chair, for it was an unluckie one; I asked why! he answered, because there was a dead man in the Chair nixt to me, Well said I, if it be in the nixt Chair,<sup>v</sup> I may keep my own. But what is the liknes of the man? he said, he was a tall man with a long gray coat, booted, and one of his leggs hanging over the arme of the Chair, and his head hanging dead to the other side, and his arme backward, as if it was brocken.

There were som English troops then, quartered neer that place, and /p. 51/ there being at that tim a great frost after a thaw, the Countrey <was><sup>53</sup> covered all over with ice. Four or five of the English riding by this house, som two hours after the vision, whil wee were sitting, by the fire. Wee heard a great noise which provd to be these troopers with the help of other servants, carrying in one of their number, who had got a verie mischievous fall, and had his arme broke; and falling frequently in swooning fitts, They brought into the hall, and set him in the verie chair, and in the verie posture that the Seer had proposed, but the man did not die, tho he recovered with great difficulty.

Among the accompts given Me by<sup>54</sup> Sir Normand McCleud, there was one worthy of special notice, which was thus. There was a Gentlman in the Isle of Harris, who was alwayes seen by the Seers, with ane arrow /p. 52/ in his Thigh. Such in the Isle who thought those prognostications infallible did not doubt but he would be shot in the thigh befor he died. Sir Normand told me that he heard it the subject of their discourse for many years. When that Gentlman was present. At last he died without anie such accident, Sir Normand was at his Burial at Saint Clements Church in the Harris. At the same time the Corps of another Gentlman was brought to be buried in the same verie Church. The friends on aither side came to debate who should first enter the Church and in a trice from words they came to Blous. One of the number (who was arm'd with Bow and Arrows) Let one fly among them. (Now every Familie in that Isle have <their><sup>55</sup> burial place in the Church in stone-chests, and the Bodies are caryed in open Biers to the Burial-place.) Sir Normand having appeased the Tumult /p. 53/ one of the arrows was found shot in the dead mans thigh. To this Sir Normand himselfe was a witness.

In the account which Mr Daniel Morison parson in the Lewis gave me, There was one which tho it be heterogeneous from this subject, yet it may be worth your notice. It was of a young Woman in his parish, who was mightily frightned by seeing

<sup>v</sup> MS 5022 has 'in the Chair next to me'.

her own image, still befor her, alwayes when she came into the open air. The back of the image being alwayes to her, so that it was not a Reflectione as in a mirroure, but the species of such a bodie as her own, and in a verie like habit, which appeard to herselfe continually befor her. The parson kept her a long whil with him, but had no Remedy of her Evil, which troubled her exceedingly, I was told afterwards that when she was four or five years elder, she saw it not.

These are matters of fact, which I assure you are truly related, /p. 54/ But these and all others that occur'd to me, by information or otherwise, could never lead me into a remote conjecture of the cause of so extraordinarily a phaenomenon. Whither it be a quality in the eyes of some people in those parts, concurring with a quality in the air also; Whither such species be every where, tho not seen by the <want of> eyes so qualified, or from whatever other cause, I must leave to the enquiry of clearer judgments than mine, but a hint may be taken from this image, which appeard still to this woman abov-mentioned, and from another mentioned by Aristotle in the fourth of his *Metaphysicks*, If I remember right (for it is long sinc I read it)<sup>w</sup> as also from that common opinion that young Infants (unsullied with manie objects) doe see apparitions which are not seen by those of Elder years as likewise from this, that severals<sup>56</sup> did see, /p. 55/ the second sight, when in the highlands or Isles, yet when transported to live in other Countreys, especially in America, they quite lost this qualitie as was told me by a Gentlman who knew som of them in Barbadoes who did see no vision there, altho he knew them to be Seers, when they lived in the Isles of Scotland.

Thus far My Lord Tarbett.

My Lord after narrow inquisition hath delivered many true and remarkable observes on this subject; yet to encourage a further scrutiny, I crave leave to say, THAT,

1. But a few women are endued with this sight in respect of men, and <their><sup>57</sup> predictions not so certane.

2. <This sight is not criminal since a man><sup>58</sup> can come by <it> unawares, and without his consent, but it is certan, he see more fatall and fearfull things, than he do gladsome <in Respect of us>.<sup>59</sup>

3. The Seers avouch that severals who go to the Sith's (or people at rest and in peace) befor /p. 56/ the natural period of their lyf expyr, do frequentlie appear to them.

4. A Vehement desyre to attaine this Art is verie helpfull to the inquirer, and the species of an absent friend, which appears to the seer as clearly; as if he had sent his lyvely picture, to present itselfe befor him) Is no fantastic shadow of a sick apprehensione, but a Realitie, and a messenger coming for unknown reasons, not from the original similitud of itselfe, but from a more swift and<sup>60</sup> pragmantick people, which recreate themselves in offering secret intelligence to men, tho generally they are

<sup>w</sup> Tarbat's reference to Aristotle's *Metaphysics* is unclear. He could refer to book iv, ch. 5 (1009b1–1011a2), which deals with sense perception and reality; but Aristotle does not there explicitly discuss apparitions and visions.



unacquainted with that kind of correspondence, as if they liv'd in a different Element from them.

5. Tho my collections were written long befor I saw My Lord of Tarbetts, yet I am glad, that his descriptions and min correspond so neerly. /p. 57/ The maid My<sup>61</sup> Lo. Mentions who saw her Image still befor her suteth with the Co-walker named in my accompt. Which, tho som at first thought might conjecture to be by the refractiōne of a Cloud or Mist as in the parellii (the whol air, and everie drop of water being a mirrour to return the species of things, were our visive<sup>62</sup> facultie sharp enough to apprehend them) or a natural reflexiōne from the same reasons that an Eccho can be redoubled by Art: yet it were more fasable to imput this second sight to a qualitie infused into the Eye by an unctiō: For Witches have a sleepee oyntment, that when applyd, troubles their fantasie, advancing it to have unusual figures and shapes, represented to it, as if it were, a fit of Fanaticism Hyprocondriack Melancholly, or possession of som insinuating<sup>63</sup> Spirit; raising the Soul beyond its common Strain, If the palpable instants and /p. 58/ realities seen, and innocently objected to the senses did not disprove it, and make the matter a palpable verity, and no deceptiōne. Yet sinc this sight can be bestowed without oyntment, or dangerous compact, the qualificatiōne is not of so bad an Original.

Therefore 6. By my Lords good Leave I presum, to say, that this sight can be no qualitie of the air, nor of the eyes, Because. 1. Such as live in the sam air, and see all other things as farr of and as clearly, yet have not the second sight. 2. A Seer can give another person this sight transiently by putting his hand and foot in the postior he requires of him. 3. The unsullied Eyes of Infants can naturally perceive no new<sup>64</sup> unaccustomed <objects> but what appear to other men, unless exalted and clarified som way as Balaams Ass for a time;<sup>x</sup> tho in a Witches eye the beholder cannot see his own image /p. 59/ reflected, as in the Eyes of other people, so that defect of objects <as well as diversitie of the subject> may operate differently on several tempers and ages, 4. Tho also some are of so venomous a constitutione, by being radicated in Envy and malice, that they pierce and kill (like a Cockatrice) whatever Creatur they first set their eye on in the morning,<sup>y</sup> so was it, with Walter Graham, sometime living in the same paroch, wherein now I am,<sup>z</sup> who killed his own Cow, after commending its fatnes, and shot a hare with his eye, having praised it's swiftnes; (such was the infection of an evil eye) albeit this was unusual, yet he saw no object, but what was obvious to other men, as well as to himselfe. 5.<sup>65</sup> If the being transported to live in another countrey, did obscure the second sight, <neither> the parson nor the maid neided be much troubled for<sup>66</sup> her reflex-selfe, a litle peregrination, and going from her wonted hom, would have salved her fear. /p. 60/

Wherefore.

7. Sinc the things seen By the Seers are Real Entities, the presages and predic-tions found true, But a few endued with this sight, and those not of bad lives, or addicted to malefices; the true solution of the phænomenon seems <rather> to be,

<sup>x</sup> See Numbers 22, 22ff: the ass saw the angel of God before Balaam himself did.

<sup>y</sup> Like the basilisk of legend. See Kirk's glossary, p. 113.

<sup>z</sup> I.e. Aberfoyle. It has not proved possible to find out more about Walter Graham.



The courteous endeavours of our fellow creaturs in the invisible world to convince us (in opposition to <Sadducees, Socinians and> Atheists) of a Dietie, of Spirits; of a possible and harmless method of correspondence betwixt men and them, even in this Lyfe; of their operations for our Caution and Warning; of the orders, and degrees of Angels, wherof one order with bodies of air condensd and curiously shapt may be next to man, superior to him in understanding, yet unconfirm'd; And of their Region habitation and influences on man, greater than that of Starrs on Inanimat Bodies: A knowledge /p. 61/ (belike) reservd for these last Atheistic Ages, Wherin the profanity of mens lives, hath debauchd and Blinded their understandings, as to Moses, Jesus. and the prophets; (unless they get convictions from things formerly known) as from the Regions of the Dead. Nor doth the ceasing of the visions, upon the Seer's transmigration into forrein Kingdomes, make his Lo[rds]hip's] conjectur of the qualitie of the air and eye, a whit the more probable; But on the contrary, it confirms greatly my account of ane invisible people, guardian over and careful of men, who have their different offices and abilities in Distant Countrey's as appears in Dani.10.13. &c. about Israels, Grecia's, and Persia's assistant princes,<sup>a</sup> Whereof who so prevaieth, giveth the <Dominion and> ascendant to his pupils, and Vassals over the opposite armyes and Countrey's: so that every Countrey and Kingdom having their topical Spirits or power's assisting and governing them; the Scottish Seer Banished to America, being a /p. 62/ stranger there as well to the invisible as to the visible inhabitants, and wanting the Familiaritie of his former Correspondents, he could not have the favour and warnings, by the several visions and predictions, which were wont to be granted him by those Acquaintances and Favourites in his own Countrey: For if what he wont to see were Realities (as I have made appear) 'twere too great an honour for Scotland to have such seldom-seen Watchers and predominant powers over it alone, acting in it so expresly, and all other Nations wholly destitute of the like; tho without all peradventure all other <people> wanted the right key of their Cabinet, and the exact method of correspondence with them, except the sagacious active Scots, a many of whom have reteand it of a long time, and by surprises, and Raptures do often fortell what in kindness is really /p. 63/ represented to them at several occasions. To which purpose the Learnd Lynx-ey'd Mr.Baxter on Revel.12.7. writing of the fight betwixt Michael and the Dragon, gives a verie <pertinent> note, viz. That he knows not but ere anie Great action (especially tragical) is done on Earth, that first the Battail and Victory is acted and atchieved in the air, betwixt the Good and Evill Spirits; Thus he.<sup>b</sup> It seems these were the mens guardians; and the like battails are oft times perceivd <aloft> in the night time. The event of which might easily be represented by som one of the number to a correspondent on Earth; as frequently the Report of Great actions hath been more swiftly carried to other Countreys then all the Art of us mortals could possibly dispatch it.

<sup>a</sup> This passage in Daniel refers to the Prince of Persia and the assistance of Michael, but Kirk's construction of it is slightly obscure.

<sup>b</sup> Richard Baxter (1615–91), Presbyterian divine and prolific author. It is not clear which of Baxter's writings Kirk cites. This passage overlaps with and expands a comparable passage in Kirk, *London Diary*, fols. 104v–5.

St. Austine On Mark 9.4. Giveth no smal intimation of this truth, averring that Elias appear'd with Iesus on the Mount in his proper Bodie, But Moses in an Aereal Bodie assum'd, Like the Angels who appear'd, and had abilitie to eat with Abraham, tho no Necessity, on the account of their Bodies,<sup>c</sup> <as><sup>67</sup> likwises the late doctrine of the /p. 64/ preexistence of Souls, living into aerial vehicles gives a singular hint of the possibilitie of the thing, if not a direct proof of the whole assertion;<sup>d</sup> which yet morover may be illuminated by diverse other instances of the like nature, and as wonderful, besides what is above said as

8. The Invisible Wights which haunt houses seem rather to be some of our Subterranean Inhabitants (which appear often to men of the second sight,) than Evill Spirits or Devils, because tho they throw great stons, pieces of Earth, and wood at the Inhabitants, they hurt them not at all, as if they acted not maliciously like Devils, but in Sport like <Buffoons & drols>.<sup>68</sup> All ages have afforded som obscure testimonies of it, as Pythagoras' his<sup>69</sup> doctrine of Transmigration; Socrates's Dæmon that gave him precautions of futur dangers; Platoe's classing them into various vehiculated /p. 65/ Specieses of Spirits; Dionisius Areopagita's marshalling nyn orders of Spirits Superiour and Subordinat; the poets their borrowing of the philosophers, and adding their own fancies of Fountain, River, and Sea Nymphs, Wood, Hill, and Mountain Inhabitants, and that everie place and thing in Cities and Countrey's had Special Invisible Regular Gods and Governours.<sup>e</sup> Cardan speaks of his father his seeing the species of his friend in a Moonshyne night riding fiercely by his window on a whett horse, the verie night his friend dy'd at a vast distance from him, by which he understood that som alteration would suddenly ensue.<sup>f</sup> Cornelius Agrippa, and the Learned Doctor Mor have several passages tending that way.<sup>g</sup> The Noctambulo's themselves would appear to have som forrein joquing Spirit<sup>70</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Kirk refers to the commentary by St Augustine (354–430) on the biblical passage which describes how Jesus, having taken Peter, James and John up into a high mountain, was there transfigured. See his *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae*, iii. 10, though his commentary is on the relevant passage of Matthew rather than Mark.

<sup>d</sup> Kirk's reference to 'the late doctrine of preexistence' probably alludes to Joseph Glanvill's *Lux Orientalis* (1662) and Henry More's *The Immortality of the Soul* (1662), reiterated in response to Richard Baxter in 'An Answer to a Letter of a Learned Psychopyrist', in Glanvill, *Saducismus Triumphatus*, pp. 189ff. In addition, on fol. 127v of Kirk's *London Diary*, what is apparently a list of books includes 'Of Preexistence of Souls Mr Bradford'; however, it has not been possible to trace a book of this description. On Glanvill (1636–80) and More (1614–87) see above, Introduction, pp. 7–8.

<sup>e</sup> Kirk here alludes to the views on the spiritual realm of the ancient philosophers Pythagoras (c. 550–480 BC), Socrates (469–399 BC), Plato (c. 429–347 BC), Dionysius Areopagita, and, more vaguely, 'the poets'. This and the following sentences expand a similar passage in Kirk, *London Diary*, fol. 23v.

<sup>f</sup> In his *De subtilitate* (1550), book xix ('De dæmonibus'), the Italian natural philosopher, Girolamo Cardano (1501–76), does indeed record the preternatural abilities of his father, Fazio (1444–1524). See also his *De rerum varietate* (1558), book xvi, ch. 93. Cf. Kirk, *London Diary*, fol. 105.

<sup>g</sup> Kirk's reference is probably to book iii, chs. 16–24, of *De occulta philosophia* (1533) by Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486–1535), where angels, demons and 'intelligences' are discussed, and Henry More, *Antidote against Atheism* (1652), book iii and

possessing and supporting them, when they walk on deep waters, and tops of houses without danger; when asleep, and in the dark: for it is no way /p. 66/ probable that mere apprehensions & strong imagination setting the Animal Spirits a-work to move the Bodie, could preserve it from sinking in the depth, or falling down head-long, when asleep, any more than when awake, the Bodie being then as ponderous as before; and it is hard to attribute it to a Spirit flatly Evil and Enemy to man, because the Noctambulo returns to his own place, safe. And the most furious tribe of the Dæmons are not permitted by providence to attack men so frequently either by night, or by day: For in our High-Lands, as there be many fair Ladies of this aerial order which do often tryst with lascivious young men in the quality of succubi or lightsome paramours and strumpets (called Leannain Sith, or Familiar Spirits in Deutr. 18.11)<sup>h</sup> so do manie of our Highlanders (as if a-strangling by the night Mare, pressed with a fearful dream, or rather possessed by one of our aerial Neighbours, Rise up fiercely in the night, and apprehending the nearest Weapons do push /p. 67/ and thrust at all persons in the same room with them, sometimes wounding their own comrades to dead. The like whereof fell <sadly><sup>71</sup> out, within a few miles of me at the writing hereof. I add but one instance more of a verie young maid, who liv'd neir to my last residence, that in one night learned a large piece of Poesy, by the frequent repetition of it from one of our <nimble and> courteous Spirits, whereof a part was pious, the rest superstitious, (for I have a copy of it) But no other person were ever heard to repeat it before, nor was the Maid capable to compose it of her selfe:

9. Having demonstrated and made Evident to Sense this extraordinary vision of our tramontain Seers, <and what is seen by them;> by what is said<sup>72</sup> above; <manie having seen this same Spectres & apparitions at once having their visive faculties entire: for non est disputandum de gustibus,><sup>i</sup> It now remains to shew that it is not unsuitable to Reason nor the Holy Scriptures. First that it's not repugnant to Reason doth appear from this, That it is no less strange for Immortal Sparks and Souls to come and be immersed into gross Terrestrial Elementary Bodies, and be so propagated, so nourished, so fed, so clothed as they are, and breath in such an air, /p. 68/ and world prepared for them, then for Hollanders or Hollow-cavern Inhabitants to live and traffick amongst us in<sup>73</sup> another State of Being without our knowledge, For Raymond de Sebunde in his third Book Chap.12. argues quaintly, that all sorts of living creatures have a happy rational polity of their own with great contentment, which government, and mutual converse of theirs, they all pride and plume themselves, because it is as unknown to man, as mans is to them.<sup>j</sup> Much more that the Son of the Highest Spirit should assume a Bodie like Ours, convinces

appendix, chs. 12–13, and his *Enchiridion metaphysicum* (1679), ch. 26. He may also have in mind More's edition of Glanvill's *Saducismus Triumphatus* (1681): see Introduction, p. 8.

<sup>h</sup> Deuteronomy 18, 10–11, lists the abominations which are to be forbidden in the promised land.

<sup>i</sup> 'There is no disputing about tastes.' The next sentence but one overlaps closely with Kirk, *London Diary*, fol. 33.

<sup>j</sup> Kirk's reference is not clear, since the *Theologia naturalis* or *Liber creaturarum magistri* by the medieval author Raymond de Sebond is not divided into books. His knowledge may be derived from the famous 'Apology of Sebond' by Michel de Montaigne in his *Essais*, ii. 12.

all the world that no other thing that is possible, neids be much wondered at. 2. THE Manucodiata or Bird of Paradise living in the Highest Region of the air; Common Birds in the Second Region; Flies and Insects in the Lowest, Men and Beasts on Earthes Surface; Wormes,<sup>74</sup> Otters, Badgers, and Fishes under the Earth and Waters; Likwises Hell is inhabited at the Center, and Heaven in the Circumference; /p. 69/ Can wee than think the midle Caveties of the Earth emptie? I have seen in Weems (a place in the County of Fyf in Scotland) diverse Caves cut out, as Vast Temples under<sup>75</sup> ground; The like is in a County of England. In Malta is a Cave wherin stons of a curious cut are thrown in great numbers everie day.<sup>k</sup> So I have had Barbed arrow-heads of yellow flint, that could not be cut so smal, and neat, of so brittle a substance by all the art of man. It would seem therefor that these mentioned Works were don by certane spirits of pure Organs, and not by Devils, whose continual torments could not allow them so much leasure. Besides these, I have found Five curiosities in Scotland. not much observed to be elsewhere. 1. The Brownies who in som Families as Drudges clean the houses and dishes after all goe to bed, taking with him his portion of food, and removing befor day break. 2. The Mason-word, which tho some make a Misterie of it, I will not conceal a litle of what I know; It's /p. 70/ like a Rabbinical tradition in way of comment on Iachin and Boaz the two pillars erected in Solomons Temple;<sup>l</sup> with an addition of som secret signe delivered from hand to hand, by which they know, and become familiar one with another. 3. This Second Sight so largely treated of befor. 4. Charmes, and curing (by them) verie manie diseases, sometimes by transferring the sicknes to another. 5. A Being proof of Lead, iron, and silver, or a<sup>76</sup> Brieve makeing men invulnerable, diverse of our Scotish Commanders and Shouldiers have been seen with blew marks only, after they were shot with leaden ball; which seems to be an Italian trick, for they seem to be a people too curious and magically enclyn'd. Finally, Irish-men, our Northern-Scotish, and our Athol men are so much addicted to and delighteth with Harps and Musick (as if like King Saul they were possessed with a Forrein Spirit,<sup>m</sup> only with this difference; /p. 71/ That Musick did put Saul's pley-fellow asleep, but rused and awaked our men; vanquishing their own Spirits at pleasure, as if they were impotent of it's powers, and unable to command it; for wee have seen some poor Beggers of them chattering their teeth for cold, that how soon they saw the fire, and heard the Harp, leapt thorow the house like Goats and Satyrs.

<sup>77</sup>As there are paralell stories In all Countreys, and Ages, reported of these our obscure people (which are no dotages) so it is no more of necessitie to us fully to know their Beings and manner of Lyfe, than to understand distinctly the polity of the nyne orders of Angels; or with what oyle the Lamp of the Sun is mentain'd, so

<sup>k</sup> The first reference is to Wemyss (from Gaelic *uaimh*, 'cave'). Kirk possibly heard about the cave in Malta while in London. This passage is taken almost verbatim from the *London Diary*, fol. 23v.

<sup>l</sup> 1 Kin[gs] 7, 21. [Kirk's marginal note. For the Mason Word, see Introduction, pp. 3, 18, 32. For a similar comment concerning it, see Kirk, *London Diary*, fol. 19v, while an overlapping passage concerning five curiosities unique to Scotland appears in *ibid.*, fol. 129.]

<sup>m</sup> See 1 Samuel 16, 14ff. For the musical tastes of the Highlanders, see above, p. 63. This passage parallels one in Kirk, *London Diary*, fol. 129.

long and regularly; or why the Moon is call'd a great Luminarie in Scripture, whil it only appears to be so;<sup>n</sup> or if the Moon be truly inhabited, because Telescopes discover Seas and /p. 72/ Montains in it, as well as flaming furnaces in the Sun; or why the discoverie of America, was lookt on as a Fayrie-tale, and the Reporters hooted at as Inventers of ridiculous Utopia's; or the first probable asserters punished as Inventers of new Gods and Worlds; Or why in England the King cures the Struma by stroaking, and the Seventh-Son in Scotland, whither his temperat complexion<sup>78</sup> conveys a Balsome, and sucks out the corrupting principles by a frequent warm sanative contact. Or whither the parents of the Seventh Child,<sup>o</sup> put forth a more eminent virtue to his productione, than to all the rest; as being the ακμη, Meridian, and height to which their vigour ascends, and from that furth have a gradual declyning into a feeblness of the Bodie, and its productions. And than I. Why is not the Seventh-Sone infected himselfe by that contagion he extracts from another? 2. How can once or twice stroaking with a cold hand have so stronge a natural operation, as to exhale all the infectious worming, /p. 73/ corroding vapours? 3. Why may not a Seventh-Daughter have the sam virtue? So that it appears, albeit a happie natural constitution concurre, yet som thing is in it above Nature.<sup>p</sup> Therefor Every Age hath som secret left for it's discoverie, and who knows, but this entercourse betwixt the two kinds of Rational Inhabitants of the sam Earth may be not only beleived shortly, but as freely intertain'd, and as well known, as now the Art of Navigation, Printing, Gunning, Riding on Sadles <with Stirrops>,<sup>79</sup> and the discoveries of Microscopes, which were sometimes as great a wonder, and as hard to be beleiv'd.

10. Tho I will not be so curious nor so peremptorie, as he who will prove the possibility of the philosophers ston from Scripture Job.28.1.2. Job 22.24.<25.> nor the pluralitie of Worlds from John 14.2. and Heb. 11.3. nor the circulation of the blood from Eccle.12.6<sup>q</sup> nor the Talismanical Airt from the Blind and Lame mentioned in 2.Samu. 5.6. yet I humbly propose these passages which may give som light to our subject at least, and shew that this /p. 74/ Polity, and Rank of people is not a thing impossible, nor the modest and innocent scrutiny of them impertinent or unsafe.<sup>r</sup> The Legion or Brigad of Spirits (mentioned Mark 5.10.) besought our Saviour not to send them away out of that Countrey, which shews they were Dæmones Loci, Topical Spirits,<sup>s</sup> and peculiar superintendents and supervisors

<sup>n</sup> The same examples are used in Kirk, *London Diary*, fol. 24, in conjunction with the quotation given in the Introduction, above, pp. 17–18. He there continues with the analogy with the discoverers of America, linking this with the point about the new discoveries of one age becoming commonplace in the next which here appears later in the paragraph.

<sup>o</sup> MS 5022 has 'Son'.

<sup>p</sup> This passage concerning the healing powers of the seventh son is a slightly expanded version of a similar passage in Kirk, *London Diary*, fol. 25. On the royal touch, see *ibid.*, fol. 131. Both matters are also dealt with in Kirk's earlier notebook, Laing III 529, pp. 59–61, 99–100. See above, Introduction, p. 17.

<sup>q</sup> In fact, Kirk may have meant to refer to verse 6 not of ch. 12 but ch. 1, which refers to the whirling of the wind. In MS 5022, various of these citations are incomplete and the citations from Job do not appear at all, in their place being a reference to Proverbs 18, 1–2 (the relevance of which it is hard to see).

<sup>r</sup> This sentence also appears in Kirk, *London Diary*, fol. 33.

assign'd to that province, and the power of the Nations granted (Revel. 2.26.) to the Conquerors of Vice and Infidelitie, sound somewhat to that purpose. Tobit had a Dæmon attending mariage, Chap. verse <sup>t</sup> and in Matt.4.5.<sup>80</sup> Ane Evil Spirit came in a Visible Shape to tempt our Saviour: Who himselve deny'd not the sensible appearing of Ghosts <to our sight>, but said, Their Bodies were not composed of flesh and bones as ours Luc.24.39. and in Philip.2.10. our verie Subterraneans are expresly said to Bow to the name of Jesus.<sup>u</sup> Elisha not intellectually only but sensibly /p. 75/ saw Gehazi, when out of the reach of an ordinary view. It wants not good Evidence, that their are more manag'd by Gods Spirit, Good, Evil, and Intermediat Spirits among men in this world, then we are aware of. The Good Spirits ingesting fair and Heroick Apprehensions and Images of Virtue, and the Divine Lyf, thereby animating us to act for a higher happines according to our improvment; and relinquishing us as strangely upon our neglect, or our embracing the deceitful Syrene-like pictures and representations of pleasures and gain presented to our imaginations by Evil and Sportful Angels, to allure us to an unthinking, ungenerous, and sensual lyfe; None of them having power to compell us to anie misdemeanor without our flat consent. Moreover this lyf of ours being called a Warfare, and Gods saying that <at> last there will be no peac to the Wicked; our Busie and Silent Companions also being called Siths, or people at rest and quiet in respect of us; /p. 76/ and withall many Ghosts appearing to men that want this second sight, in the very shapes, and speaking the same language they did when incorporat, and alive with us; A matter that is of an old imprescriptable Tradition (our Highlanders making still a distinction<sup>81</sup> betwixt *Shuagh Saoghalta* and *Shuagh Sith*,<sup>v</sup> averring that the Souls <goe> to the Sith when dislodged) Manie real treasures and murders being discovered by Souls that pass from among ourselves, or by the kindness of these our Airie Neighbours (None of which Spirits can be altogether inorganicall) no less then the conceits about Purgatory or a State of Rescue, The Limbus Patrum and Infantum inventions tho misapplied; yet are not Chimæra's, and altogether groundless <For ab origine it is nothing, but some blash and faint discoveries of this Secret Republick of ours heir treated on, & additional fictions of monks doting & crazie heads><sup>82</sup> our creed saying that our Saviour descended 'εις αδην<sup>w</sup> to the Invisible place and people. And manie Divines /p. 77/ supposing that the Diety appear'd in a visible shape seen by Adam in the cool of the day, and speaking to him with an audibl voyce and *Iesus* probably by the Ministry of Invisible Attendants, conveying more meat of the same kind to the five thousand that was fed by him with a verie few Loaves and fishes (For, a new

<sup>s</sup> This concept also appears in Kirk's account of his discussion with Stillingfleet, *London Diary*, fol. 23v.

<sup>t</sup> The reference, left blank in the manuscript, should be to the apocryphal Book of Tobit, 3, 8.

<sup>u</sup> This passage closely follows a comparable passage in Kirk's *London Diary*, fol. 23v, where Kirk also notes that 'Abraham conversd with Visibl angels' and juxtaposed a note on the beliefs of the Highlanders concerning transmigration.

<sup>v</sup> 'Earthly people' and 'fairy people'.

<sup>w</sup> 'into hell'.



Creation it was not) The Zijim jiiim and Ochim in Isa.13.21.22.<sup>x</sup> Those Satyrs and Doleful unknown Creaturs of Islands, and deserts seem to have a plain prospect that way. Finally the Eternal happines enjoyed in the third Heavens being more mysterious, then most of men take it to be, It is not a Sense wholly adduced to Scriptur, to say that this<sup>83</sup> Sight, and the due objects of it hath som Vestige in Holy Writ, but rather 'tis modestly deduc'd from it.

II. It only now remains to answer the most obvious objections against the Realitie, and Lawfulness of this Speculation. /p. 78/ as Ques. I. How do you salve this Second-sight from compact and Witchcraft?

Ans. Tho this correspondence with the Intermediat unconfirm'd people (betwixt Man and Angel) be not ordinary to all of us who are Superterraneans, yet this Sight, falling to som persons by accident, and it being connatural to others from their Birth, the derivation of it cannot alwayes be<sup>84</sup> Wicked. A too great Curiositie indeed, to acquire an unnecessary art, may be blameworthy; But diverse of that Secret Common-Wealth may by permission discover themselves as innocently to us who are in another State, as some of us men do to Fishes which are in another Element, when we plunge, and dye into the bottom of the Seas, their native Region; and in process of time, we may come to converse as familiarly with those Nimble and Agil Clans (but with /p. 79/ greater pleasure and profit)<sup>85</sup> as we do now with the Chinois and Antipodes.

Q.2. Are they subject to Vice, Lusts, Passion, and Injustice, as wee who live on the Surface of the Earth?

Ans. The Seers tell us That these Wandering Aereal people have not such an impetus, and fatal tendency to any Vice, as men; as not being drenched into so gross and dreggy Body's as we, but yet are in an imperfect state, and some of them making better Essays for Heroick actions, then others; having the same measurs of Virtue and<sup>86</sup> Vice as we, and still expecting advancement to a higher and more spendid State of Lyf. One of them is stronger than manie men, yet do not inclyne to hurt mankind, except by commission for a gross misdemeanor, as the destroying Angel of Ægypt and the Assyrians. Exod.12.29. 2 Kin.19.35. They haunt most where is most Barbaritie; and therefor our ignorant Ancestors to prevent the /p. 80/ insults of that strange people used as<sup>87</sup> rude and course a remedie, such as Exorcisms, Donations, and Vows: But how soon ever true piety prevailed in any place, it did put the Inhabitants beyond the reach and authority of those Subtil Inferior Co-habitants, and Collegues of ours: The Father of all Spirits, and the person himselfe having the only command of his soul and actions.<sup>y</sup> A concurrence they have to what is virtuously done; for upon<sup>88</sup> committing of a foul deed, one will find a demurr upon his Soul, as if his cheerful Collegue had deserted him.

Q.3. Do These Aerie Tribes procreate? If so, how are they nourish'd, and at what period of time do they dy?

Ans. Supposing all Spirits to be created at once in the begining, Souls to preexist,

<sup>x</sup> The entire passage from the end of p. 75 to here is adapted from a comparable passage in Kirk, *London Diary*, fols. 32v-3.

<sup>y</sup> To this point, this entire answer closely follows a passage in Kirk, *London Diary*, fol. 32.

and to circle about into several states of probationship; to make them either totally unexcusable or perfectly happy /p. 81/ against the last day, salves all <the> difficulty; But in every deed, and speaking suitable to the nature of things, there is no more absurdity for a Spirit to inform an Infant Body of Air, than a Body composed of dull and drowsy Earth; The best of Spirits having always delighted more to appear into aerial, then into Terrestrial Bodies. They feed most what on quintessences, and Æthereal Essences: the pith and spirits only of Womens milk feed their Children, being artificially convey'd (as air and oil sink into our Bodies) to make them vigorous and fresh. And this shorter way of conveying a pure Aliment (without the usual digestions) by transfusing it, and transpiring thorough the pores into the veins and arteries, and vessels that supply the body, is nothing more absurd, than an Infants being fed by the Navel before it is borne, Or than a plant which groweth by attracting a lively juice from the Earth thorough many small roots and tendons; whose /p. 82/ coarser parts being adapted and made connatural to the whole, doth quickly coalesce by the ambient cold, and so are condens'd, and baked up into a confirmed wood in the one, and solid body of flesh and bone in the other. A Notion, which if intertain'd and approv'd, may shew that the late Invention of soaking and transfusing (not blood; but) Æthereal virtual Spirits, may be useful both for nourishment and health;<sup>z</sup> Whereof there is a vestige in the damnable practise of Evil Angels, their sucking of blood and spirits out of Witches bodies (till they drain them,<sup>89</sup> into a deformed and dry leanness) to feed their own Vehicles withal, leaving what we call the Witches mark behind. A spot that I have seen as a small mole horny and brown coloured, thro' which mark, when a large brass pin was thrust (both in /p. 83/ Buttock, Nose, and roof of the mouth) till it<sup>90</sup> bowed and became crooked; the Witches, both men and Women, neither felt a pain, nor did bleed, nor knew the precise time when this was a doing to them (their eyes only being covered.) Now the air being a body as well as Earth, no reason can be given why there may not be particles of more vivific Spirit form'd of it for procreation, than is possible to be of Earth, which takes more time and pains to rarify <& ripen> it, ere it can come to have a prolific virtue. And if our Tripping Darlings did not thus procreate, their whole number would be exhausted after a considerable space of time. For tho' They are of more refined bodies and intellectuals than we, and of far less heavy and corruptive humours (which cause a dissolution:) yet many of their lives being dissonant to /p. 84/ Right Reason and their own Laws, and their Vehicles, not being wholly free of Lust and Passion, especially of the more Spiritual and haughty Sins, they pass (after a long healthy life) into an Orb and Receptacle fitted for their degree, till they come under the General Cognisance of the last day.

Q.4. doth the acquiring of this Second Sight make any change on the acquirers Body, Mind, or actions?

Ans. All uncouth<sup>91</sup> Sights enfeebles the Seer. Daniel tho' familiar with Divyn Visions, yet fell frequently down without strength, when dazed with a power which had the ascendant of, and pressed on him beyond his comprehension Cap.10.8,17,

<sup>z</sup> It is not clear to what invention Kirk here refers.



So our Seer is put in a rapture, transport, and sort of death, as divested of his body, and all it's Senses; when he is first /p. 85/ made participant of this curious piece of knowledge: But it maketh no wramp or strain in the understanding of any; only to the Fancy's of clownish and illiterat men it creates some affrightments and disturbances, because of the strangeness of the <showes>,<sup>92</sup> and their unacquaintedness with them. And as for the Lyfe, The persons endued with this Rarity are for the most part candid, honest and sociable people; If any of them be subject to immoralitys, This abstruse<sup>93</sup> Skil is not to be blam'd for it, for unless themselvs be the tempters, the Colonies of the Invisible plantations with which they intercommune, doe provoke them to no Villany or Malefice, neither at their <first> acquaintance, nor after a long familiarity.

Q.5. doth not Sathan interpose in such cases by manie subtil, unthought-<of> insinuations, as to him who let the Fly <or><sup>94</sup> Familiar go out of the Box, and yet found the Fly of his /p. 86/ own puting-in as servicable; as the other would have been?<sup>a</sup>

Ans. The goodnes of the Lyfe, and<sup>95</sup> designes, of the ancient Prophets and Seers, was one of the best proofs of their Mission.<sup>b</sup> Nor have our Seers bad lives and designes as Necromancers, and those that traffick with Devils usually have:<sup>96</sup> our seers <moreover> doe seldom <perform> anie <odde> thing themselves, but See what is done by others; Which if acted by spirits flatly evil, <their aim> could not but appear by some extravagant <work><sup>97</sup> or malefice of the Seers: yet it is well known every where, that our Seers are no way Scandalous men.

Obj.<sup>98</sup> 6. <This second sight> was not an Art or Facultie in use, or of good fame among men, or recommended of God.

Ans. Everie unusual art or science is not sinful <or unlawful>, unless it's original or principal designe doe make it so; nor was God alwayes pleased to discover /p. 87/ even every necessary truth at once, yet when <such truths & sciences were> permitted, recommended, or suggested, They were truly lawful;<sup>99</sup> It was a long time before the Jews thought it lawful to warr on the Lords day; and the Religious Jew's themselves were long without a distinct knowledge of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghost; yet because of the noble designe of that discovery, it ought not to be rejected, when furdur reviv'd.

Obj.7. If it was not Diabolic, It is no Reality, but apprehension.

Ans. That this Species of Vision is Real, and not fantastic, is evident from the inquirers conviction of the truth of it, tho he come to the Seer possessed with prejudice, and with a<sup>100</sup> previous misbeleif of the art, (which qualification usually mars the effort of all jugling and deceitful tricks.) Not to say that the alleadged Speculum Trinitatis by which every Creature /p. 88/ is seen in the Divyn Essence, which som call the Beatific Vision, gives som light and probabilitie to this branch or beam of

<sup>a</sup> In this and the next objection, Kirk almost exactly paraphrases the views expressed by Stillington during their discussion of second sight in 1689: *London Diary*, fol. 19v, where Kirk notes: 'I opposed 2 Ki. 6. 17 &c.'

<sup>b</sup> Here the 1815 edition breaks off with the note 'See the Rest in a little Manuscript belonging to Coline Kirk': see above, p. 40.

Vision; Sure Elisha's servant having his eyes opened 2 Kin.6.17. and seeing the Mountains full of horses and Chariots of the Heavenly Host, shews that there is a Sight beyond ordinary acquirable even on Earth, by infusing som qualitie in the eye, and that Intelligences traverse dayly among us on Earth directing, <warning>, or encamping about the faithful <tho unknown and unseen to most> men that live on it.

Obj.8. The having of the second sight, tho from the parents, being a voluntary act, and having no natural dependance of cause and effect, it is therefor sinful.<sup>c</sup> The curious desyre to know it, or put it in practise, being a beleiving of the Art and trusting to it, is an unusual Gift, <Magical,<sup>101</sup> not from the Beginning>. and hath neither a precept of God <in Scripture>, nor promise of blessing in the Exercise. /p. 89/

Ans. To those Children on whom the second sight descends from their parents, it is no Voluntary act, <but forced on them.> And as for a dependance betwixt cause and effect, The cure of the Kings Evil by the King from his Ancestors (Edward the Saint, downwards) and <alway's> by the Seventh-Son, is a Real effect, but depends not upon a natural cause known to us, and yet it is not scandalous nor sinful. Yauning is Voluntary, yet affecteth others by imitation, and<sup>102</sup> doth it innocently; So doth the Loadstone attract Steel necessarily, But we know not the dependance of these effects from their natural causes; yet are they either harmles in themselves, or profitable. For trusting to the Art, and beleiving of it, the Seers cannot but beleive there is such an art, when many infallible instances presented to their sense, doe convince them of the Reality; and <yet> they doe not trust to it; for they <for most part> neither seek <to the art,> nor expect any advantage or/p. 90/ pleasure by it, either in way of enriching themselves, or revengment on others. And furdur, a person may be sinfully curious of a Real and honest Art, which yet by accident<sup>103</sup> (being usless and spending too much time) <may> become sinful to him. As to a promise of blessing upon having the Sight; It not being an article of faith, a matter of Salvation, or necessity, but only as another Art or Science lat'ly Invented (which shortly may become <a> profitable, and pleasant speculation) It needs no more an express <precept> or promise, than manie other laudable actions and contemplations.

It neid no more an express precept, or promise, than manie other laudable actions and contemplations, undoubtly, provyding our Beleif be firm, and our actions otherwise virtuous & devout, it could not indanger our Salvation, tho we knew <not> that there were such things in the Universe, as a Crue of infernal malicious Devils: yet 'tis many wayes profitable for us to know so much, which is pat & exactly applicable to our present case as to our conjunct inhabitants of this Earthly Foot-Stool.<sup>104</sup>

Obj.9. That the proceeding from their forefathers did not diminish the Sin or

<sup>c</sup> This almost exactly paraphrases one of Stillingfleet's comments to Kirk when they discussed second sight in 1689, and the following sentences closely follow Kirk's record of his response on that occasion: see Kirk, *London Diary*, fols. 18v, 19v.

Scandal of the Second Sight, more than Original Sin and other Voluntary Sins (as well as Those of ignorance) are innocently derivd from our Progenitors.

Ans. Albeit Original Sin, and it's fatal consequents be not /p. 91/ innocently derivd to us from our progenitors, because of his Makers Covenant with Adam for himself, and his posterity, as to standing, or falling; yet this doth not make hereditary diseases, and all other things of our immediat parents, sinfully to affect us. <It might have been a sin of intemperance & Ryot in the parents that entail'd a radicated inveterate distemper & bodily disease> in the progeny; which yet is not the sin, but Affliction of the children.<sup>105</sup> It is the Nature of the thing itself in question, and not the manner of its derivation, and other accidental concomitants, which makes it faulty. If parents had this Second Sight by contract with evil Spirits, it were error on the first concoction, which would still increase, as it proceeded forward, among their succession; But by undeniable proofs above, I have made it appear that both young Children, and aged persons have had this Sight infusd in a trice, they know not whence, tho they neither concurred <to it> themselvs,<sup>106</sup> nor anie of their parents, and other Relations had the like before them; So that the Spyes and Aereal Intelligencers seen, are Real intelligent creatures; and the Sight of the Seers of them,<sup>107</sup> /p. 92/ lawful; <and <vojde of> Deception>; Quod erat demonstrandum.

#### Conclusion.

THUS far of the Lychnobiaous people, Their nature, constitutions, actions, apparel, Language, Armour and Religion; with the quality of Those Amphibiaous Seers, that correspond with them: For what is said of their procreation among themselves, which is done at the consent of their wills, as one candle lighteth another: and of the conjunction of their Females (called *Leannain sith*, or Fayrie lemans, like the succubi mentioned of old) with superterraneans, and Their Merlin-Like monstrous <or><sup>108</sup> Gyantly productions thereupon;<sup>d</sup> and of the unfrequency of their Visits and fearful appearances now, as being out of their proper Element (except They be sent as a portent at som extraordinary occasion) Since the Holy Gospels Flourishing among us, /p. 93/ in respect of their troublesom hauntings befor time; who (as Strangers and Enemies invading other Territories) left an affrightedness of travelling in the dark in the minds of men that dread mischief from them: (yea,<sup>109</sup> even persons having this second sight, and <even, seers themselves, tho persons> most conversant with them, find such horrou and trouble by the entercourse, that they would often full gladly be as free from them, as other men:) These (to pursue<sup>110</sup> at more length than I had <now> time for), I Leave to the judgment and credit of everie ones particulare inquiry and experience.

<sup>d</sup> Merlin, in the version of the legend recorded in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, vi. 18, was the offspring of a mortal mother and an incubus demon father.

/p. 95 [p. 94 blank]/

A Short Treatise  
of the Scottish-  
Irish Charms  
and Spels.

It is not well known when and by whom this art of Charming among the Scottish-Irish was first invented and Broacht: but sure the most of these Spels relate to something in the Christian Religion; some of them have words taken out of the Holy Bible as Psal 50.18 Joh.1.1. &c. Those that defend the Lawfulness of Charms, call them a continued Miracle, which by Heavens compassion to mens infirmities, convey virtue from all the hands they passe thorow, By reason of the sanctity of the first Deviser, and so work in their kind, as ane once-dedicated Telesm in it's own: both lasting in vigour, for many ages; and they give that ancient instance in Psal.58.4.<sup>a</sup> of enchanting the adder from doing hurt, for a precedent. Albeit assuredly Charmers in Deut.18.11. <be><sup>1</sup> flatly discharged, and reckoned up with /p. 96/ Necromancers, Witches, and consulters with Familiar Spirits; and by experience it is found, that such as come once in their Reverence can never be rid of them, but will still have occasions, that will neid these white Witches assistance, in cureing of one, when they kill another. And yet that the Holy Scriptures may borrow a comparison of obstinacy from the Asp, as well as a Caveat of wariness and Wit from a Thief in the night, and an unjust Steward, needed not be wondred at.<sup>b</sup>

2. THERE be charms for all common diseases from top to toe; from the falling Evil and convulsion of the sinews, to the wen and excrescence on the ey-bry called *ceannaid*. most of them are in way of prayer called *orrtha*,<sup>c</sup> but said to be of more efficacy than any prayer now pronounced. The words notwithstanding are much corrupted in process of time by being transmitted thorow so many mouths, and 'tis not easy to reconcile /p. 97/ them all to good sense, or a meaning proper for the design'd conveyance. Besides, that they are used by many of Bad conversations, and who do not understand much of what they utter: Which makes others to suspect that the good words in the Spel's, are but the policy of the Counterfeit Angel of Light, to train-on the unwary to his Lure: and that they being intended only as a Watchword and Sign of the Compact with his Followers, He is not scare to hear so many pious phrases<sup>d</sup> (wanting the Understanding and Affection, which is the life of all): Specially since he was prompt enough to adduce Scripture-words to our Saviour

<sup>a</sup> In fact, verses 4–5. MS 5022 has '5'.

<sup>b</sup> See Romans 3, 13; 1 Thessalonians 5, 2; Luke 16, 1–8.

<sup>c</sup> *orrtha*; it is unclear what the word earlier in the line is.

<sup>d</sup> MS 5022 has 'Impious Psalms'.

himself in Math.4.<sup>e</sup> As they are spoke by rote, so several of them were wont to be set down in Rithme. It was customary also with ancient practis'd Magicians for solemnity's sake, and to strike a greater Reverence in the Receivers of Benefit by them. to change /p. 98/ the names of ordinary things, into those of Creatures that had some like-operation to that which they design'd to bestow: so framing a Sacred peculiar stile of their own; which yet did not alter the nature of any thing they spoke of, to any that could discern and distinguish, more then the Blessed Iesus (calling Bread his Body) chang'd the true nature of either (as some might instance now for their purpose.) Then these Words so consecrated were thought operative to all that gave credit to them, and were their Partisans, being once made partakers of their influence. Even the Platonists in their Rites of Lustrations and Purifyings, gave benefits, mystically signified under words of several Representations; which words, they thought were introduced by the Gods, who knew the natures of things, and /p. 99/ were delivered by them to the first men that liv'd, who were called Sons of the Gods, and Gyants (in opposition to the Filij Terrae, Idiots and Wecklings) as immediatly formed, and then instructed, by Them, Hence the sacred language of their Mysteries, was beleived to have<sup>2</sup> a Magical force from the Gods, to do the Deed; which stronge and vigorous force, (but secretly convey'd) was restrained to these very words and poynts as delivered by tradition, without any voluntary alteration: and they reckoned their virtue evaporated and lost by being powred out and translated into any other language. The Iews also are very sly in translating any of the common Forms of Blessing, or the like, prescribd in the Law By Mystical wayes, both, the Good Spirit, and image of Iesus's holy mind and life, and also the malice /p. 100/ of the Evil Spirit against all Good, are conveyd to men, according to their different endeavours after them: It is not the natural influence that the pronunciation of such words can have on the things signified by them, which brings the effect to pass, but purely the Promise, and authority of the first instituter on such persons and things as he, has command over, and manifests it his pleasure so to bestow his<sup>3</sup> power. Thus in a stable legal sense, every office hath it's vocabula artis,<sup>f</sup> whose propriety is understood according to the occupation it treats about, whither Sacred, Civil, or Profane; as what is cloath in the Merchants hand, is called a cloak or coat when come thorow the hands of the Taylor.

3. THERE be philtres used and other attractives of love, by spels /p. 101/ or words (as well as by other meretricious arts) that cause the Persons belov'd if but toucht, to follow the Toucher immediatly losing all command of themselves, either by an unaccountabl Sympathy, or some other invisibl impulse: But how soon they Lasciviously converse together, all that love dies into ane envenomed Spite. Yet the Charmer dares give Elisha's following of Elijah when toucht, and Simon and Andrews relinquishing all to follow their true Master, for justifying of his pranks.<sup>g</sup> In this Receit, besides the words, they bestow somtimes a dose composd of spilt and

<sup>e</sup> A reference to the devil tempting Iesus to cast himself down from a pinnacle of the temple.

<sup>f</sup> 'Terms of art'.

<sup>g</sup> See 1 Kings 19, 19–21; Matthew 4, 18–20, Mark 1, 16–18, John 1, 37ff.

other liquidities called an *varigh ghraidh*<sup>h</sup> (because having a addle egg (belike) inter-mixed) There is another charm called *sgiuinach*<sup>i</sup> that attracts the Fishes plentifully to the Angler. But in the more usual charms of cure besides a general prayer composd of some incoherent tautologies, that is used befor and after, called the /p. 102/ *seachd phaidir*, or seventh and perfect prayer (set down hereafter)<sup>4</sup> There are words instituted for transferring of the soul or sickness on other Persons Beasts, Trees, Waters, Hills or Stones, according as the charmer is pleased to name; and the effect follows wonderfully; which scares many sober persons among the Tramontanes from going in to see a sick person, till they put a dog in befor them or one that pertears to the house: For where charmers are cherished they transfer the sickness on the first living creature that enters after the charm is pronounced, which creatures readily rages with pain till it die. Thus this cheap way of healing distempers<sup>5</sup> without Physic, does notwithstanding pay the account /p. 103/ some other way, by sacrificeing som-what to the Original Healer, whoever be the instrument. To pass these for the present with the Breifs and amulets that make men proof against lead bullets, iron weapons, and the like, I will set down some of their more remarkabl charms and Spells as they are usually written and spocken, one in Latin another in Irish, which I translate, and give the rest, only interpreted, for Brevity's sake.

1. The General prayer or paternoster, called *Seachd phaidir*, repeated in way of preface and conclusion to every remarkabl charm.

Mary is first placed, The Pater Noster of Mary, one, the P.N. or prayer of my King. two, of Mary, 3. of the King 4. of Mary 5. of the King. 6. the Seaven<sup>6</sup> Seanings (or Salvations) to the Son of my King omnipotent. /p. 104/

2. The charm against the palsie & falling Evil, written in paper, and ty'd about the patients neck.

In nomine patris et Filij et spiritus sancti, amen[.] dirupisti Domine vincula mea, tibi sacrificabo Hostiam Laudis sed<sup>7</sup> nomen Domini invocabo, nomen Jesus Nazareus Rex Judeorum, Titulus Triumphalis, Defendas nos ab omnibus malis, Sancte Deus, Sancte Fortis, Sancte et immortalis, miserere nobis+ Heloj+ Heloj atha+ Messias+ Eother+ Immanuel+ Pathone+ Sabaoth+ Tetragrammaton+ on+ eon+ a thonay+ alma+ avala+ Throne+ Emanuel.]

<sup>h</sup> Supplied from MS Gen 308D; Laing MS here has a blank space. For [à] *bharrag-ghràdh*, '[the] love posset'.

<sup>i</sup> *sgiuinach* : for what is evidently this charm, see above, p. 67.

<sup>j</sup> 'In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, Amen. You have broken my chains, O Lord, I will sacrifice a victim of praise to you but I will invoke the name of the Lord, the name of Jesus, King of the Jews, triumphant title. May you defend us from all ills, Holy God, Holy and Strong, Holy and Immortal, have pity on us.' It then invokes various phrases, including 'Eloi', Christ's cry on the cross (Mark 16, 34), 'Sother', the Greek for 'Saviour', and some garbled Hebrew, in a manner typical of ritual magic, which it has not seemed appropriate to attempt to translate.

3. The Spel to expel the unbeast.

The order of St. Bennet at the appoyntment of Inachus, to be set about the neck of the infirm, against the sharp-piercing Beast, the unbeast, the White Fistula, /p. 105/ the brown cancer, the Flesh cancer, the Bone cancer, come out, thow piercing Worme as my King appoynted: either die or flit thy Lodging as Jesus Christ commanded, God and the King omnipotent either chase yow out alive, or slay you within. (These words the Charmer speaks holding his two Thumbs to his mouth still spitting on them, and then with both thumbs stroaks the sore, which dayly mends thereafter. They use spitting as ane antitode against all that is poysonous, and Diabolical.)

4. A charm spoke in a Napkin, and the Napkin is sent many miles off, to be ty'd about a Childs open-head to lift it up (as they speak) and it does the fact.

I will lift up thy bones as Mary lift up her hands, as the Forks are lifted under the Heavens, as the priest lifts up the upright Mass, up to the crown of thy head. I lift the cheek-bones, the bones of thy hind-head, thy Brow befor and /p. 106/ behind. (This they labour to justify as to it's institution and operation, by the report they hear of the weapon-salve and sympathetic powders, which they suppose may have some such words accompanying, and aiding the Natural and sympathetic application; which may derive Virtue from a Special Favour of Heaven granted to the first Inventor; or from the natural property's, secretly convey'd; or from some odd invisible physitian (as the Actors command) that so swiftly carries away and applyeth the cure.)

5. A Spel, said to cure a swoln milt.

The skil against a swoln milt, to assuage it's wrath, against the sharp milt, the rough milt, the Bare milt, the Brow milt, against the sharp-snowted<sup>8</sup> grey Worme, that holes, and eats the /p. 107/ sinews of your heart, and Vitals.

But now the most dangerous poynt of this inchantment succeeds, which is, the assigning a place for the Evil, when expelled: (for the Devils, say they, when put out of the man, sought unto the Swine) therefor thus the Inchanter proceeds when he thinks meet.

HE that gives warmth and prosperity, Turn from thee all hill-Envy (or Fayrie-Envy) all Son-malice, all man-malice, all Woman malice, my own malice with them; as the Wind turns about the Hillock, Thy Evil Turne from Thee (O Allex<sup>r</sup> or such) a Third part on this Man, a third part on that Woman, a Third on Waters; a Third on Woods, a third on the Brown Harts of the Forrest; and a third on the grey stones. /p. 108bis [p. 108 blank]/

THERE are spels also against Bruises, swoln-cheecks called *goll ghalar*,<sup>k</sup> the *tarri* or

<sup>k</sup> *guill ghalar*, from *galar*, 'disease', and *guill*, 'shapeless mouth'. The next concept, *tarri*, may be linked to *sàradh*, 'broaching'.



Flux, Toothake, Being Smitten with ane<sup>9</sup> infectious and Evil Eye (as they call it;) There be knots with words, ty'd by a Concubine on her paramours hair, that will keep him from Carnality with any other, dureing her pleasure; ane aproved cure to it, The same knot is oft cast on a threed by sportful people when <a><sup>10</sup> party is a marrying, and befor the Minister, which ty's up the man from all Benevolence to his Bride, till they be loosed, unless the charm be prevented to take effect by first salu-teing of the Bride after the mareiage is consumated, and befor they leave the Church-yard, and Dedicated Ground. But what is as strange as any, some Charmers will Extract a Mote out of a persons Eye at many miles<sup>11</sup> distance, only they must first, (Spaniel-like) see and smel at somthing worn by the patient. The words which he mutters, /p. 109/ I have not atteand: But his manner is, to fill his mouth with water, laying his hands on it; when he has muttered the spel to himself, he powrs the water out of his mouth into a very clea [sic]<sup>l</sup> Vessel, and lets see that very mote in it, which molested the persons sight that he was informed of: who will be found free of it from the tyme of this action. Whither there be a Secret Reason, that a Charm has not so much Efficacy when uttered by a Woman, as when by a man; or if because it was first devisd by a man, continueing its vigor, in the way it began, is not worth the while to dispute it. These then are the Exorcisms used for casting out of Diseases and pains, as heretofore they were, to cast out Devils; whereof I have given a smattering to let see the many Foolish conceits and Dangerous Customes, in the critical & peremptory observance whereof, many of the Scotch-Irish, Weary and Burthen themselvs, to the great neglect of Better usages and /p. 110/ injunctions. They set about few actions all the year over without some Charm or superstitious Rite interwoven, which hath no visible natural connection with the affair,<sup>12</sup> about which 'tis made; to further it: yet herein they have been taught of old, to keep them in an implicite obedience, still busy, and yet still ignorant; Every Age transmitting such supposed-profitable Folly, and reckoning it a greater piaculum<sup>m</sup> to neglect such, than to transgress Gods most holy and undoubted commandments. /p. 111/

This is the secret.

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This is the Stewarts of Apin's charm against the falling evill and palsie tyed about the persons neck.

In nomine patris et filij et spiritus sancti Amen.

Dirupisti domine vincula mea tibi sacrificabo. hostiam laudis, et nomen domini invocabo nomen Jesus Nazareus Rex judeorum titulus triumphalis Defendas nos ab omnibus malis Sancte Deus, Sancte fortis. Sancte et immortalis miserere nobis+ hieloi+ hieloi+ hiloy atonatha+ messias+ Eothar+ immanuel+ pathone+ Sabaoth+ Tetragrammaton+ on+ eon+ atonay+ alma+ avala+ throne+ emanuel+.<sup>n</sup> /p. 114/

<sup>l</sup> MS 5022 has 'clean'.

<sup>m</sup> Propitiatory sacrifice, expiation.

<sup>n</sup> I.e. a slightly amended version of the charm cited on p. 109 of this text, above. Pp. 112–13 of the MS are blank.



An Exposition of the difficult  
Words in the forgoing Treatises.

A

Amphibious	he that liveth as well on Water, as on Land.
Amulet	a preservative against inchantment bewitching or poisons, to be hanged about the neck.
Addle	rotten or spilt.
Astral Body	An Artificial Body assum'd by any spirit.
Antidot	A counter-poyson, or a medicine against poyson.
Atomes	Motes in the Sun, or a thing so smal it cannot be divided.
Antipodes	people which go directly against us, with the soles of their feet against ours.
Abstruse	hid, or shut up close.
Aer	<one> of the four Elements. the aire which liveth, or is in the aire.
Adapted	being made very fit.
ascititious	chosen, admitted, associate or strange. / p. 115/

B

Bier	a coffin that is alwayes reserv'd for the corps of the poor people, and kept within the church.
Badgers	Broks
Boaz	in strength, meaning, the powers thereof shall continue

C

<Compact	appointment or confederacie>
<Candidats	they that stand & labour for any offic cloathed in white robs because among the Romans they <sup>13</sup> used white robs, a suiter or he that endeavoureth to obtaine any thing.>
Convincions	assurances
Circumference	compass
Center	the poynt in the midst of any round thing, the center of a Circle
Colonies	Inhabitants sent to a forrein countrey
Collegue	a fellow companion or co-partner in office
Coalesce	to grow together, or to increase.
Chimæras	a feign'd Beast
comment	exposition.
Chameleon	a litl beast that doth easily change itselke into all colours, and is nourished only with the air. /p. 116/
<Cockatrice	a serpent killing man and beast with his breath and sight <sup>14</sup>
condensed	made thick or hard>
Cogniscance	examination, determination or tryal by a judge

## D

defæcat	uncorrupt, pure and clean from dreggs
Delphian	two faced, ambiguous and doubtful.
disquisition	tryal of a thing
Deception	beguiling
drein	dry up

## E

Elves	a Tribe of the Fayries, that use not <to> exceed an ell in stature.
Exuviaë	a cast skine of an Snake or adder.
Entities	Beings
Exorcism	conjuraton
Æther	the firmament, skye, light, brightness
Eccho	a sound rebounding <to> a noise or voice in a valley or wood, a resounding or giving again of the voice
Element	the fundation of any thing, the first principal cause or instruction; whereof /p. 117/ all things take their beginning, being four, fire, air, Water, Earth:

## F

Faunes	a Rank of dæmons betwixt Angels and man.
Fanaticism	fanatic: mad and foolish.
facultie	Virtue or strength <in> <sup>15</sup> a thing, a power to do or speak

## G

Gradation	a form of speaking when the sentence goes by degrees or steps going up in order one after another. /p. 118/
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## H

Heterogeneous	of another kind
Helix	a kind of Ivie, bearing no berries, running round.
Hypochondriak Melancholly	a windie melancholly which is bred of ach and sorness about the short ribs, from whence a black flemme arysing doth hurt and trouble the mind.
Heluo	He that in eating and drinking destroyeth his substance. as gluttons Wasters & prodigals.

## I

Intrigues <sup>16</sup>	politicks. secrets, or mysteries
Immersed	plunged, drenched, or dipt in water.
Jachin	he will establish his promise toward his house.
Impetus	violence. vehemencie
Insects	any smal vermine divided in the body, between the head and the

	belly, having no flesh, blood or sinew, such as flies, gnats, pismires or Emmets.
Intellectual	belonging to understanding /p. 119/
K	
L	
Lychnobia	he that instead of the day, useth the night, and liveth as it were by candle night.
Legerdemain	slight of hand.
Legion,	is a Brigad or Regiment of 6000 footmen and 732 horsmen
M	
Magic	Witchcraft, Sorcerie, Soothsaying
Malefice	an ill, naughtie deed, and mischievous act
Mole	a mouldwort.
Mole	a litl brown spot in any part of mans body
Meridian	mid-day, or noontide. /p. 120/
N	
Necromancie	divination by calling on Spirits
Nymphs	Goddess of waters, maids or Brides.
Noctambulo	he that <sup>17</sup> riseth and walketh in the night tim, when asleep.
O	
optic	pertaining to sight. Optici nervi. the sinews that bring the vertue of seeing into the eye.
Oracle	a prophesie. or prediction
Obvious	gentle and easy, or that which meeteth with one.
Orb <sup>18</sup>	a world, a Region, a countrey
P	
puppet	a Babie. or imag like a child.
phantasms	Vain Visions. false imagination
phantastic	a foolish vain vision
paroxisms	a rage, a fit of distraction, or rush
plagium <sup>19</sup>	a stealing of men servants or children
parson	a curate, or paroch priest /p. 121/
parelij	two or three suns appearing throw a refraction of a cloud.
philtres	a love potion
paralell	such-like
python	a prophesieing spirit, or a man possesst with such a spirit, a Bellirummer, as it were the ill spirit speaking out of his belly
phænomenon	an appearance either in the heaven or in the air

propagated to make to spread, or to multiply

Q

quaintly neatly. Eloquently /p. 122/

R

Rick staks

Rosicrucian a possessor of a magical-like art

Rabbinical Jewish.

Radicate that hath taken root

Receptacle a place to receive & keep things safe in, a place of confort or refuge

S

⟨Superterraneans are wee⟩<sup>20</sup> that live on ⟨the surface of the Earth.⟩

Subterraneans those people that lives ⟨in⟩<sup>2 1</sup> the ⟨cavities of the Earth⟩

Sith's people at rest and in peac

Seer Wizard or ⟨a⟩ people of the second sight are they that telleth of things befor ⟨or⟩ to come after.

Succincte short or brief.

Struma Kings-Evil

Suanoch mantle or cloak

Shrug to be aversed

Syrenes sea monsters.

⟨Scrutiny a diligent search.⟩

T

Terrestrial Bodie, is a body made of the four Elements

Thesi a position, the natural primitive word whereof other are derived and deduced, a termination. /p. 123/

Transmigration a departing from one place to dwel in another.

Topical-Spirits that haunt one place and not another

Tendons smal things lik hair hinging at the roots of trees, or a litle vein.

tragical cruel. outrageous

W

Utopias a nation invented by mens fancy's.

Vehicles chariots, or a general name of all things serving to carry

Wight a cunning man

X

Zijim jiim and Ochin were aither wild Beasts or fowls, ⟨or ostridges⟩ or<sup>22</sup> spirits, whereby Satan deluded man, as by the fairies, goblins ⟨&c.⟩ /p. 124/

Telesms, charms, and superstition are much of one kind: for<sup>23</sup> Talismans pretend to be influenced by a constellation thorow a mutual and Moral Relation made between by a Compact; or by a Seasonable Dedication: Charms plead a traditional Virtue to Words merely upon the account of the prodigious, stupendious, piety and miraculous power of the first Instituters.

Superstition, Idolatry, presume that Dieties inform, ensoul, and possess Temples and Images, and that therefor they become adorable.

The Invention of Letters was a Singular<sup>24</sup> <curiosity>, now tho, Printing, Gunnery, Saddles with stirrups, and several other arts, Contryvances, Devices, and Sciences were after our Saviours death found out, and both understood and forseen by him, yet himself would be author /p. 125/ of either, because albeit they were Instruments of good, they have as direct a tendency to do Evil.

The cure of the Kings Evil is partly miraculous, partly complexional, and is much advanced by the piety and healthy diet of the Bestower or Receiver: somewhat also by the apprehension; and is like to have been first found out as the nature of many pretious Stons and Minerals, or as printing and Guns; aither by Revelation of an Angel, to let see that God can cure<sup>25</sup> diseases incurable by man, or by some unexpected accident of persons trying Conclusions, and conjecting [sic] Events, for sure, If we knew Them, the wise Creator hath framed many things so, that there be moe ways to save than to destroy. There be some Resemblance also, and allusions in Nature, of all things that being Seaven, or composd of it, most usually have a Virtue /p. 126/ beyond what is composed of any other number, as Sunday, the Seaventh day of Rest, the Sun the Seaventh planet. Seven being composed of four and three. the Element and the Trinity, comprehending both Worlds: But how things having this<sup>26</sup> numeral Relation and Resemblance, being so remote, come to partake and derive a Secret Virtue beyond other things, from the prototype or first paterne that cannot be well given account of, yet in Ep. Jude Enoch is named the Seventh of Adam.<sup>o</sup>

Finis coronat opus

Written be Robert Campbell at Inshalladine in the paroch of Aberfoyl in Monteith.<sup>p</sup>

Love and Live

1.6.9.1. /p. 127 blank; p. 128/

Love and Live.

Robert Campbell

Robert Campbell

<sup>o</sup> Jude 1, 14. The section of text that precedes this apparently comprises notes for sections of *The Secret Commonwealth*.

<sup>p</sup> 'The end crowns the work'. On the identity of Robert Campbell, see above, Introductory Notes on the Texts, p. 38. 'Inshalladine' was evidently the name of Kirk's house: see MacLean, 'Life and Literary Labours', pp. 348–9.

/p. 129<sup>q</sup> philtres a love potion, addle, rotten, or spilt, paralell, such like, struma, Kings-Evill, vestig. a marke or token, impetus violenc, vehemencie, exorcism conju-  
 ration colleagues <fellow companion or> co-partners in offic tendon smal things like  
 hair hanging at the roots of trees, or a litle vein, drein, dry up, mole, a litle brown  
 spot in any part of mans bodie, suanochs mantles, necromancer, diviner by calling of  
 spirits coalesce to grow together or to encrease[,] Thesi, position, the natural  
 primitiv word whereof other are derived & deduced, a termination, graditon a form  
 of speaking when the sentenc goes by degrees <or steps> alsoe stairs or greeces going  
 up in order, by course one after another. Rabbinical, jewish, amulet a preservative  
 against inchantment, bewitching or poysons, to be hanged about the neck

Love and Live

RC                      Robert  
 Robert Campbell

This book belongs to R.C.  
 pryce 12ss

<sup>q</sup> The section that ensues appears to be a draft for the glossary.

## 4.

Letters  
from Dr. Ja. Garden, Professor of Theologie at Aberdene  
to Mr. J. Aubrey concerning the  
Druid's Temples.<sup>a</sup>

*Letter 1<sup>b</sup>*

Old Aberdene June 15 – 92.

Honoured Sir,

Yours dated at London April 9th – 92 came to my hands about ten dayes after. Since that time I have been using my best endeavours for obtaining a satisfactory answer to your Quære's: if that which I now send you be not such, as I desired & it may be you expected, it is none of my fault: For I not only went and visited sundrie of those antiquities (to the number of six or seaven) concerning which you desire to be informed; but also employed the assistance of my freinds, whereof some were going from this place to other parts of the countrey, & others live at a distance. I have been waiting all this time for an account of there diligence, and albeit I have not heard as yet from all those persons to whome I spoke & wrote for information, yet I thought it not fitt to delay the giving you a returne anie longer, lest you should apprehend either that your letter had miscarried or that I had neglected the contents of it.

What the Lord Yester and Sir Robert Morray told you long ago is true, viz. that in the north parts of this Kingdom, many monuments of the nature and fashion described by you are yet extant.<sup>c</sup> They consist of tall bigg unpolished stones, sett upon an end, & placed circularly not contiguous together but at some distance. The obscurer sort (which are the more numerous) have but one circle of stones standing at equall distances; others, toward the south or south east; have a large broad stone standing on edge, which fills up the whole space betwixt two of those stones that stand on end; and is called by the vulgar the altar stone: a third sort more remarkable then anie of the former, besides all that I have already mentioned, have another circle of smaller stones standing within the circle of great stones. The area

<sup>a</sup> This is the title-page that Aubrey prefixed to these letters in Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Aubrey 12, fol. 122.

<sup>b</sup> MS Aubrey 12, fols. 123–4.

<sup>c</sup> For Aubrey's debt to Moray, see Introduction, p. 23. His other informant was the Scottish aristocrat, John Hay, Lord Yester (1645–1713).

of all the three sorts is comonly (not alwayes) filled with stones of sundrie sizes confusedly cast together in an heap.

Two the largest and most remarkeable of those monuments that ever I saw, ar yet to be seen at a place called Auchincorthie,<sup>d</sup> in the shire of Mernis and five miles distant from Aberdene. One of them has two circles of stones, whereof the exterior circle consists of thirteen great stones (besides two that are fallen and the broad stone toward the south) about three yards high above ground, and betwixt seaven & eight paces distant on from another; the diameter being 24 large paces the interior circle is about 3 paces distant from the other, and the stones therof 3 foot high above ground. Toward the East from this monument at 26 paces distance, there is a bigg stone fast in the ground and levell with it, in which there is a cavity partly naturall & partly artificiall that will contain, as I guess, no less than a scotch gallon of water, and may be supposed to have served for washing the preists, sacrifices, and other things esteemed sacred among the heathen. The other Monument (which is fully as large if not larger then that which I have already described, and distant from it about a bow<sup>1</sup> shott of ground) consists of three circles having the same comon<sup>2</sup> center.<sup>e</sup> The stones of the greatest circle are about 3 yards, and those of the two lesser circles 3 foot high above ground, the innermost circle 3 paces diameter and the stones standing close together. [One of the stones of the greatest circle on the <west><sup>3</sup> side of the monument, hath a cavity on the topp of it, considerably lower at on side which will contain an english pint without runing over, and seems to have been made for burning a lamp: another stone of the same circle on the East side, hath upon the top of it (which is but narrow & larger on way then the other) a cavity about 3 fingers deep, in the middle of the bottom wherof is cutt out a trough 1 inch deep & 2 inches broad (with another of the same depth & breadth crossing it) that runs along the whole length of the cavity, and down the side of the stone a good way, so that whatsoever liquor is poured into the cavity upon the top of the stone, doth presently run down the side of it by this trough & it would seem that upon this stone they poured forth their libamina or liquid sacrifices.]<sup>f</sup>

The generall tradition throughout this Kingdome concerning this kind of Monuments is, that they were places of worship & sacrifice in heathen times. Few of them have particular names. In this part of the countrey they are commonly called Standing Stones; and in the highlands of Scotland /fol. 123v/ where the Irish tongue is spoken, they call them Caer which signifies a throne,<sup>g</sup> an oracle, or a place of address; as I am informed by a judicious person here who understands that language, and was lately in those parts where he sayes they have such a superstitious veneration for these monuments that they will not medle with anie of their stones or apply them to another use; and being latelie at Auchincorthie I was told that a poor man

<sup>d</sup> I.e. Aquorthies. These stones are still extant. For further detail see Gordon, *Garden's Letters to Aubrey*, p. 11n.

<sup>e</sup> I.e. Bourtree. Little of this monument now survives.

<sup>f</sup> In his letter of 23 January 1692 (below, p. 124) Garden directs that the passage in square brackets is to be deleted and replaced by an amended version.

<sup>g</sup> I.e. Gaelic *cathair*, 'seat'.



who lives there having taken away a stone from on of the neighbouring monuments above described and putt it into his hearth, was (by his owne relation) troubled with a dale of noise and din about his house in the night time, untill he carried back the stone to the place where he found it.

Some of them are called Chappels: for instance there is a place in the shire of Aberdene and parish of Ellon called Fochell (i.e. below the chappell) from on of these monuments that stands nearby on a higher ground. Another place in the shire of Banff and parish of Aberlour is called Leachell beandich (which (as my informer told me) is as much as the blessed Chappell) from another of these monuments which lately stood there in a corne fielde and is now demolished. I myselfe with others in companie, occasionally passing by on of these monuments about 5 miles distant from Aberdene, in the parish of Peter Culter; we sent on of our number to the nearest houses, to enquire the name of it; and the people there, told him it was called the old Chappell. I was likewise told by an ingenious Gentleman who lives at a place called Troup in the shire of Banffe and parish of Gamrie; that not far from his house there is a den called the chappell den from on of these monuments which is nearby.<sup>h</sup>

Others are called Temples. In the parish of Strathawen within 14 miles of Aberdeen, there is a place called Templetown from two or three of this kind of monuments that stand upon the bounds of it. And these two wherof I have given you a particular description are called by the people who live near by; Law-stones (for what reason I know not) and Temple stones. They have a tradition that the pagan preists of old dwelt in that place [Auchincorthie] and there are yet to be seen (at a litle distance from on of the monuments standing there) the foundations of an old house which is said to have been their teind barn. They report likewise that the preists caused earth to be brought from other adjacent places upon peoples backs to Auchincorthie, for making the soile therof deeper, which is given for the reason why this parcell of land (though surrounded with heath and moss on all sides) is better and more fertile then other places thereabout.

All these names except the first, confirm the generall tradition concerning these Monuments, that they were places of worship: and some of them, as that of Temple and Templestones, declare that they have not been erected by Christians or for their use, which their structure also doth sufficiently demonstrat beside.

Albeit from the generall tradition that these monuments were places of Pagan worship, and the historicall knowledge, we have that the superstition of the Druids did take place in Brittain, we may rationally collect, that these monuments have been Temples of the Druids; yet I have found nothing hitherto, either in the names of these monuments, or the tradition that goes about them, which doth particularly relate to the Druids, or point them out: unless these two following instances will amount to anie thing.

The first is of a monument of this kind in the shire of Banffe and parish of Abercheirder; which, as a gentleman that lives near by it doth informe, is called

<sup>h</sup> This site is in the parish of Gowrie near Troup. The site referred to in the previous sentence has not been identified.

Cairneduin, or Cairnedewin: now Cairne in our language doth signifie an heap of stones; and whether it is putt here for Caer, that this kind of monuments are called Cairnes from the heaps of stones which ar usually to be found within them, I cannot say; but that which I take notice of is, that it may be the name of this monument formerly has been Caer or Cairndrewin, and that the letter (r) has been left out in the pronuntiation afterwards. Yet nothing can be affirmed in this matter because the name of this Monument is not to be found in anie old writing & we have no other rule to direct us about it, beside /fol. 124/ the pronunciation of the vulgar.

Another instance which I shall mention is of a parcell of land 6 miles distant from Aberdene, and belonging to the emoluments of my office; which is comonly called Cairnetradlion, a name, whereof I could never understand the meaning, untill that since I received your letter perusing the conveyances of this land, I find that in the first of them which is not above threescore and ten years old, it is called Cairnraidlane, and Cairnraidland:<sup>i</sup> now by the preceeding instance it appears, that these monuments are sometimes called Cairnes and I am prone to beleive that the true name of this land is Cairnedruidland and that it has been so denominated not from anie of those monuments standing within the bounds of (for I find onely one of them, and that not very remarkeable standing upon the border of it) but rather because it may have been a part of the revenue, which appertained of old to the Druids and their temples. if we had the old evidents, of this land (which ar wanting) it may be the matter would be yet clearer.

I have onely on thing more to add, which was written to me a few dayes since from the countrey: viz. that some persons who are yet alive, declare that many years since they did see ashes of some burnt matter, digged out of the bottom of a little cercle (sett about with stones standing closs together) in the center of on of these monuments which is yet standing near the Church of Keig in the shire of Aberdene.

In case anie of these monuments shall upon enquiry be found in France (where you know the Druids were in no less credit and reputation then in Brittain) it would greatly contribute to the confirming of your opinion about them.

Thus Sir I have given you a tedious and confused account of such things, relating to these antiquities, as have come to my knowledge; which I fear will contribute little for your purpose. In case anie thing that is considerable, shalbe timously comunicated to me hereafter by anie of those persons to whom I have either spoken or written for information I will not fail to acquaint you. and if my paines can be anie farther usefull to you, you may freely employ

Your faithfull freind and  
humble servant,

Ja: Garden.

<sup>i</sup> Cairntradlin is a farm half a mile south of Kirkton of Kinaldie, over nine miles from Aberdeen. Only one stone now stands. The site referred to in the previous paragraph has not been identified.

Sir,

I have a brother, a Doctor of Divinity & on of the ministers of Aberdene (from which the place where I live is distant only a short mile, & for distinctions sake is called old Aberdene) for whom I suspected that your letter might have been intended, becaus there was correspondence betwixt him & some of the members of the Royall Societie, and a letter of his concerning the changes of weather is published in on of their transactions.<sup>j</sup> I communicated your letter to him together with my conjecture about it, & desired him to take the letter & send you a return but he declined it becaus the Direction seemed mor applicable to me then to him. Wherefore if you shall have occasion hereafter to write either to him or me; be pleased in your direction to designe him, minister of the gospell in Aberdene, and me Professor of Theologie in the King's Colledge of Aberdene wherby all ambiguity wilbe prevented.

Give my service to Mr. Halley, & shew him, that if he wilbe pleased to<sup>4</sup> condescend more particularly upon the things (relating to the tides at Aberdene, Fraserburgh & /fol. 124v/ Buchan-ness) concerning which he desires to be informed; my brother & I will endeavour to give him satisfaction.<sup>k</sup>

Since I received your letter, I had occasion to see a Scotch Gentleman of my acquaintance; who lived severall years in England, being known there by the name of Dr. Du Moulin a Phisitian, & was often in company with the Earle of Berkley living at St. John's:<sup>l</sup> This gentleman assures me that he was acquainted what a Gentleman of your name who was related to my Lord Cheif Barron Montague's ladie, & beleiving you to be the person he earnestly intrtreats to have his humble service presented to you.

For his honoured freind  
Master John Aubrey  
to be left with  
Master Edmund Halley  
at Gresham Colledge, London.

<sup>j</sup> See Introduction, above, p. 22.

<sup>k</sup> I.e. Edmond Halley (1656–1742), at this time clerk to the Royal Society and later Astronomer Royal. Aubrey had presumably conveyed a request from him in the letter to which this is a response.

<sup>l</sup> I.e. James du Moulin or Milne, FRS: see Hunter, *Royal Society*, pp. 180–1, and Morris, 'On the Identity of Jacques du Moulin', pp. 4–5, which documents his links with George, Earl of Berkeley (1628–98), who proposed him to the Royal Society. Aubrey's 'she-cosen' Mary was married to Sir William Montagu (?1619–1706), Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

*Letter 2<sup>m</sup>*

Old Aberdeen January 23 – 9½

Honoured Sir,

Some moneths being elapsed since I received yours of the 27th of August last, and my answee not readie as yet; I thought my selfe obliged to make some apologie<sup>5</sup> to you for my long silence; which was occasioned first by my seeking after & waiting for informations, and afterwards by the duties of my function, & other incident occasions by which I have been <so> busied or diverted, that I have not been able hitherto to digest those few materials which I had collected for an answer to your letter, into anie tolerable order, & to sett them down upon paper. Since I received my latest informations (which is not long) I have been drawing an answer for you, now & then as I had leisure & am now so farr advanced in it that in a short time you may expect it. In the mean while, having somewhat to reply to the contents of your letter (for which ther will not be room in that sheet designed for an answer to the main subject thereof) I shall doe it here.

For your information concerning such <old> Jewish & gentile customes as may be yet in use, I can give you no account of those mentioned by Blaeu in his Atlas becaus we have not a copie of it in this place.<sup>n</sup> But having made some enquiry about the peculiar customes of our Highlanders, I find that what has been reported to you concerning their making a curtesie to the new moon is not altogether without ground: for I am informed that in the shire of Ross, the vulgar use when they first see the new moon turning their faces that way to pull off their caps & say God bless the new moon. Whether the women use that form of words<sup>6</sup> or not I cannot say, but for bowing the knee or anie other curtesie of that kind towards the moon I suppose they do not practise it. becaus that kind of curtesie which consists in gestures is not used by the vulgar of the female sex there. Now albeit this form of salutation may probably have had its first rise from that Gentile custome pointed at by Horace in the words quoted by you in your letter; yet as it<sup>7</sup> is now practised I suppose it is not intended so much (if at all) for a curtesie or salutation to the moon, as a supplication to God, that the moon (whose influence upon the weather is beleevved to be greater then that of anie other planet) may bring good weather along with her according to the season of the year.

There is also another custome (more generally practised in the highlands of Scotland) of mourning at the burial of<sup>8</sup> their dead, which is performed by women, and

<sup>m</sup> In the library of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Devizes: see Introductory Notes on the Texts, p. 42.

<sup>n</sup> A reference to the renowned *Atlas Major* of the cartographer Johann Blaeu of Amsterdam (1596–1673), issued between 1648 and 1664. Clearly, Aubrey had asked Garden about the customs recorded by Blaeu that he noted in his *Remaines of Gentilisme* (see above, p. 20): see *Three Prose Works*, p. 241 (the quotation from Horace also appears there, although it is not attributed).

has a great affinity with that which was in use both among the Romans (by whom I suppose those women were called *præficæ*)<sup>9</sup> and the Jews, to which the prophet alludes, Jeremie Chap. 9 vers. 17. I have sent you a description of it written by the informers own hand, by profession a student of Divinity, & by birth a gentlemans son in Strathspey.<sup>o</sup> You have likewise by the same hand, an account of the Bards such as they are at present in these parts, & such as they were within the memory of my informers father (who is an aged man of ninetie seven years.) which I have sent you both to gratifie your curiosity & becaus there wilbe some use made of in my answere to that part of your letter which concerns the old stone monuments./fol.lv/

If my answere to your first Quære's has given you anie satisfaction, I am well pleased and shall think the small pains which I employed that way well bestowed; & albeit it was not intended for the press (nor is it worthy of publick view) yet since it was penned at your desire, you may make what use of it you please, only in case it be published let my name be spared, and the following amendment be made in it. In the description of<sup>f10</sup> that stone monument at Auchincorthie (which consists of three circles of stones) which ye will find in the latter part of the 3rd paragraph, immediately after these words — *and the stones standing closs together.* let all that followes to the end of the paragraph be deleted, and let it be supplied thus.

— On of the stones of the largest Circle on the East-side of the Monument, hath upon the top of it (which is but narrow, & longer<sup>11</sup> on way <then> the other) a hollowness about 3 inches deep, in the bottom whereof is cutt out a trough 1 inch deep & 2 inches broad (<sup>12</sup>with another short on crossing it) that runs along the whole length of the cavity & down by the side of the stone a good way, so that whatsoever liquor is poured into the cavity upon the top of the stone, doth presently run down the side of it by this trough; & it would seem that upon this stone they poured forth their Libamina or liquid sacrifices. There is also another stone in the same circle & upon the same side of the monument (standing nearest to the broad stone <that stands on><sup>13</sup> edge & looks toward the south) which hath a cavity in the upper end of it, <it is> considerably lower at on side, <and><sup>14</sup> will contain about ane english pint without running over. At the first sight it seemed to me to have been made for burning a lamp, but when I considered that it was *sub dio*<sup>p</sup> I found it could not be for that use:<sup>15</sup> afterwards observing it more narrowly I perceived that it was cutt after the fashion of the cavity in the top of the other stone already described, albeit not so clearly and distinctly and that there is a natural fissure<sup>16</sup> in the stone by which all the liquor poured into the cavity runs out of it, down by the side of the stone to the ground.

I stayed at London som 4 or 5 weeks in January & February 1690/91 & whether I shall ever have the occasion of being there again I know not. But if it so fall out that I wine thither (which is not a thing impossible)<sup>17</sup> I shall enquire for you & it wilbe a great satisfaction to mee to see you & be mor intimatly acquainted with you & by your means with other worthy persons in that noble city. Albeit I would be glad to see you in this place yet I cannot promise that you will hear or see or learn anie thing

<sup>o</sup> On the identity of this figure see Introductory Notes on the Texts, p. 42.

<sup>p</sup> Evidently for 'sub divo', 'under the open sky'.

here worth your paines. They saile from this place to London at all seasons of the year but the summer no doubt is the safest time.

As I said in the beginning you may expect my answer to that part of your letter which concerns the ston-monuments, very shortly; I have nothing farther to add at present but that I am

Your faithfull friend & humble servant  
Jas. Garden.

Please give my service to <Doctor><sup>18</sup> Gale.<sup>q</sup> Adieu.  
You have the description of the Bards & the ceremonie of mourning at Burials on the next page./fol. 2/

A Baird in comon Irish Signifies a Little poet or a Rhymer, they use to travel thorow countries & coming into ane house salute it with a Rhym called in Irish *Beanacha Pbaird*<sup>r</sup> i.e. the baird's Salutation, which is onlie a short verse or Rhym touching the praise of the master & mistris of the house. The Inferior sort of them are counted amongst the beggers, & the rhym wherewith they salute each house is called *Tdaan ni, nu lak*<sup>s</sup> i.e. a verse, the conclusion whereof asks a Little meal as wages. *Tdaan* signifieing a verse, & *Ulab* a handfull or such little quantitie of meal, This Inferior Sort, ortherwise called beggers, makes few or no verses or rhymes of there own, but onlie makes use of such as hath been composed by others, & when they narrate anie of these, its called *Dt a an buailt*<sup>t</sup> which is the same as the Latin *Chrambes decocta* Irished. He thats extraordinarie sharp of these bairds is named *Phili*<sup>u</sup> i.e. ane excellent poet, these frequent onlie the companie of persons of qualitie, & each of them hes some particular person whom he owns his master, when anie of these travels abroad, & comes to a house he tells whose *phili* he is, & then is welcomed & treated according to the qualitie of his master[;] when his master dyes, he makes ane Epitaph or a song to his praise called *Maru Rhiin*<sup>v</sup> i.e. lines or rhymes upon the defunct. These bairds in former times used to travel in companies, sometimes 40, 50, 60 persons between men, wives & childrene, & they were thus ranked, the first were termed *philies* i.e. poets, & they were divided thus[:] some made panagyricks onlie, others made onlie satyrs. The 2nd degree consisted of those called *Skealichin* or *Sheanachin*<sup>w</sup> i.e. narrators of antiquitie and old historie especialie geneologies of great persons & famalies, *Skealich* or *Sheanachi*<sup>x</sup> properlie signifieing ane historian. The 3rd order contained [those] named *Kreahkirin*<sup>y</sup> i.e. such as could

<sup>q</sup> I.e. Thomas Gale (c. 1635–1702), High Master of St Paul's School and scholar, a friend of Aubrey's and evidently also of Garden's.

<sup>r</sup> I.e. *beannachadh bàrd*, 'a bard's blessing'.

<sup>s</sup> *dàn nan ulag*, a poem which earns a reward of portions of oatmeal and water.

<sup>t</sup> *dàn buailt*. The Latin phrase cited denotes 'boiled cabbage'.

<sup>u</sup> *fili* or bard.

<sup>v</sup> *marbhrann*, an elegy.

<sup>w</sup> *sgeulaichean* or *seanchaidhean*.

<sup>x</sup> *sgeulaiche* or *seanchaidh*.

<sup>y</sup> *cneacairean* or *reacairean*.

discourse on anie short & transient subject, told newes & such modern things *Kreahkish*,<sup>z</sup> properlie signifieing anie Discourse, & the 4. consisted of those named *Kheahkirin*<sup>a</sup> i.e. such as proponed Enigmaes & othere difficult questions. *Kheahkir*,<sup>b</sup> Intimating one that delights to Invade others with subtilities & ambiguous questions. The whol caball was <called> *Chlearheanachi*<sup>c</sup> i.e. a companie of historians, *chlear* from *Klear*, a companie, & *heanachi* from *Sheanachis*<sup>d</sup> ane historie. These haunted onlie great mens houses, & comeing near anie town, sent one of there sharpest to salute the house with a new made rhym in prase of the famalie, where-upon there quarters were assigned, & provision sent them & dureing there abod (which would be sometimes 2 or 3 moneths) one or two of them, came in each night to the famalie to make good companie by telling stories, makeing rhymes & such drolleries, the day they were to remove, the Laird of the place either came to there quarters, or els called them to some other room, where being gathered & silence comanded the sharpest *phili*<sup>e</sup> amongst them, started up & repeated such verses & lines as they had composed since they came there touching the praise of the Laird & Ladie of the place, there descent, heroick acts & valiant deeds of there predecessors &c. he that thus rose up, & narrated was termed here *Skolli dt aan*,<sup>f</sup> i.e. their best scholer & quickest composer of verses, & so haveing ended they received wages according to the Laird's degree & qualitie & then marcht.

There us'd likewise 9 or 10 sometimes 11 or 12 women to travel together, who as they came to anie house, two & two together, sang one of those songs these *philies* had made, They had ordinarlie a violer with them who played on his fiddle as they sang, when they had done singing, then they danced, these were named *avranich*<sup>g</sup> i.e. singers.

There <is> ane other custome in the highlands, when a gentleman dyes, So manie women liveing under himself, especialie of the meanest sort, & though they live elsewhere (though perhaps they never saw <him> in the face) if they be his relations, or if he has done them much kyndnes, heareing his death they come to the house, & entreing in, they weep & cry very loud, called in Irish *Koranach*<sup>h</sup> i.e. a mournfull shout, they goe straight to the corps & there mourns bitterlie & cryes desperatlie, some of them will rent there linnen, hair, & faces, otheres of them will cry as loud as the rest & yet not shed one tear, yea perhapps weet there finger in ther mouth & rubb their eyes therewith that they may seem to tear & be sorie, the burial day about 9 a cloack in the fornoon, the coffin being taken out, & sett before the door they gathere (each haveing her head bound with a belt, & a plaid 3 or 4 fauld about her shoulders<sup>19</sup> with a broad highland brouch in her breist) & there they weep each two

<sup>z</sup> *cneacais*.

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps for *ceachdairean*.

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps for *ceachdair*.

<sup>c</sup> *a' Chliar Sheanchaidh*, for 'Clair Sheanchain'.

<sup>d</sup> *seanchas*.

<sup>e</sup> *filidh*.

<sup>f</sup> Probably *sgoilear[r] dàin*.

<sup>g</sup> *amhranaich*, singers.

<sup>h</sup> *coronach*.

keeping the same tune & same subject, all they speak is in some kind of metre, the corps being lifted they follow on after the same maner till it be interred, & these are called *Mhrain kouni* or *Mhraan turshi*<sup>i</sup> or *Mhraan shieri* <sup>j</sup> *mhraan* signifieing women *kounigh* & *turshi*, mourning or mournful sorow, & *shieri* from *shierachk*<sup>k</sup> a Lamentable song containing the defunct's praises & her grief & loss in being deprived of him by death.

For His Honoured friend  
Master John Aubrey  
to be left with  
Dr Gale Schoolmaster of Paul's  
School, in St Pauls church-yard London

*Letter 3<sup>l</sup>*

Old Aberdene February 6. 169 $\frac{3}{4}$ .

Honoured Sir,

I had replied sooner to your last of the 27th of August, but that shortly after it came to my hand I found the opportunity of a judicious person going from this place to on of the northern shires (Ross) of this Kingdome; to whom I recommended the care of making a particular enquiry both concerning the old stone monuments (which are very numerous in those parts) and also concerning the particular customes of that countrey: he stayed there som weeks and since his returne, I have been so busied or diverted, that I could not have so much spare time as to write an account of my informacions, for you till now.

I have little to add to my former accounts, for confirming in the generall, your opinion concerning the stone monuments, viz. that they were temples of the Druids: there be onely two things that have come to my knowledge since the writting of my first letter, which I think may be improven that way.

The first is that (as my freind informes me, and another information which I lately sent you confirms) within the memorie of our imediat progenitors, there were in the north parts of this Kingdome Bards who were poets & historians agreeing almost exactly with the description which is given of that sort of people, by Strabo, Diodorus Siculus Ammianus Marcell: & our Buchanan who speaks of the Bards as existent in his time at least in the westerne Isles of Scotland:<sup>m</sup> and there are there (in Ross) at this day a sort of men who carry the name of Bards, whose employment

<sup>i</sup> *mnathan caoinidh*, and *tùirse*, keening women, mourning women.

<sup>j</sup> *mnathan sìoraidh*, 'continued crying, shouting or shrieking'.

<sup>k</sup> *sìorachd*.

<sup>l</sup> MS Aubrey 12, fols. 125–6.

<sup>m</sup> Garden cites the Greek author Diodorus Siculus (fl. 1st cent. BC) and the Roman authors Strabo (c. 64 BC – 21 AD) and Ammianus Marcellinus (c. 330 – c. 400), together with the Scottish humanist, George Buchanan (1506–82), author of *Rerum Scotticarum historia* (1582).



is to attend<sup>20</sup> weddings where in the presence of all the guests, being sett at dinner, they rehearse or sing a marriage song of their own composition, for which the Bridegroom rewards them. Now that there <were> Bards<sup>21</sup> in this Kingdom, is a strong presumption that the Druids have been here also; becaus antient authors, particularly the three already named & Lucan make mention of the Bards as a remarkable sort of persons that were in France at the same time with the Druids; and its probable that<sup>22</sup> whence soever this countrey received the Bards, from thence together with the Bards, they also received the Druids & their superstition. To which if you shall add the testimony of some of our owne historians (Boethius in vita Cratilinthi<sup>n</sup>) who write that the Druids were of old in great credit in Scotland; and that their President had his residence in the Isle of Man (then belonging to the Scots) where they also held their yearly assemblies; it will amount to litle less than a proof in the case.

The other thing which I have to suggest for confirming your opinion in the generall, is that in Ross (where my informer was born & educated in his younger years) the comon tradition concerning these ston-monuments is, that they were places of worship (in which it agrees with the general tradition of the rest of the nation, touching these monuments) and that they belonged to the Drounich or Trounich. Now if it be true that these monuments were places of worship in heathen times, and that before Christianity was planted in this Kingdom, the Superstition of the Druids prevailed therein as well as in England (neither of which will, I think, be much questioned) it is not unlikely that by the Drounich, to whom tradition entitles these monuments, are mean't the Druids; and that the word Drounich,<sup>o</sup> is nothing else but Druid accomodated to the pronuntiation of the old Scottish (Irish) language, wherein the nose & throat are much employed.

But (that I may not dissemble with you) there is on thing that renders this conjecture somewhat dubious, which is this.<sup>23</sup> my informer being questioned about the signification of the word Drounich told me he knew no more of it but that it is the name whereby they (in Ross) call the Pichts, whom they<sup>24</sup> suppose to have been a litle sort of people and of <a> low stature; and that it is also used there as a word of contempt; <it being usuall with them><sup>25</sup> when they would express their contempt of a person to call him Drounich to which doth answer another slighting expression used in some other parts of this kingdome viz a litle Picht. I was also told by another person (the author of the information concerning the Bards) that in Strathspey, the Pichts (whom there also they conceive to have been a people of a low stature but broad & strong withall) are called Crounich,<sup>p</sup> which comes from /fol. 125v/ Crouni and that signifies a litle round thing. Now if so be that Crounich & Drounich are on word & that the Pichts were so called from the lowness of their stature, then the tradition concerning the ston-monuments, that they belonged to the Drounich will make nothing to our purpose[.] But in case Drounich be a distinct word from Crounich, & that there is no other signification known to it, save onlie that it is the

<sup>n</sup> recte *Crathlinthus*. On Boece and his *Historia Scotorum*, see above, p. 62. Crathlinthus is dealt with in book vi, ch. 5.

<sup>o</sup> *druineach*, linked to Old Irish *druinich*, meaning wise, clever.

<sup>p</sup> Picts *Crounich*; Gaelic *Cruithnich*. The word has nothing to do with *cruinn*, meaning round (Garden's *Crouni*).

name of a people; we may suppose them to be so called from the Druids, who, its like, were of greatest consideration & authority among them.

Having suggested these things for confirming your opinion in the generall, I come now to consider the difficulties, mentioned in your letter, wherewith it may be urged. The first is that such old authors, by whose writings the knowledge of the Druids hath been transmitted unto us, make no mention of any such ston-monuments belonging to them, as we see yet remaining, & you suppose to have been Druid-temples, to which I have these things to reply.

1<sup>mo</sup> That as none of those authors say anie thing of such ston-monuments so many of them viz Diodorus, Strabo, Ammianus Marcellinus and Julius Cesar himselfe (who is fullest in the description of the Druids & their superstition) make no mention of the groves wherein they performed their<sup>26</sup> rites.<sup>q</sup> And therefor if the silence of those authors in that particular be not sufficient argument to prove that the Druids had no such groves; neither can it be a good argument to prove that the Druids had no such altars or temples as those ston-monuments, or balance the presumptions for the affirmative; that all the antient authors now extant are silent about them. if it be true that these monuments were used as places of worship in this Kingdome befor Christianity was planted therein (which the generall tradition of the nation and some marks imprinted on some of the monuments themselves render unquestionable) albeit no historian or other antient author now extant make mention of them as such; why may it not be true also that these monuments belonged to the Druids as altars or temples or both; altho there is nothing of them to be found in the old authors who treat of the Druids. It may be there was nothing singular or extraordinary, either in the Groves or Temples of the Druids, which made authors less curious to insert anie account of them in their writings; or it may be there have been fuller accounts both of the temples & groves in some authors or writings that are lost then in anie of those which are now extant.

2<sup>do</sup> Whether the Druids were preists themselves or not (concerning which antient authors have not so clearly delivered their mind as not to leave some ground of doubting, for Strabo Geograph. lib. 4<sup>to</sup> treating of the customes of the Gaules, makes the Vates, who according to his account were preists and the Druids two distinct orders of men, adding withall, that they (the Gaules) sacrificed not without the Druids. and Caesar de bello gall. lib. 6 makes no mention of any preists among the Gauls distinct from the Druids, but says that all sacrifices both publick & privat, were ordered by the Druids, rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica & privata procurant, &c.)<sup>r</sup> it is certain that sacrificing was a principall part of that worship whereof the Druids were the cheif administrators: and if they offered sacrifice they behoved to have altars and these altars were distinct from their groves; tho its like they were near them or it may be within them. for albeit the heathen were wont to

<sup>q</sup> To the authorities cited earlier (see above, p. 127), Garden now adds Julius Caesar (100–44 BC), author of *De bello Gallico*.

<sup>r</sup> A reference to the *Geography* of Strabo (see above, p. 127) and to Caesar's *De bello Gallico*: 'they are concerned with religious affairs, attend to sacrifices both public and private, etc.'

erect altars <near to><sup>27</sup> groves, or to plant groves near to their altars (as appears from Deut. 16.21 where, in opposition to heathenish idolatrie God forbids his people to plant a grove of trees near his altar: & Judg: 6. 25 where Gideon is ordered to throw down the altar of Baal, & to cutt down the grove that was by it) yet groves & altars are still mentioned as distinct things. Now those authors to whom anie litle knowlidge we have of the Druids is owing, have left nothing on record so farr as I know either of the matter or form of their altars, and as their silence in this particular does not prove that the Druids had no altars of some matter or fashion; so neither doth it in<sup>28</sup> any degree weaken your opinion, which supposeth these monuments which yet remain both here & in England to have been their altars & temples.

How farr the form & fashion of these monuments may agree or disagree with the idolatrous practises of the antient times I leave it to Criticks to declare & determine. But in my opinion the matter of them /fol. 126/ is very sutable to the poverty rudeness & simplicity of those ages & countrys in which the superstition of the Druids did take place. For as in the elder times, before wealth and arts had introduced luxury & vanity, men contented themselves with that which was simply necessary, & for supplying their necessity served themselves of such things as came first to hand for food, clothing, & shelter, such as caves, beasts-skins, roots, &c. so they were not sumptuous in their worship, a heap of turff or unpolished stones served them for an altar, a peice of ground <enclosed and> separated from the rest<sup>29</sup> by a wall, hedg, ditch or the like served for a temple. Now albeit this primitive simplicity (which civilised nations call barbarity) was comon to all mankind at first, yet it lasted much longer in some nations & countries (then in others) among which we may justly reckon this Island especially the more northern parts therof, wherin some instances of the old simple manner of living are in use at this day.

But in my apprehension the profound silence of all the old writers (who treat of the Druids) touching these monuments, doth not press so hard upon your opinion concerning them, as that which other authors (I mean some of your own historians & our Boethius) have declared about them. Your own historians report of Stonehenge, that it is the buriall place, of those Brittons who were treacherously murdered there, by the Saxons at a freindly comuning (according to some) or of Ambrosius Aurelius (according to others) and that it was erected for this end & purpose to be a grave monument.<sup>s</sup> And concerning the stone monuments here in Scotland Boethius delivers his judgment thus in the life of King Reuda: *jussit eos qui adversus Brittones confligendo occubuerant, celebribus decorari monumentis[:] obeliscos sepulchris tot adhiberi, quot ex hostibus occiderant. horum quam plurimi montanis in locis nostris conspiciuntur seculis. Obtinuit post illa usus ut clarissimum et eorum qui optimi fuissent sepulchra veluti sacra omnibus venerationi haberentur, adjectis lapidum acervis, eorumque immensa erant mole quibusdam erectis quibus aquatilium serpentium [sic] volatiliumque effigies insculptae &c.*<sup>t</sup> The stones

<sup>s</sup> Garden refers to the views of Geoffrey of Monmouth and others: see above, p. 106n.

<sup>t</sup> 'King Reuda ordered that rich sepulchres be made for the bodies of those killed defending the realm against the Britons. He also commanded many high stones to be set on the tomb of each noble man that was killed by the enemy, of which many remain to our day in the

mentioned in the latter part of this passage with figures of beasts birds & serpents engraven upon them (of which I hear there are some single ones to be found here & there in this Kingdome) do not at all belong to the monuments under our consideration. But they are so particularly marked out in the first part of this quotation, that I make no doubt but that they were therein meant & intended by the author. for the stones of these monuments being gross below and narrower at the top are not unfitly designed by the name of Obelisks, and the number of them is in some greater and in others less. By which testimonie it appears that Boethius his judgement or account of the stone-monuments here in Scotland (viz. that they were erected for buriall-places or grave-monuments) agreeth with the relation or opinion of your historians concerning Stonheng. Now if it be true that these monuments were first erected to be monuments of the dead your conjecture about them will prove a mistake.

In answering of this objection I shall begin with Boethius to whose authority I replie 1<sup>o</sup> that he is too late & recent ane author to bear witnes in a matter of fact of so great antiquity as the dayes of King Reuda who is said to have lived two hundreth years befor the birth of our Saviour. If it shalbe alleadged in the behalfe of Boethius that it may be that what he reports in this matter he had from those older historians mentioned in his preface; I answer it may be otherwise, & tho it were so I question if even their testimonie wilbe found relevant in the case. 2<sup>o</sup> it is very improbable that the dead bodies of those who fell in that battell which Boethius reports to have been foughten by the Scots & Pichts against the Brittons, were brought <off> from the feild & carried to so many remote & distant places as there are monuments of this kind yet extant in this Kingdome. For on or other of these reasons <or both> (to be sure becaus he looked on the thing as fabulous) Buchanan has left out this passage in his account of the life of<sup>30</sup> this King.<sup>u</sup> 3<sup>o</sup> the generall tradition of this nation concerning these monuments, that they were places of worship in heathen-times confirmed by externall visible marks,<sup>31</sup> of a sacred & religious use which some of them (viz. those /fol. 126v/ at Auchincorthie Described in my first letter) retain at this day is undoubtedly of greater weight and credit then the single authority of Boethius whose time was further removed from Reuda's then that of our fathers was or our own is from the dayes of King Cratilinth<sup>32</sup> <contemporary with Diocletian>, by whom this author (from Veremundus) reports, the remainders of Gentilism and particularly of the Druid-superstition to have been extinguished in this nation, at least in the Isle of Man then belonging to it.

As for the account which some english historians give of Stonheng, viz. that it was erected to be a grave monument; their wavering and uncertainty about the persons by whom & for whom this monument was raised; is to me an argument that<sup>33</sup> this account is not founded upon good tradition; but has been devised &

highlands, that people may know that such men were valiant in their day, by which it has come about that the tombs of great men were held in great esteem among the people. On the multitude of stones of great size that had been set up there were engraved images of serpents, both of the water and of the air, etc.' On Boece and his *Historia Scotorum*, see above, p. 62.

<sup>u</sup> See above, p. 127.

taken up to solve a phænomenon (if I may so speak) which I conceive after this manner. Dead mens bones have been digged out of this monument, whence it seems your historians have concluded, that it must needs have been erected for a grave-monument, and then cast about in their own minds<sup>34</sup> by whom and for whose sake so huge a monument might be supposed to have been erected, and this in my apprehension has begotten those wavering & uncertain relations, opinions or conjectures of your historians, concerning the builders of this monument, & the person or persons interred therein.

Nor it is improbable that Boethius his relation or opinion concerning the ston-monuments here in Scotland has taken its rise from the like occasion, since that ashes of some burnt matter, were digged out of the center of on of these monuments, mentioned in my answer to your first Queries, and ther is another to be mentioned afterwards, which<sup>35</sup> time out of mind, has been & still continues to be made use of as a place of buriall.<sup>v</sup>

Now if so be, that the relation or opinion of some english historians concerning Stonheng & of Boethius concerning the Ston-monuments in Scotland, viz. that they were erected for monuments of the dead, hath had its rise after the maner above expressed, it is but ill grounded. For albeit from the bones found in Stonheng, it appears that some persons have been buried there; yet that inferrs not that it has been an ordinary place of buriall, much less that it was erected for that end: And altho some (on at least) of the Ston-monuments in Scotland has been made use of for an ordinary place of buriall, this will not prove that it (much less others which ar not, nor ar known to have been putt to that use) were sett up at first for that end –

Sir you may expect<sup>36</sup> what I have further to add on another sheet how soon I shall have leisure to transcribe the copies of it, on for you and another for

Your faithful freind & humble servant,  
Ja. Garden.

For his honoured freind Master John Aubrey  
to be left with Doctor Gale, Schoolmaster  
of St. Pauls School in Pauls-church-yard, London.<sup>w</sup>

<sup>v</sup> Here and at the beginning of Letter IV Garden may refer to the recumbent stone circle at Midmar, which stands in the graveyard surrounding the parish church.

<sup>w</sup> See above, p. 125. Aubrey evidently used Gale as his forwarding address.

Letter 4<sup>x</sup>

Sir,

The sheet wherin this scedule is wrapt up was readie to have been sent to you by the last post but on second thoughts, considering that it was imperfect I resolved to add this to it which compleats my answeere to the first difficultie mentioned in your letter. I shall begin wher I left. after these words –

were sett up at first for that end. If this were a good argument it would prove that all our Churches were built to be places of buriall which is notoriously false. their principall use for which they were<sup>37</sup> built, being for worship and the other only accessorie & supervenient. from the case of our churches we may collect two things. 1<sup>o</sup> that these two uses (for worship & buriall) are not inconsistent. 2<sup>o</sup> that where they concur in on place, there the use of worship is the cheif and that for which the place building or monument was designed erected or intended, and that of buriall is only a secondary or accessorie use wherfor albeit some persons have been buried in Stonheng, & another monument of the same kind in Scotland has been an ordinary place of buriall it will not follow that these monuments did not serve for a religious use, or that they were erected to be monuments of the dead & not for worship.

If it be objected that tho the argument a positionem sepulchri ad negationem templi,<sup>y</sup> be not conclusive in the case of such places as ar of christian erection (becaus it has been the custome among Christians to bury in their churches and oftentimes to erect churches upon the graves or buriall places of martyrs & other eminent saints) nevertheles it holds good when the question is concerning places erected by heathens (such as the ston-monuments in Scotland are and Stonheng in England is by you supposed to be) becaus they used not to bury in their cities far less in their temples. I answer 1<sup>o</sup> tho it be true that <the> Romans & Grecians used not ordinarily to bury within their cities; yet whether or not the custome was so among those barbarous nations that were not well known to them (among whom I may reckon the inhabitants of this Island) is not so certain. 2<sup>o</sup> tho as the generall custome among the Romans & Grecians, of burying without their cities hath its own exceptions: so it seems, the most antient germans used to bury in their temples, or at least that some dead bodies were interred in them, as appears from this opinione of Arnobius lib. 6 contra gentes (with whom Clemens Alex: orat. ad græcos and Theodoret<sup>38</sup> de curand: græc. affec. sermone de martyr. do agree) Quid quod multa ex his templa quae tholis sunt aureis & sublimibus elata fæstigiis auctorum conscriptio-nibus comprobantur contegere cineres atque ossa & functorum esse corporum sepul-turas, of which he gives sundry instances.<sup>z</sup>

<sup>x</sup> MS Aubrey 12, fol. 131.

<sup>y</sup> 'from the placing of graves to the denial of temples'.

<sup>z</sup> 'What as to this, this is attested by the writings of authors, that many of these temples which have been raised with golden domes and lofty roofs cover bones and ashes, and are

But 3rdly supposing the custom of not burying in their temples to have been universall among all the heathen nations all that can be rationally collected from thence is, that if these monuments were buriall-places /fol. 131v/ in heathen times, then they were not temples or places of worship, & in case they were erected by heathens<sup>39</sup> for temples & places of worship; then they were not used by them for buriall. In the mean time this hinders not, but that these monuments might at first have been erected by pagans for a religious use & afterwards converted by Christians to the use of burying: and that after two manner of wayes.

1<sup>o</sup> It being the custome among Christians (tho not peculiar to them) to debarr from their ordinary places of buriall, I mean their Churches & Churchyards, such as ar enemies, or of another religion, or have putt violent hand in themselves, etc. And humanity not allowing that the benefit of<sup>40</sup> buriall should be utterly denied to these kinds of persons; they might pitch upon these monuments as places fitt to be employed for that use in respect they had been once applied to a religious use & afterwards were become useless.

2<sup>o</sup> Albeit after that Christianity began to be generally received by whole nations and Kingdomes, most of the heathen-temples were demolished & destroyed, yet some of them were spared, and converted into churches, witnes the Pantheon at Rome, & it is not improbable that when christianity was first planted in this kingdom, & before a sufficient number of Churches were built, the inhabitants employed for christian worship those places and temples which served them formerly for the worship of Idols and false deities<sup>41</sup> (such as tradition reports these ston-monuments to have been) and having once converted them into christian-churches, its no wonder if in compliance with the christian custome of burying in their churches, they did convert some of them into places of buriall. you fill [sic] find somewhat in a<sup>42</sup> tradition to be mentioned hereafter, which favours this conjecture. And indeed if these monuments had never been employed for the use of christian worship, I do not understand how they came to be called Chappels (as they generally are) that being a word which, I suppose, is used by Christians only, to signifie a place of worship.

Thus Sir, you have my thoughts concerning the first difficultie, mentioned in your letter, what I have to replie to the second shalbe comunicated to you very shortly[:] excuse the bad write for I writt but an ill hand especially when I am in haist. I am,

Sir

Your faithfull freind & humble servant,  
Ja. Garden.

<sup>43</sup> Feby 8 – 93.

sepulchres of the dead? The quotation is from *Adversus gentes* by Arnobius the elder (d. 330), vi. 6. Garden also cites *Exhortatio ad Graecos* by Clement of Alexandria (c. 150 – c. 215) and *De Graecarum affectionum curatione* by Theodoret of Cyrus (c. 393 – c. 458), together with a further work by the same author.



Letter 5<sup>a</sup>

Old Aberden March 6. 1693.

Honoured Sir,

About 3 weeks agoe I sent you by the packet a part of my answer to your letter dated August 27 – 92 wherof the continuation follows.

The other difficulty mentioned by you (if I mistake not) is this: There are no such groves to be seen adjoining to these Monuments as Lucan etc speak of wherin the Druids used to perform their rites.<sup>b</sup> Be it so: will this prove that there were never such groves belonging to these monuments? I suppose ther are none of the Druid-groves now to be seen anie where else in England; yet from this it will not follow that ther were never such groves in England. Criticks be they never so spightfull must acknowledge, that there were Druids in England and if Druids then Groves in which their superstitious rites were performed: this is past all manner of doubt, and it is as unquestionable, that all these groves are perished, having<sup>44</sup> either <been> cutt down & destroyed, or decayed through neglect & length of time. Now this is a very good reason why none of these groves are now to be seen, near to these old monuments which you suppose to have been Druid temples, tho they may have been there formerly.

What has been suggested concerning the cutting down & destroying the Groves of the Druids, is not a meer conjecture; as appears from Tacitus who in the 14. book of his annals relates how that Paulinus Suetonius the roman Legate in Brittain having made a descent into the Isle of Man and vanquished the inhabitants did cause the groves of the Druids which were there to be cutt down; and that hearing how the Brittons rebelling in his absence, had made havock of the Roman-colonie, & done much mischeif to their freinds; he returned in all hast into Brittain, and there defeated the Brittons & killed many thousands of them in a great battell.<sup>c</sup> Now its probable that as he had lately done in the Isle of Man so he did then in Brittain by causing the groves of the Druids (whom the Romans considered as incendiaries of rebellion, becaus they excited & encouraged the Brittons to shake off the Roman yoke) to be destroyed: or (if he & his successors spared them) that <they were destroyed by> the Brittons themselves when they became Christians: it being the manner of Christians when first converted, to shew their zeal for the truth, by destroying the monuments of their former heathenish idolatrie & superstition.

Against this way of accounting for the Groves which belonged to these monuments <in case they were Druid-temples> it may be objected if these Groves were destroyed in Brittain (whether by the Romans or the inhabitants themselves being

<sup>a</sup> MS Aubrey 12, fols. 127–8.

<sup>b</sup> Evidently a reference to Lucan (39–65), author of *Bellum civile*.

<sup>c</sup> Garden cites book xiv of the *Annales* of the Roman historian, Tacitus (c. 55–?120 AD).



turned christians) out of a hatred to the Druids and their superstition; in case these monuments had been Druid-temples, they also would have been demolished. But so it is, that many of these monuments do yet remain in Scotland and some few in England; & therfor it seems they were not erected for to be Druid-temples but for some other use.

To this objection sundrie things may be replied: as 1<sup>o</sup> It would seem by the paucity of those which remain, that these monuments have been generally destroyed in England. 2<sup>o</sup> It may be the temples of the Druids could not be serviceable for their worship, without the oaken-groves (for Pliny reports that they made use of the leafe of the oak-tree, or rather of the Viscus or Misselto which groweth upon the oak, in all their religious rites: nec ulla sacra sine ea fronde conficiant Plin. hist: natural. lib: 16. cap. ult.)<sup>d</sup> and if so, ther needed no mor, for abolishing their worship but to cutt down their Groves. 3<sup>o</sup> The cutting down of the Druid-groves (which consisted of oaks which could be putt to many profitable uses) was both an easier & a mor profitable work than the demolishing of the temples or ston-monuments, from which no benefit could be reaped, except in the case of such as stood in arable ground, many wherof we find broken down: and this is on probable reason why we may suppose that our predecessors were at the paines to cutt down the groves of the Druids, and neglected their Temples. 4<sup>o</sup> We have ground to beleev for reasons mentioned befor that many of these monuments have been converted to the use of christian worship, or buriall, or both; and for this cause they may have been spared. 5<sup>o</sup> The inhabitants having cordially embraced the Christian religion & there being no appearance of their relapsing into Heathenism; they might leave these Temples to be monuments & memorialls to posterity <of the gross idolatrie> which sometime defiled this Isle.

Besides these reasons alreday mentioned most of which ar applicable to the case of Scotland; ther is a peculiar on to be given why no groves are now to be seen near to the ston-monuments in this Kingdom at least in the low-lands therof, albeit they had been there formerly. The countrey of old & befor it was well inhabited, was full of wood; so that there wanted not store of fitt materials for groves in the places where these monuments stand. But our predecessors have been so industrious in destroying the wood partly to prepare the ground for tillage & partly to clear the countrey of theives & robbers who sheltered in the woods, that they have left the countrey quite naked & bare, in so much that those who inhabite the lowlands of Scotland must be supplied of wood for necessary uses from the Highlands and from Norway.

But albeit no man had ever putt forth his hand to hurt or destroy the groves of the Druids; yet unless care & paines had been taken about them to preserve them, they must needs in process of time perish & decay. For all such trees, as are propagated by the seed, and whose bark & leaves the beasts use to feed upon (such as I conceive the oake to be) must be fenced & defended from the beasts, otherwise they cannot multiply & propagate and by consequence cannot last long, unless they be able to

<sup>d</sup> 'and the magicians perform no rites without using the foliage of those trees': *Historia naturalis*, xvi. 95.

defend themselves by their number & closeness which is the case of woods, not of Groves. Now if the inhabitants of this Isle, after they became Christians did not destroy those groves we cannot rationally suppose that they would be at much paines or care to preserve them. But the monuments consisting of a more /fol. 127v/ durable substance to witt great unpolished stones, required no care or paines to be taken about them, but onely to let them alone, and therfor supposing them to have been Druid-temples, it is no wonder that they have outlived the groves which belonged to them.

What hath been already suggested may in my opinion serve abundantly for an answer to this difficulty arising from the want of the groves, But for your greater satisfaction I thought fitt, to make some enquiry about them in the northern parts of this Kingdom in which ther is plenty of woods yet remaining; and have gotten information of two groves yet standing which ar reputed sacred. On of them (which stands near to a place called Taradale<sup>e</sup> in the parish of Killernen and shire of Nairne) is enclosed with a trench or dry ditch, having two entries to it where the ditch is filled up or rather the ground has never been broken: all that live near it hold it as sacred & will not cutt so much as a rod out of it: my informer adds, that hard by, ther is a corn-feild where he conjectures ther has been on of the ston-monuments, becaus in it ther ar severall big stones such as these monuments use to consist of fallen down & out of order. And here I think it will not be unseasonable to<sup>45</sup> tell you, that I remember to have seen on the high-way betwixt Kintor & Inverury nine miles from Aberdene two small ston-monuments<sup>f</sup> consisting of two circles of stones a piece with a trench or dry-ditch which in the <on> was without both the circles of stones which it encompassed, <&> in the other betwixt the two circles. and on of the two monuments (I do not remember which) had two entries (or interruptions in the ditch) to the ground enclosed by it wherof the on was directly opposite to the other.

The other grove is in Strathspey; where my Informer (who is a student in Divinity & a gentleman's son in that countrey) sayes ther ar many of the ston-monuments remaining which they [call] chappels or according to their way of pronuntiation Theappels,<sup>g</sup> and in the Irish tongue Carrachan<sup>h</sup> which comes from a word that signifies to be bare or bald, & it seems the monuments ar so called becaus they have no roof or cover The tradition there (in Strathspey) concerning them is, that they were places of sacrifice in pagan-times and belonged to the Crounich wherof I gave you an account in my answer to the first difficulty. To proceed in my informer's relation. In the shire of Inverness and parish of Ennerallen ther is an old ston-monument called the chappell of Tilligorum,<sup>i</sup> alias, Chappell maakmulach,<sup>j</sup>

<sup>e</sup> I.e. Tarradale, parish of Killearnen, site of a henge.

<sup>f</sup> Broomend of Crichtie near Port Elphinstone. The henge remains though its stones have been either destroyed or misplaced. The other circle has been destroyed by gravel works.

<sup>g</sup> *Theappels* seems to be an attempt to give the Gaelic for the word chapel, which is *seapail* pronounced *shehpail*.

<sup>h</sup> *carrachan*, meaning rock, pillar, standing stone. There is no word like this in Gaelic with the meaning bald or bare.

<sup>i</sup> There are the remains of two stone circles near the farm of Tullochgorum.

<sup>j</sup> The name is possibly linked with Meg Mullach: see below, p. 150.

which is full of graves, and was within the memorie of his (my informer's) father (who is a man of nintie six or ninetie seaven years) an ordinary place of buriall at least for poor people, and continues to be <so> at this day for children who die without baptisme & for strangers. Ther is likewise in the countrey of Strathspey, shire of Inverness and parish of Duthell another of these ston-monuments consisting of two circles of stones, which is called Chappell-Piklag, and Carrachan Piklag,<sup>k</sup> from a Ladie of that name (Piklag) who used to repair to that monument for the exercise of her devotion, befor a church was built in that part of the countrey. Within halfe a miles distance of this monument, ther is a bush or grove of trees, of no great bignes, which is reputed so sacred; & held in such veneration, that nobody will cutt a branch out of it; & the women who dwell near by, when they recover out of child bed, go thither to return their thanks to God; as in other places of the Kingdom they repair to churches for that end. Now this grove is called Priss-an theappell,<sup>l</sup> that is the bush of the chapell, the Priss Piklag which imports as much as the bush belonging to Chappell Piklag. Ther is also a well or fountain esteemed sacred, in the midst of the bush which is called Toupir en teppell,<sup>m</sup> the well of the Chappell. from all which I mean, the names of the Grove & fountain within it, compared with the name of the monument; it appears that the Grove & the monument have a mutuall relation to on another; and that both were designed for a sacred <use> I mean for divine worship, and that both belonged to the same kind of worship.

When you read this you may be apt to think, that the objection against your sentiment of the ston-monuments, that they were Druid-temples, arising from the want of Groves belonging to them, such as the Druids were wont to perform their rites in, is not only fully answered; but that also by this last instance your opinion concerning these monuments is strongly confirmed; since we have found on of these monuments with a Grove belonging therunto, & both reputed to be sacred.<sup>46</sup> But there is on litle circumstance the want of which I fear will marr all, & disappoint your expectation; and it is this: The groves wherin the Druids performed their rites are said to have been of oak: But the Bush appertaining to the Chappell Piklag, is of alder, and the Grove in Taradale consists of sundrie kinds of trees: but he who gave me the description of it said, that he saw no oak-trees there.

All I have to reply to that difficulty is; that the credit of this circumstance viz that the groves wherin /fol. 128/ the Druids performed their rites were of oakes, seemeth to rely upon the authority of Plinie alone: for of all the old authors that I had the opportunity to look into, who treat concerning the Druids; <he><sup>47</sup> alone & the unknown author of *Aulularia* mentioned by Vossius de idolol: lib.1 cap. 35 (whom we may suppose in this to have followed Plinie) make mention of the oakes. of which Plinie histor. nat. lib. 16 cap. ult. writeth thus: nihil habent Druidæ visco &

<sup>k</sup> The element 'Bigla' which appears in the names of various places in the vicinity of Boat of Garten may be associated with Matilda Bigla or Piklag, heiress of Glencarnie in the early fifteenth century: see Gordon, *Garden's Letters to Aubrey*, pp. 4–5. 'Piklag' could be for the Gaelic *Peag lag*, i.e. 'weak Peggy', an ironic description of a powerful woman.

<sup>l</sup> *Pris an t-seipeil*, 'the Chapel bushes'.

<sup>m</sup> *Tobair an t-seipeil*.

arbore in qua gignatur (si modo sit robur) sacratius. Jam per se<sup>48</sup> roborum eligunt lucos; nec ulla sacra sine ea fronde conficiunt ut inde appellari quoque interpretatione græca possint Druidæ videri. Enimvero quicquid adnascatur illis e celo missum putant signumque esse electæ ab ipso deo arboris: est autem id rarum admodum inventum, & repertum magna religione petitur etc.:<sup>n</sup> Now as it is unquestionable that in this work some things false other fabulous are delivered (which is not so much Plinies own fault, as the fault of the authors out of whose writings he compiled his naturall history) would it be a piaculum to say he was mistaken in this thing; seeing they want not a probable ground which might give occasion to it. That is the name Druid which Plinie thinks (& its like manie more were & still are of his opinion) may be derived from the greek word δρῦς; which signifies an oak. Now albeit in his case, a persuasion that the Druid-groves consisted of oaks, was that which suggested to him that derivation of that name (for he thought the priests of the Gauls might be called Druids from δρῦς, because they delighted in oaken-groves) yet it may be that the name of Druids whereby the chief ministers of religion among the Gauls were called, did still give occasion to the opinion concerning the oaken-groves. For those who were strangers to the Druids, & knew them only by report, hearing that they performed their rites in Groves, & considering the affinity of the word Druid with δρῦς might easily be enclined to think that Druid was derived from δρῦς, and thence infer, that the groves which the Druids frequented were of oaks; that being the most obvious reason that could occur to them for that denomination. And albeit this was but a conjecture at the best, yet it is very ordinary for men to give out their own conjectures (when they come once to believe them themselves) for certain truths: and such an opinion being once broached & set agoing; its ease to conceive how much the affinity of Druid with δρῦς would recommend and confirm it in the judgment of such as had some knowledge of the Greek but were wholly strangers to the Celtick tongue.

As for the derivation of Druid from δρῦς upon which we may suppose the persuasion concerning the Druid-groves that they consisted of oaks to be founded; it would be probable enough in case the Gauls had received the Druids & their superstition from the Grecians: But so it is that the Druids were unknown to the Greeks: and it was believed by the antients (witness Julius Cesar comment. de bell. gall. lib. 6) that the Gauls had them from Brittain and for this reason Vossius in the fore-cited place of his work *de idololatriâ*: thinks that Druid is a word of a Celtick extract, and that the

<sup>n</sup> 'The Druids hold nothing more sacred than mistletoe and a tree on which it is growing, provided it is a hard-oak. Groves of hard-oaks are chosen even for their own sake, and the magicians perform no rites without using the foliage of those trees, so that it may be supposed that it is from this custom that they get their name of Druids, from the Greek meaning "oak"; but further, anything growing on oak trees they think to have been sent down from heaven, and to be a sign that the particular tree has been chosen by God himself. Mistletoe is, however, rather seldom found on a hard-oak, and when it is discovered it is gathered with great ceremony.' *Historia naturalis*, xvi. 95. Garden's further allusion is to *De origine et progressu idololatriæ* (1641) by the Dutch scholar, G.J. Vossius (1577–1649). The reference to *Aulularia*, the title of a comedy by Plautus, is puzzling.

origine therof is to be sought for in the celtick tongue, such as both the old Gallick & Brittish tongues were. The account he gives of it is this: *Dru* alias *Trou* in the German & British tongues signifies faith; and the old Germans called God *Drutin*, or *Trudin*: hence *Drutin* signifies a divine or faithfull person, both of them epithets which did well agree to such sacred & holy persons as the Druids were esteemed to be among the Gauls.<sup>o</sup>

Another thing which gives ground of distrusting Plinies testimonie in the present case, is the inconsistency therof with itselfe. The reason why the Druids sought out groves of oak to perform their rites in, was, according to his relation, for the sake of a shrub called *Viscus* or *Misselto* which groweth upon the oak, for which he reports, they had a high veneration, in so much that they made use of it in all their religious rites (for albeit these words of Pliny *nec ulla sacra sine ea fronde conficiunt* may be constructed either what the *Viscus* or *Misselto* of the oak, or with that individuall tree upon which the *Misselto* grows, or with oaks in generall, yet it would seem they are to be understood only of the leaves or branches of the *Misselto*, because it continues green all the year long, whereas the leaves of the oak wither & decay in the winter time) and withall he affirms that it is very rare & ill to be found: *est autem id rarum admodum inventum*. Now if *Misselto* of the oak be so rare a thing & ill to be found, as not onlie Plinie but also later Botanists report it to be; how was it possible for the Druids to be furnished with the leaves & branches of this shrub (which I suppose behoved to be fresh & green, not drie & withered) for all their sacrifices, and sacred rites. And if this could not be, then it must be granted, that Pliny was either mistaken or misinformed, in relation to what he has written concerning the use of the *Misselto* of the oak in the sacred rites of the Druids. Ther be sundry other trees (as Pliny himselfe observes in the chapter already marked) which bring forth *Misselto* mor ordinarily & frequently than the oak; and it may be the veneration of the Druids for *Misselto*; which Pliny restricts to *Misselto* of the oak, belonged to *Misselto* in the generall, or that in /fol. 128v/ the whole of it, it was a mistake. Now if this relation of Pliny concerning the veneration of the Druids for *Misselto* of the oak & the use of it in all their sacred rites; was a misinformation or mistake; then the storie of the oaken-groves of the Druids founded therupon must needs fall to the ground.

But these things notwithstanding; which render the credit of Pliny's testimonie in the present case a litle dubious I will not take upon me to discard it; because the circumstantiall description which he gives (in the words immediatly following the passage which I have sett down) of the solemn & ceremonious manner, used by the Druids in cutting down the *Misselto* after they had found it; would seem to argue a knowledg in these matters grounded upon a better surer & more distinct information than common report. Wherfor admitting this testimonie of Pliny for good coine,<sup>49</sup> I shall only suggest, that when he says, *Jam per se eligunt roborum lucus*, his meaning may be (not that the Druids used no other groves, but) that the veneration which they had for the *Misselto* of the oak, & the oaks themselves for its sake, made, them prefer oaken-groves when they could be had to others. As this is a construction

<sup>o</sup> On the authors cited, see above, pp. 129, 138.

which Plinie's words will easily and without straining admitt off. so ther is this reason to be given for it: all kinds of ground will not nourish oaks; and therfor why might not those Druids who lived in such places wherin oaks would not thrive; plant Groves of other trees for their worship & bring their Miselto or oaken leaves from other parts. I say<sup>50</sup> (oaken leaves) becaus if these words of Pliny nec ulla sacra sine ea fronde conficiunt be understood of the leaves & branches (not of the Misselto, wherof I suppose the quantity which growes upon on tree cannot be great) but of that tree on which the Misselto grows or of oakes in generall; it will take away the greatest exception against the credit of Plinie's testimonie in the present case. In these oaken-groves of the Druids two different uses may be observed and distinguished, on generall & comon to them with groves of other kinds of trees; another particular, & proper to groves of oaks, the comon use of groves is a fitnes by reason of their privacy & retirement, to be employed for the exercise of worship & devotion: the proper use of oaken-groves was to furnish the Viscus, or oaken leaves which as Pliny reports were a necessary ingredient in all the sacred rites of the Druids. Now as it is not to be doubted that they (the Druids) would prefer those groves which served both uses (& such were oaken-groves) when it was in their choice; so we may rationally suppose, that when they could not gett both these ends served together they took them seperatly; that is, when the oaks were at such a distance as that they could not conveniently repair to them as often as it was necessary or fit for them to be about the exercise of their worship, in that case they made use of groves of other trees, which were near hand for to perform their rites in, & brought the branches of Misselto or oak which they employed in their rites from other places more remote, & this might be the case of the two groves above-mentioned.

Being now wearied by the writing, & fearing to weary you by the reading of so long & tedious a letter; I shall conclud the same what a short reflection upon the contents both of it & of my answer to your first Queries, which ar partly informations concerning matters of fact, partly inferences made from them, or reasonings & conjectures about them. The informations you may safely rely upon, being such as I can warrant (to use the Scottish phrase) from my own fact & deed: that is to say 1<sup>o</sup> that they are non of my devising, but were received from the testimonie of my own senses, & the relation of other persons of good credit. 2<sup>o</sup> that I have added nothing to them to make them the more plausible, nor concealed anything which might render them less servicable to your purpose. As for the inferences,<sup>51</sup> reasonings & conjectures which I have suggested; after you have considered you may use them according to their merit; all I pretend to in the whole affair being my obedience to your desire to testifie that I am Sir yours, Ja. Garden.

For his honoured freind,  
 Master John Aubrey to  
 be left with Doctor Gale  
 Schoolmaster of Pauls School  
 in Pauls Church-yard in London.<sup>P</sup>

<sup>P</sup> See above, p. 125.

*Letter 6<sup>q</sup>*

Old Aberdene January 2nd. 169¾

Honoured Sir,

Your last dated Aug: 31.– 93 I had in 10 or 11 dayes after. The second sight concerning which you desire to be informed by me, is a subject wherof I had no knowledge. But for your satisfaction I drew up some Quæres about it and having sent them to the northern parts of this Kingdome,<sup>52</sup> some while agoe I received answers to them from two different hands wherof I am now to give you an account.

Some Queres concerning second sighted men with answers therto.

Qu. 1. If some few credible well attested instances of such a knowledge as is commonly called the second sight, can be given, and what they are? Answer. Many instances can be given of such a knowledge, by the Confession of such who are skilled in that faculty. for instances I referr you to the 4th Querie.

Qu. 2. If it consists in the discoverie of present or past events only? or if it extend to such as were to come? Answer. The 2nd sight relates only to things future, which will shortly come to pass. past events I learn nothing of it.

Qu. 3. If the objects of this knowledge be sad & dismall events only, such as deaths and murders? or joyfull and prosperous also? Answer. Sad and dismall events, are the objects of this knowledge: as sudden deaths, dismall accidents: That they are prosperous or joyfull I cannot learn. Only on instance I had from a person worthie of credit and therby judge of the joyfullness or prosperity of it and it is this: Neer 40 years ago Mackleud and his Lady sister to my Lord Sea-forth, were fetching a walk about their owne house; and in their return both came into the Nurses chamber, where their young son was on the breast: at their coming in to the room the nurse falls a weeping. They asked the cause, dreading the child was sick or that shee was scarce of milk. The Nurses replied the child was well, and had abundance of milk, yet shee still weeped, & being pressed to tell what ailed her; shee at last said, Mackleud would die, and the lady would be married shortly to another man. Being enquired how she knew that event, she told them plainly, that as they came both into the room, shee saw a man with a scarlet cloak and a white hat betwixt them, giving the lady a kiss over her shoulder, and this was the cause of her weeping. All which came to pass after Mackleud's death; the tutor of Lovat married the Lady in that same habit the woman did see him.<sup>r</sup> Now by this instance judge if it be prosperous to one, it is as dismall to another.

Qu. 4. If these events which 2nd sighted men discover or foretell, be visibly

<sup>q</sup> MS Aubrey 12, fols. 129–30.

<sup>r</sup> This case involved Sibella, tenth child of Kenneth MacKenzie, Lord of Kintail and sister of Colin, 1st Earl of Seaforth, who married (1) John Macleod of Macleod, (2) the Master of Lovat, Alexander Fraser (1626–71), and (3) Patrick Grant of Cluniemore.



represented to them, and acted, as it were, before their eyes. An. Affirmatively; they see these things visibly: but none sees, but themselves. for instance if a man's fall end be hanging; they'll see a gibbet or a rope about his neck; if beheaded; they'll see the man without a head: if drowned; they'll see water up to his throat: if unexpected death; they'll see a winding-sheet about his head: all which ar represented to their view. One instance I had from a Gentleman here, of a highland-gentleman of the Mackdonalds who having a brother that came to visit him, saw him coming in wanting a head; yet told not his brother, he saw any such thing: but within 24 hours thereafter, his brother was taken, being a Murderer; and his head cutt off, and sent to Edinburgh. many such instances might be given.

Qu. 5. If the 2nd sight be a thing that is troublesome and uneasie to those that have it? and<sup>53</sup> such as they would gladly be rid off. Answer. It is comonly talked by all I spoke with that it is troublsome: and they would gladly be freed from it; but cannot: Only I heard lately of a man very much troubled in his soule therewith; and by serious begging of God deliverance from it; at length lost the faculty of the 2nd sight. /fol. 129v/

Qu. 6. If any person or persons truly godly, or who may be justly presumed to be such; have been known to have had this gift or faculty? An. Negatively, not any godly but such as are vitious.

Qu. 7. If it descends by succession from parents to children? or, if not, whether those that have it, can tell how they came by it? An. That it is by succession I cannot learn. how they come by it, its hard to know, neither will they tell: which if they did, they are sure of their stroakes from an invisible hand. On instance I heard of one Allen Miller, being in company with some gentlemen, having gotten a little more than ordinary of that strong liquor they were drinking; began to tell stories & strange passages he had been att: But the said Allen was suddenly removed to the farther end of the <house><sup>54</sup> and was there almost strangled: recovering a litle & coming to the place where he was before, they asked him what it was that troubled him so. He answered he durst not tell: for he had told too much alreadie. How they come by it? An. some say by compact what the devill: some say by converse with those Demons, we call Fairies.

I have heard that those who have that faculty of the 2nd sight, have offered to teach it to such as were curious to know it: upon such & such conditions they would teach them: but their proffers were rejected.<sup>55</sup> This is all I could learn by tradition of that faculty from knowing & intelligent men, if this satisfie not those queries forsaied, acquaint me, & what can be known of it shalbe transmitted. I cannot pass by on instance, I have from a very honest man in the next parish, who told me it himselfe. That his wife being bigg with child near her delivery, he buys halfe a dozen of boards to make her a bed against the time she lay in. The boards lying at the door of the house, there comes an old fisher-woman yet alive & asked him whose were those boards? he told they were his own: she asked again, for what use he had them? he replied for a bed. she again said: intend them for what <use> you please, she saw a dead corps lying in them, and that they would be a coffin; which struck the honest man to the heart with terror fearing the death of his wife. But when the old woman went off, he calls presently for a carpenter to make the bed which was accordingly



done: but shortly thereafter the honest man had a child died, whose coffin was made of the ends or cutts of these boards.

<sup>56</sup>Sir, The originall wherof this that I have written is a true copie, was sent by a Minister living within some few miles of Inverness, to a freind of mine whom I employed to gett information for me. As I insinuated before, I have other answers to these Queries from another hand, which I proposed to have communicated to you at this time but I find there will not be room for them in this sheet: howbeit, in case<sup>57</sup> you shall think it fitt, they shalbe sent you afterwards.

In the mean time I shall tell you what I had from on of the Masters of our Colledge here (a north-countrey-man, both by birth, & education in his younger years) who made a journey in the harvest time, unto the shire of Ross and at my desire, made some enquiry there concerning the 2nd sight. He reports that there they told him many instances of this knowledg which he had forgotten except two. The first; on of his sisters a young gentlewoman,<sup>58</sup> staying with a friend at some 30 miles distance from her fathers house, & the ordinary place of her residence, on who had the 2nd sight in the family wher shee was, saw a young man attending her as shee went up and down the house, and this was about 3 moneths before her marriage. the 2nd is of a woman in that countrey who<sup>59</sup> is reputed to have the 2nd sight and declared that, eight dayes befor the death of a gentleman there, she saw a beere or Coffin covered with a cloth, which shee knew, carried, as it were to the place of buriall, and attended with a great companie on of which told her that it was the corps of such a person naming that gentleman who died within 8 dayes after. By <these><sup>60</sup> instances it appears that the objects of this knowledge ar not sad & dismall events only, but joyfull and prosperous ones also, which he likewise particularly confirms from the information he had in that<sup>61</sup> countrie; he declares further than he was informed there, if I mistake not, by some of those who had the second sight, that if at the time when they see these strange sights, they sett their foot, upon the foot of another person who hath not the 2nd sight that other will for that time see what they ar seeing, as also that they offered, if he pleased, to /fol. 130/ comunicat the 2nd sight to him. I have nothing more to add at present but that I am,

Sir,

Your faithfull freind and humble servant,  
Ja. Garden.

For his honoured freind  
Master John Aubrey  
to be sent to  
Dr. Gale, Schoolmaster of  
Paul's School in Paul's churchyard,  
London.<sup>s</sup>

<sup>s</sup> See above, p. 125.

Letter 7<sup>t</sup>

Old Aberdene May 4 – 94.

Honoured Sir

Since my last to you, I have had the favour of two letters from you: To the first dated Febr: 6, I had replied sooner, but that I wanted leisure to transcribe some farther accounts of 2nd sighted men sent me from the north, wherof (in obedience to your desire) I give here the doubles.

Coppie of an answer to your Quaeries concerning 2nd-sighted-men sent by a minister living near Inverness to a freind of mine here.

Qu. 1. That there is such an art commonly called the 2nd sight is certain from these following instances. First in a gentleman's house, on night the<sup>62</sup> Mistris considering why such persons whom she expected, were so <late &> long a coming, the supper being all the while delayed for them; a servant man about the house (finding the Mistris anxious) having the 2nd sight; desires to cause cover the table, & befor all things were putt on, those persons shee longed for would come in: which happened accordingly. A Second instance. Concerning a young lady of great birth, whom a rich knight fancied, & came in sute of the lady, but she could not induce to fancy him, being a harsh & unpleasant man: But her freinds importuning her dayly, she turned melancholy & lean, fasting & weeping continually. A comon fellow about the house, meeting her on a day in the feilds, asked her saying. Mistriss Kate what is that that troubles you & makes you look so ill? she replied that the cause is known to many, for my freinds, would have me mary such a man by name; but I cannot fancie him. Nay (sayes the fellow) be over these niceties for he wilbe your 1st husband, & will not live long, & be sure he will leave you a rich dowry which will procure you a good match, for I see a lord upon each shoulder of you: all which came to pass in every circumstance as ey & ear-witnesses declare. A 3d instance of a traveller coming in to a certain house, desired some meat. The Mistris being something nice & backward to give him victualls; you need not, sayes he, churle me in a piece of meat, for befor an hour & an halfe be over, a young man of such a stature & garb will come in with a great salmon-fish on his back, which I behold yonder upon the floor; & it came so to pass within the said time. A 4th instance of a young woman in a certain house about supper time refused to take meat from the steward, who was offering in the very time meat to her: being asked why she would not take it replied, she saw him full of blood, & therefor was afraid to take anything off his hands. The next morning the said steward offering to compose a difference betwixt two men at an ale-house door gott a stroak of a sword in the forehead, & came home full of blood: this is told me by an eye-witness.

<sup>t</sup> MS Aubrey 12, fols. 132–3.

Qu. 2. Those that have this faculty of the 2nd sight; sees only things to come which ar to happen shortly thereafter, & somtimes fortells things which fall out 3 or 4 years after. for instance one told his master that he saw an arrow in such a man through his bodie & yet no blood came out; his master told him, that it was impossible an arrow should stick in a man's bodie, & no blood come out, & if that came not to pass he would be deemed an impostor. But 5 or 6 years after that the man died, & being brought to his burial place, there arose a debate anent his grave, & it came to such a hight that they drew arms & bended their bowes, & on letting off an arrow shott through the dead bodie upon the beer-trees & so no blood could issue out of a dead man's wound. Thus his sight could not inform whether the arrow should be shott in him alive or dead, neither could he condescend whether near or afar off.

To the 3 Query. They forsee murders, drownings, mariages, weddings, burials, combats, manslaughter, of all which many instances might be given. Lately (I beleev in Agust last 1693) on told there would be drowning in the river Bewly which came to pass, two pretty men <crossing><sup>63</sup> a ford both drowned which fell out in a moneth. Another instance, a man that served the Bishop of Catnes<sup>u</sup> who had 5 daughters in his house: on of them gruded that the burthen of the family lay on her wholly: the fellow told her that ere long she should be exonered of that task, for he saw a tall gentleman in black walking on the Bishop's right hand whom she should marie. & this fell out accordingly within a quarter thereafter. he told also of a covered table, full of variety of good fare, & their garbs who sat about the table.

To Qu. 4. They see all this visibly acted befor their eyes, sometimes within & sometimes without doors, as in a glass.

To Qu. 5. It is a thing very troublsome to them that have it, & would gladly be rid of it, for if the object be a thing that is terrible, they ar seen to sweat & tremble, &<sup>64</sup> shreek at the apparition. at other times they laugh & tell the thing cheerfully. just according as the nature of the thing is, pleasant or astonishing.

To Qu. 6. Sure it is that persons that have a sense of God & religion, & may be presumed to be godly, ar known to have this faculty. This evidently appears in that they ar troubled for having it judging it a sin, & that it came from the devill & not from God, earnestly desiring & wishing to be rid of it if possible, & to that effect have made application to their minister to pray to God for them, that they might be exonered of that burthen. they have supplicated the presbytrie, who judiciously appointed publick prayers to be made in severall churches, & a sermon preached to that purpose in their own parish church by their minister, & they have compeired befor the pulpit, after sermon making confession openly of that sin with deep sense on their knees; & renounced any such gift or faculty which they had, to God's dishonour, and earnestly desired the Minister & people to pray for them, & this their recantation recorded, & after this they were never troubled with such a sight any more.

To the last Query. It is generally reported among the highlanders, it comes by

<sup>u</sup> I.e. Caithness. The reference is presumably to Patrick Forbes (c. 1610–79) or his successor Andrew Wood (deposed 1689; d. 1695), though neither is credited with as many as five daughters in Scott, *Fasti*, vii, 337.

compact & descends to children to the 10 generation, which is the cause of their trouble. A young man in the parish of Wardlaw<sup>v</sup> suspect of witchcraft compeered befor the Session, who confessed he had the 2nd sight, but knew not what manner of way he gott it, being young when his father died, who was thought to have that faculty. Besides the propagation of this faculty to the 10th generation; others averr that on does communicate the same to another: & that in the mean time of the apparition, if on sett his foot upon his who hath it, he will see what he sees. but once given cannot be recalled or taken away again which scares many from their curiosity.

Coppie of a letter written to my selfe by a gentleman's son in Strathspey being a student in divinity, concerning the second sight.

Sir,

I am more willing than able to satisfie your desire: as for instances of such a knowledge I could furnish manie /fol. 132v/ I shall only insert some few attested by severalls of good credit yet alive. And Ist Andrew Mackpherson of Clunie in Badenoch, being in sute of the laird of Gareloch's daughter; as he was upon a day going to Gareloch, the Lady Gareloch was going somewhere from her house within kenning to the road which Clunie was coming; the lady perceiving him said to her attendants, that yonder was Clunie, going to see his Mistris: On that had this 2nd sight in her companie replied & said; if yon be he unless he marie within 6 moneths, he'l never marie. the lady asked how did he know that? he said, very well, for I see him saith be, all inclosed<sup>65</sup> in his winding-sheet, except his nostrils & his mouth, which will also close up within 6 moneths: which happened even as he foretold. within the said space he died, & his brother Duncan Mackpherson this present Cluny succeeded.<sup>w</sup> This and the like may satisfie your 4 Qu: he seeing the man even then all covered with his dead linens. The event was visibly represented & as it were acted, befor his eyes, and also the last part of your 2nd Qu: viz. that it was as yet to come. As for the rest of the question viz. that they discover present & past events is also manifest, thus: I have heard of a gentleman whose son had gone abroad, & being anxious to know how he was, he went to consult on who had this facultie who told him that, that same day about 5 a clock in the afternoon his son had married a woman in France with whom he gott so manie thousand crownes, & within two years he should<sup>66</sup> come home to see father & freinds leaving his wife with child of a daughter, & a son of six moneths age behind him: which accordingly was true; about the same time two years he came home & verified all that was foretold.

It is likewise ordinary with persons that lose anything, to goe to some of these men, by whom they are directed; how, what persons & in what place they shall find it. But all such as profess that skill are not equally dexterous in it. for instance two of

<sup>v</sup> Kirkhill, near Beauly.

<sup>w</sup> d. 1721; younger brother of and heir to Andrew MacPherson, both of them sons of Eugene MacPherson XXII of Cluny. His first wife was a daughter of Provost Rose of Inverness; his second a Gordon.

them were in Mr. Hector Mackenzie minister at Inverness, his father's house;<sup>x</sup> the one a gentleman the other a common fellow; and discoursing by the fireside, the fellow suddenly begins to weep, & cry out alas! alas! Such a woman is either dead or presently expiring: the gentlewoman lived within 5 or 6 miles to the house & had been some dayes before in a fever. the gentleman being somewhat better expert in that facultie said, no, saith he, she is not dead, nor will shee die of this disease. O saith the fellow do not you see her all covered with her winding sheet? I saith the gentleman I see her aswell as you doe; but do ye not see her linens all wett which is her sweat, shee being presently cooling of the fever: this storie Mr. Hector himselfe will testifie. The most remarkable of this sort that I hear off now is one Archibald Mackeaneyere alias Mackdonald living in Ardinmurch within 10 or 12 miles or therby of<sup>67</sup> Glencoe, and I was present myselfe where he foretold somthing which accordingly fell out.<sup>y</sup> In Sept. 83 this man being in Strathspey in John Mackdonald of Glencoe his company told in Ballachastell before the Laird of Grant, his Lady, & severall others, & also in my father's house; that Argyle of whom few or none knew then where he was at least there was no word of him then here; should within two twelve moneths thereafter come to the west-highlands, and raise a rebellious faction which would be divided among themselves, and disperse, & he unfortunately be taken & beheaded at Edinburgh & his head sett upon the tolbooth where his father's head was before him: which proved as true as he foretold it, in -85 thereafter. Likewise in the beginning of May next after the late revolution as my Lord Dundee returned up Spey-side after he had followed Generall Major Mackay in his reer down the length of Edinglassie, at the Milntown of Gartinbeg the Mackleans joynd him, & after he had received them he marched forwards but they remained behind & fell a plundering; upon which Glencoe & some others among whom was this Archibald, being in my father's house, & hearing that the M'leans & others were pillaging some of his lands, went to restrain them & comand them to march after the army: and after he had cleared the first town next my father's house, of them, & was come to the second, there standing on a hill, this Archibald said, Glencoe, said he, if ye take my advice ye'll make off with yourselfe with all possible hast, for ere an hour come & goe, ye'll be putt to it as hard as ever ye was: some of the company began to droll & say what shall become of me &c., whether Glencoe beleved him or not I cannot tell, but this I am sure of, that whereas before he was of intention to return to my father's

<sup>x</sup> The Revd Hector MacKenzie (c. 1645–1719) was episcopalian minister at Inverness from 1688 to 1694; his father was Alexander MacKenzie of Strathnaver, Sutherland: Scott, *Fasti*, vi, 457.

<sup>y</sup> In the passage that follows, the chief protagonists are as follows: Archibald Campbell, Marquis and 8th Earl of Argyle (1598–1661), was executed in 1661, and his son, Archibald Campbell, 9th Earl of Argyle, in 1685. John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee (c. 1649–89), raised the Highlands for James II. John MacDonald of Glencoe (c. 1630–92), 12th Chief of the Clan Iain Abrach, supported Dundee with his clan in 1689, and was murdered in his bed. Sir Ludovic Grant (d. 1716) was a supporter of the Williamites; his lady was Janet Brodie (d. 1697) of Lethen. General Hugh Mackay (c. 1640–92) had formerly served in the British and Dutch armies. Major Aeneas MacKay (d. 1697) was son of the 2nd Lord Reay.

house, & stay all night, now we took leave & imediatly parted. and indeed within an hour thereafter McKay & his whole forces appeared at Culnakyle in Abernethie 2 miles below the place where we parted: and hearing that Cleaverhouse had marched up the waterside a litle befor, but that the Mcleans & severall other straglers had stayed behind, comanded Major Æneas Mckay with 2 troups of horse<sup>68</sup> after them; who finding the saids, McKleans at Kinchirdie in the parish of Duthel, chassed them up the moor & killed 11 or 12 of them, & were it not that they fled to a rack a quarter of a mile above, they had received mor skaith: in which chace Glencoe happened to be, & was hard putt to it as was fortold. What became of Archibald himselfe, I am not sure; I have not seen him since<sup>69</sup> nor can I gett a true account of him. only I know he is yet alive, & at that time on of my father's men whom the redcoats<sup>70</sup> meeting compelled to guide them within sight of the Mcleans found the said Arch:'s horse within a mile of the place where I left him. I am also informed this Arch: said to Glencoe that he would be murdered in the night time in his own house 3 moneths befor it happened. /fol. 133/

Touching your 3rd Qu: The objects of this knowledge, ar not only sad & dismall; but also joyfull & prosperous: thus they foretell of happy mariages, good children, what kind of life men shall live, & in what condition they shall die: also riches, honour, preferment, peace, plentie & good weather.

Qu: 6 what way they pretend to have it? I am informed that in the Isle of Sky especially befor the gospell came thither; severall families had it by succession, descending from parents to children, and as yet ther be manie there who have it that way; & the only way to be freed from it is; when a woman hath it herselfe & is married to a man who hath it also; if in the very act of delivery, upon the first sight of the child's head, it be baptised, the same is free of it; if not, he hath it all his life: by which it seems its a thing troublesom & uneasie to them that have, & such as they would fain be rid off. & may satisfie your 5 Qu:

And for your further contentment in this Qu: I have heard <of> my father, that there was on John Du beg Mcgrigor a Reanachman born, very expert in this knowledge, & my father coming on day from Invernes, said by the way, that he would go in to an alehouse, on the road, which then would be about 5 miles off. This John Mcgrigor being in his company, & taking up a slate-stone <at his foot> & looking to it replied: Nay saith he, ye will not go in thither, for there is but the matter of a gallon of ale in it even now, & ere we come to it, it wilbe all near drunken, & those who are drinking there, are strangers to us, and ere we be hardly past the house, they'll discord among themselves: which fell out so, ere they were 2 pair of butts past the house, those that were drinking there went by the ears wounded & mischeived on another, my father by this & severall other things of this nature, turned curious of this facultie, & being very intimate with the man, told him, he would fain learn it: to which he answered, that indeed he could in 3 dayes time teach him if he pleased; but yet he would not advise him nor anie man to learn it: for had he once learned he would be never a minute in his life, but he would see innumerable men & women night & day round about him; which perhaps he would think wearisome & unpleasant for which reason my father would not have it. But for as skilfull as this man was, yet he knew not what should be his own last end, which was hanging: and I

am informed; that most, if not all, of them though they can foresee what shall happen to others; yet they can not foretell, much less prevent, what shall befall themselves. I am also informed by one who came last summer from the Isle of Sky, that anie person that pleases will get it taught him for a pound or 2 of tobacco.

As for your last Qu: for my own part I can hardly believe they can be justly presumed, much less true like godly. As for this Mcgrigor severalls report that he was a very civill discreet man, & some say he was of good deportment & also unjustly hanged. But Arch. Mackeaneyere will not deny himselfe, but once he was on of the most notorious thieves in all the highlands: but I am informed since he came to this knowledge which was by an accident too longsome here to sett down here, [sic] that he is turned honest-like than befor. There was one James Mack-coil-vic-Alaster<sup>z</sup> alias Grant in Glenbruin near Kirk-Michael in Strathawin that had this sight; who,<sup>71</sup> I hear of severalls that were well acquainted what him, was a very honest man & <of right> blameless conversation. he used ordinarily by looking to the fire, to foretell what strangers would come to his house, the next day or shortly thereafter; by their habit & arms; & sometimes also by their names; and if anie of his goods or cattell<sup>72</sup> were amissing; he would direct his servants to the very place where to find them, whether in a mire or upon dry ground; he would also tell if the beast were already dead, or if it would die ere they could come to it: and in winter if they were thick about the<sup>73</sup> fire-side; he would desire them to make room to some others that stood by tho they did not see them, else some of <you> would be quickly thrown into the midst of it. but whether this man saw anie more than Brownie and Meig Mullach,<sup>a</sup> I am not very sure: some say he saw more continually, & would be often very angry like, & something troubled, nothing visibly moving him: others affirm, he saw those two continually & sometimes many more.

They generally term this 2nd sight in Irish Taishitaraughk,<sup>b</sup> & such as have <it> Taishtarin; from Taish which is properly a shaddowie substance or such naughty and <sup>c</sup> thing, as can only, or rather, scarcely be discerned by the eye; but not caught by the hands: for which they assigned it to Bugles <or><sup>74</sup> ghosts, so that Taishtar, is as much as on that converses with ghosts & spirits, or as they commonly call them, the fairies or fairie-folk. Others call these men phissichin from phis which is properly, foresight or foreknowledg.<sup>d</sup>

This is the surest & clearest account of 2nd-sighted men that I can now find, & I have sett it down fully, & as if I were transiently telling it, in your own presence, being curious for nothing but the verity, so far as I could. What you find improper or superfluous, you can best compendise it. etc.

Thus far this letter, written in a familiar & homely<sup>75</sup> stile; which I have sett down

<sup>z</sup> *Seumas mac Dhomhnaill mhic Alasdair*. 'Glenbruin' is Glenbrown.

<sup>a</sup> *Meg Mullach*. On these celebrated ghosts, the latter appearing as a little hairy creature in the shape of a female child, see below, p. 151, and Gordon, *Garden's Letters to Aubrey*, p. 47.

<sup>b</sup> *taibhsearachd*; *taibhsdearan*; *taibhse*.

<sup>c</sup> Here there is a blank space in the MS.

<sup>d</sup> *fiosaichean*; *fios*.



here at length. Megg Mullach, & Brownie mentioned in the end of it, are two ghosts, which (as it is constantly reported) of old haunted a family in Strathspey of the name of Grant. they appeared, the first in the likeness of a young lass the 2nd of <a> young lad. As strang things are reported with you of the 2nd sighted-men in Scotland, so with us here of the Rosicrucians in England. I have some faint remembrance of a story which was told me long agoe by a person of good credit now dead, concerning one Williamson schoolmaster at Cuppar of Fife in Scotland whom an English man, who stayed for some time in the place and took pleasure in his company, telling him 'twas pitie a man of his parts should live in so mean a condition, invited to come to London appointing time & place when & where he would meet him. Williamson made a journey to London, found out the house to which he was directed, & being there, at the time appointed a coach came to the door, wherein this english gentleman was, who made Williamson very welcome & after having treated him there he carried him out with him in the coach to the countrey, brought into [a] stately<sup>76</sup> house where he saw a great many good company, was entertained with musick & good fare, had an offer made /fol. 133v/ him of being received into their societie, & a book was presented wherin he was to sett down his name. but he whether suspicious that there was something diabolicall in the matter or displeas'd with some of the conditions propos'd, refus'd. whereupon the gentleman that brought him thither told him that he thought to have made him happy but he was not worthie, & after he had given mony to carrie him home, gave him a box on the ear whereupon all evanished & Mr. Williamson found himselfe (I do not mind) where. I have forgott many circumstances of the storie, but I doubt but his son Mr. Ja: Williamson who was minister at Kircaldie in Scotland & in the beginning of -91 was preferred to a benefice in England (as I suppose) not far from Canterbury) can give a fuller & more particular relation of it.<sup>e</sup> Its like your book of hermetick philosophie<sup>77</sup> (which I conceive wilbe very diverting to the reader) may contain some account of the Rosicrucians; if not, pray, let me know if there be anie persons in England that goe under that name & what may be beleev'd concerning them.<sup>f</sup> Dr. Moulin (who, the last time I had occasion to see him, desired me to give you his humble service) hath no acquaintance in Orkney; but I have just now spoken to a person who not only hath acquaintances in that countrey, but also entertains some thoughts of going thither himselfe, to gett me an account of the cures usually practised there.<sup>g</sup> The cortex Wintoranus <mentioned by you as an excellent medicine> I have heard comended as good for the scurvy if<sup>78</sup> ye know <it> to be eminent or a

<sup>e</sup> The story concerns David Williamson, schoolmaster of Cupar, and his son, James (c. 1646–1728), MA of St Andrews and Minister of Kirkaldy until deprived in 1690, after which he received livings in Kent which he held till his death.

<sup>f</sup> Garden's query is intriguing but probably based on a misapprehension about the vitality of Rosicrucianism in seventeenth-century London. Aubrey had in fact discussed a 'Rosicrucian' club with Robert Hooke in 1676 but the details are vague, and he evidently had to make enquiries of others in order to answer Garden's question: see Hunter, *John Aubrey*, pp. 139–40n.

<sup>g</sup> For Moulin or Milne, see above, p. 122; for Garden's contact, see below, p. 157.



specific (such as peruvian bark is) for anie disease I shalbe well pleased to be informed by you.<sup>h</sup>

I have turned a good part of Dr. Sibbald's *Scotia Illustrata*, but could not find where you write <in your last> was told you by a Gent: in a meeting of the R.S. viz. that he conceives the circular monuments of stone in Orkney were made by the Danes.<sup>i</sup> And supposing he had said so <that were not enough to overturn> your opinion concerning these monuments. for the Doctor's bare conjecture <would be><sup>79</sup> too light to be putt in the balance (I shall not say, with all the arguments wherewith your opinion is supported; but, which is far less,) with the generall tradition of this kingdome <alone><sup>80</sup> which makes these monuments older here than Christianity it selfe. to which I may add that albeit the Danes made sundry descents into Scotland, yet they never had footing in it, much less were they masters of it, & that for<sup>81</sup> a considerable time, which must be supposed, to make it probable that they were the builders of so many monuments dispersed over all the country, & abounding most in those parts which ar remote from the places where they landed.

Thus Sir you have an account of all my informations concerning 2nd sighted men: I have also breifly touched all the other particulars, in both your letters, which needed a reply, except your thanks so liberally & oblidgingly returned to me for my letters, & the<sup>82</sup> kind sense you express of that small service. The kind reception which you have given to these poor trifles, & the value which you putt on them I consider as<sup>83</sup> effects of your kindnes to myselfe, & as engagements on me to serve you to better purpose when it shalbe in the power of

Your faithfull freind & servant  
Ja: Garden.

if you have anie of your transactions to send me lett them be lay'd in beside Dr. Gale & I shall appoint some of our merchants who intend for London in July to call for them.

For his honoured freind  
Master John Aubrey  
to be left with  
Doctor Gale Schoolmaster  
of Paules School in Paul's  
church-yard in London.<sup>j</sup>

<sup>h</sup> The medication to which Garden refers was commercially available in London: see *Philosophical Transactions*, 17 (1693), 924.

<sup>i</sup> I.e. *Scotia illustrata* (1684) by Sir Robert Sibbald (1641–1722), on whom see above, p. 10. The work contains no such claim.

<sup>j</sup> See above, p. 125.

Letter 8<sup>k</sup>

Old Abd. March 25 169½

Honoured Sir,

I have yours of the 9. current wherein you signifie that having written to me<sup>84</sup> twice or thrice befor, since June last, without hearing from me <again> after so long a time, you began to be under apprehensions that I was dead: I confess you had reason to think, that I had ceased; either to live, or to be discreet & civill, not to say, kind. And<sup>85</sup> that you enclined to suspect the former rather than the latter I impute to the candor of your spirit & your freindship for me. But the case is otherwise than you suppose: for, blessed be God, I am alive still & in health: But none of those letters which you mention, written since June last, ever came to my hands. having had no letter from you since I wrote to you last, save that which I received the other day, and another dated May 24, -94 in which you desire of me, an account (wherby I suppose you mean some instances & examples) of Transportation by an invisible power[.] The true cause of my delaying so long to reply to that letter, was not want of kindnes, but of fitt materials for such a reply: Nevertheles had I seen these other letters mentioned in your last I would not have failed to write to you sooner,<sup>86</sup> tho it had been for good manners sake onely & to excuse myselfe at your hands.

How soon I read your letter of May the 24 I called to mind a story<sup>87</sup> which I had heard long agoe, concerning on of the Lord Duffus (in the shire of Murray) his predecessors,<sup>1</sup> of whom it is reported, That upon a time when he was walking abroad in the feilds near to his own house, he was suddenly carried away, and found the next day at Paris in the French King's Cellar with a silver cup in his hand: that being brought into the King's pre[sence] & questioned by him, who he was? & how he came thither? he told his name,<sup>88</sup> his countrey & the place of his residence, and that on such a day of the moneth (which proved to be the day imediately preceeding) being in the feilds, he heard the noise of a whirlwind & of voices crying<sup>89</sup> horse and hattock (this is the word which the Fairies ar said to use when they remove from any place) wherupon he cried [horse & hattock]<sup>m</sup> also & was immediately caught up & transported through the aire by the Fairies to that place, where after they had drunk heartily he fell asleep, & befor he awoke the rest of the company were gone. & had left him in the posture wherin he was found. Its said the King gave him the cup which was found in his hand & dismissed him.

This story (if it could be sufficiently attested) would be a noble instance for your purpose, for which cause I was at some paines to enquire into the truth of it, and found the means to gett the present Lord Duffus his opinion therof: which shortly is, that there has been & is such a tradition but that he thinks it fabulous, this account

<sup>k</sup> MS Aubrey 12, fols. 134–5.

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to James Sutherland, 2nd Lord Duffus (d. 1705).

<sup>m</sup> Garden's square brackets.

of it his Lordship had from his father, who told him that he had it from his father, the present lord's Grandfather. yet there is an old silver cup in his Lordship's possession still which is called, the fairie cup, but has nothing engraven upon it except the arms of the family.

The gentleman by whose means I came to know the Lord Duffus his sentiment of the forgoing story, being tutor to his Lo[rds]hip's eldest son, told me another litle passage of the same nature wherof he was an eye-witness. he reports that when he was a boy at school in the town of Forres yet not so young but that he had years & capacity, both to observe & remember<sup>90</sup> that which fell out; he and his school-fellowes were upon a time whipping their tops in the church-yard befor the door of the church, though the day was calme, they heard a noise as of wind, and at some distance saw the small dust begin to<sup>91</sup> arise & turn round which motion continued, advancing till it came to the place where they were: wherupon they began to bless /fol. 134v/ themselves. But on of their number (being, it seems, a litle more bold & confident than his companions) said horse and haddock with my top, & imediatly they all saw the top lifted up from the ground but could not see <what way><sup>92</sup> it was carried by reason of a cloud of dust which was raised at the same time. They sought for the top all about the place wher it was taken up, but in vain & it was found afterwards in the church yard on the other side of the church. Mr. Stuart (so is the gentleman called) declared to me that he had a perfect remembrance of this matter.

The following account I received in November last from Mr. Alexander Mowat a person of great integrity and judgment, who being minister at the church of Lesly in the Shire of Aberdene was turned out<sup>93</sup> for refusing the oath of test anno 1681.<sup>n</sup> he informs that he heard the late Earle of Cathnes who was married to a daughter of the <late> Marquis of Argyle<sup>94</sup> tell the following story:<sup>o</sup> viz. that upon a time, when a vessell which his Lordship keep't for bringing home wine & other provisions for his house, was at sea; a common fellow, who was reputed to have the 2nd sight, being occasionally at his house; the Earle enquired of him, where his men (meaning those in the ship) were at that present time? the fellow replied, at such a place, by name within four hours sailing of the harbour, which was not far from the place of his Lordship's residence: the Earle asked, what evidence he could give for that? the other replied; that he had lately been at the place, & had brought away with him on of the seamen's caps, which he delivered to his Lo[rds]hip at the four hours end the Earle went down himselve to the harbour where he found the ship newly arrived, & in it on of the seamen without his cap: who being questioned how he came to lose his cap? Answered, that at such a place (the same that the 2nd sighted man had named befor) there arose a whirlwind which endangered the ship & carried away his cap; the Earle asked if he would know his cap when he saw it? he said he would. wherupon the E[arl] produced the cap & the seaman owned it for that which was taken from him.

<sup>n</sup> Alexander Mowat or Mouat (1644–1735), MA of Aberdeen 1665, was Minister of Leslie from 1674 till his deprivation in 1681.

<sup>o</sup> George Sinclair, 6th Earl of Caithness (d. 1676); for the Marquis and 8th Earl of Argyle, see above, p. 148.

<sup>95</sup>This being all the information which I can give at present concerning transportation by an invisible power; I'me sorry that I am able to contribute so little to the publishing of so curious a piece as it seems your hermetick philosophie wilbe. As for my letters concerning 2nd sighted men you know there is little in them besides some written relations which I received from others,<sup>96</sup> out of which <if you please> you may cull the most remarkable passages & sett them down in your <own> stile,<sup>97</sup> and in case of publishing the intire letters I desire my name may be spared aswell in them as in those relating to the Druid-temples.

Concerning my promise mentioned in your last, of getting you an account of the plants & cures in the Orcades, I do not exactly remember in what terms it was conceived: but to be sure I mean't no more then that I would use my endeavours wherin I have not been wanting (& I presume the like of you in reference to Cortex Winteranus and the Rosicrucians)<sup>p</sup> for I gave instructions to an acquaintance of mine now living at Kirkwall, & took him engaged when he left this place to inform himself concerning the old stone monuments, the plants & cures, in the Orcades & to send me an account. But I have not heard from him as yet though I caused a freind that was writing to him to putt him in mind of his promise, the occasions of correspondence<sup>98</sup> betwixt this place & Orkney are rare.

I am sorry you should have been at the expense of buying a volume of your philosophical transactions for my use<sup>99</sup> holding myself sufficiently recompensed for anie paines I have been at on your account by the kind & gratefull resentments thereof expressed in your oblidging letters, besides which the outmost I could in reason have expected was a copie of those bookes to which I have in any measure contributed, when /fol. 135/ they come to be published. however I will not be so unmanerly as to refuse your present for which I give you thanks. I have appointed Mr. John Rose merchant in Aberdene (for the present at London) to call for that book from Dr. Gale,<sup>q</sup> & have given him a note under my hand to be shown to the Doctor, as you advised in your letter of May 24.

My brother has a purpose to go for England once this spring, if he goes, he will not faile to enquire for you & waite on you either at London or Oxford if you & he chance to be<sup>100</sup> at either of those places at the same time adieu from

Sir,

Your faithfull affectionat  
freind & humble servant  
Ja: Garden.

For His honoured freind Master John Aubrey  
to be left with Doctor Gale, Schoolmaster of Paul's  
School in Paul's churchyard London.

<sup>p</sup> See above, pp. 151–2.

<sup>q</sup> See above, p. 125. It is not clear which issue of *Philosophical Transactions* Garden required, but it was possibly one of those containing a contribution by his brother.

Letter 9<sup>r</sup>

Honoured Sir,

The collection of the transactions of the R.S. which you left with Dr. G. for me, came safely to my hands some weeks agoe:<sup>s</sup> together with a letter (dated the same day that you delivered them to the Dr. viz. May 28. 94) wherin you mention the titles of some of the chapters of your book of Hermetick Philosophic, whence it appears to be a curious piece, & withall signifie your purpose of giving me a coppie of the manuscript, in case it be not printed, which I will take for a singular favour.

Since my last to you written in March last, in answer to yours of the same moneth, I have received a letter from an acquaintance in Orkney, to whom (being in this place) I recommended the case of enquiring, & informing me, touching the cures comonly practised in that Countrey, and the stone-monuments there which letter becaus it is short I shall putt down here verbatim for your satisfaction.

Very Rev. I was not forgetfull of the memorandum I had from you when I came from Aberdene; but still waited a sure occasion to give you some account of it, which is rare to be had from this place to Aberdeen. Yet though I had forgotten it, this season of the year could not but putt me in mind of the greatest part of it, viz. the ordinary diet drink they have for preventing the Scurvie: For there is scarcely any privat family or Tavern that wants it at present. The ordinary herbs they make use of ar, Scurvy grass, water or garden cresses, Elicampane, Wormwood & Angelica: which they take wash & cutt, & putt in a cask for ale presently after it is tunned. The forsaid herbs all make use of, and some add to them Juniper berries, Horse-radish & Rhuebarb. And I observe they doe not restrict themselves to a morning draught of it, but drink freely of it as of plain ale at any time of the day: neither is it the worst of their ale, they putt to this use. In mor northern places particularly in North-Few, they make use of no other herbs, but Scurvy grass, Cresses, Sea purslane & Sorrell. They have here likewise a cure taught them of<sup>t101</sup> late by some stranger, for easing scorbutick effects; which some have tryed with success. They take a pint of milk, & after churning takes the whey, & mixe with the root or leaves of sorrell & lett it boile to a choppin [this is the english quart] & after straining & setling they drink a mutchkin [english pint]<sup>t</sup> of it in the morning & again at 4 a clock. And this is all I can learn as to the cures they use against the scurvy. But they have another cure for the Axes [ague] of which they boast extraordinarily as seldom failing of success. They take Buckhorn, Plantane, Lovage, Wild Daisie, Winter cresses, Elicampane, Spignell, Millefoile, Dandelion, Thrift, Whitebeet, Parsley, Wormwood, Comfrey, Tansie, Sea-masterwort, and Angelica: and infuse them into a quart of new ale, &

<sup>r</sup> MS Aubrey 12, fols. 136–7.

<sup>s</sup> It is not clear whether ‘Dr G.’ is Gale (see above, p. 125), or Garden’s brother George (1649–1733), who was by now in London.

<sup>t</sup> The square brackets are Garden’s.

drink about a mutchkin every morning, for 9 dayes. As for any other accounts you desired me to give of the countrey, in place of them I have sent you a book written /fol. 136v/ by the late Minister of Kirkwall, which I believe will inform you of all & more than I can do, being but litle acquainted as yet with the place. When you have any further comands to putt on me there shall be none more readie to serv you then V.R. your humble servant.

sic subscribitur

Kirkwall Apr. 16, 1695.

Hu Todd<sup>u</sup>

The writer of this letter was lately master of the gramar-school in this town, & now discharges the like office in Kirkwall. the book mentioned in the letter is a litle thing, entituled A description of the Iles of Orkney, by Mr. James Wallace late Minister at Kirkwall printed at Edinburgh anno –95.<sup>v</sup> In it he makes mention of the two rounds sett about with high smooth stones or flags about 20 feet above ground, 6 feet broad, & a foot or two thick, and ditched about: wherof the largest is about 110 paces diameter, & ar reputed to be high places of worship & sacrifice in pagan times, <this><sup>102</sup> he confirms from a passage of Boethius on the life of Mainus K. of Scots<sup>w</sup> (which <I suppose> did not occur to me when I penned my letters to you concerning those monuments, nor have I the book at my hand to see it there) where he <makes> mention<sup>103</sup> of these rounds of stones, & saith they are called by the people the ancient temples of the Gods; the book gives an account of all the rarities & curiosities of these Isles, if you have it not alreadie, I shall transmitt it to you by the first ship that goes from this to London.

Some odd passages have fallen out of late in this countrey, wherof, becaus it may be they wilbe reducible to some of the titles<sup>104</sup> of your hermetick philosophie, I shall give you a short hint; referring you for a fuller account of them to my brother, who upon the 16 current took journey from Edinburgh for the Baths in England whence he goes for London wher he will enquire for you, & at Oxford. In harvest last a boy of 10 or 11 years, had a stone taken out of his bladder by incision, 7 inches about, which being friable had within it a flint stone exactly of the size & shape of a pistoll stone: this was done at the minister's house of Longside in the Presbitrie of Deer & shire of Aberdeen.<sup>x</sup> In April last my brother being at Edinburgh saw a stabler's wife there, who had (for halfe, if not a whole year's time) been voiding the bones of

<sup>u</sup> Perhaps Hugh Todd, AM, who appears in the Aberdeen University class-lists for 1680–4.

<sup>v</sup> *A Description of the Isles of Orkney* by James Wallace (d. 1688), Minister of Kirkwall from 1672 until his death, was published posthumously, though in fact in 1693 rather than 1695, as Garden states. The copy of the book presented by Garden to Aubrey is now Bodleian Ashmole C 63.

<sup>w</sup> See above, p. 62.

<sup>x</sup> An account of this was printed in *Philosophical Transactions*, 22 (1700), 689–90, from a letter from George Garden to Sloane dated 10 Oct. 1698 (Royal Society EL G (1) 43). The boy was the son-in-law of the Minister, Alexander Robertson, and the operation was performed by 'one Mr Smith who lives near to Gordon castle'.

young infants with some corrupted flesh on them, by stool, & continued so to do, albeit she was then with child; her surgeon declared to him that he had no fewer then 18 bones of on kind I suppose shoulder blades, voided by that woman after that manner. At the same time there was a young woman in that city who <had><sup>105</sup> at sundry times, vomited up as much long hair of divers colours like unto horsehair as would stuff a pillow: when the fits took her shee became first very sick then after some time vomited up hair & afterwards found ease: this, & a fuller account of her, my brother had from her phisitian. I have heard stories of the same nature with the 1st & 3rd of these passages <befor>, but never anie thing like the 2nd.

I remember to have heard of two houses that were infested by spirits in my time, those who lived in them were troubled by the throwing of stones which came from an invisible hand. I believe some of the eye-witnesses ar yet alive from whom I may obtaine for you a mor particular & circumstantiated relation if you think it worth the while. I have heard a strange story (which is said to have fallen out 30 or /fol. 137/ 40 years agoe) of a woman in Salisbury, sister to on Dr. Towrson or Tuberville, I do not well remember his name a phisitian in that city,<sup>y</sup> to whom another woman thatt had been dead 20 years appeared<sup>106</sup> befor all in black, & told her that being in her life time wife to such a man <then> yet alive in Salisbury, shee had persuaded him to defraud his children of a former marriage in favour of her for which having repented befor her death shee had obtained pardon from God, shee pointed out to the living woman a place in the ceiling of the house wher the rights & evidents of the defrauded children were hid, & desired <her> to go to him that had been her husband <&> show him what shee had seen & heard, & desire him in her name, to repair that wrong done by her advice. the living woman obeyed her desire which being done the dead woman appeared to her again clothed in white & allowed her to propose sundry questions concerning religion & the state of the dead all which shee resolved, & particularly <told her> that she herself had been for 20 years past in a troublesom condition going up & down in the air over hils & dales woods & rivers, & was now going to enjoy her God. If the story is true you cannot be ignorant of it in which <case> I desire to have a full & distinct relation of it from you.

There is on englishman who came to this cuntry in quality of a servant, with a young lady married not long since to Sir Peter Fraser a gentleman that lives within 6 miles of Aberdene who hath a secret of barming wort & causing it to work & ferment, without yest or barm, by a powder or som such thing which he carries about with him & will discover to no body: the knowledge of this, would be very usefull in this cuntry where those that brew many times have much adoe to<sup>107</sup> gett yest or barm for their wort.<sup>z</sup> If it be a secret in England, as he pretends, it would not be improper for those that give themselves to the study of naturall & experimentall

<sup>y</sup> Dr Daubeney Turberville (1612–96), physician and oculist.

<sup>z</sup> Sir Peter Fraser, bart (d. 1729), of Dores Kincardine, married Anne Heron (1677–1769), daughter of Sir Edward Heron of Cressy Hall, Surfleet, Lincs.: Cockayne, *Complete Baronetage*, iv, 294.

philosophy, to endeavour the discovery of it. If it be no secret with you I desire you wilbe pleased to acquaint me with it by your next. What I have already written hath wearied me & will, I doubt not weary you in the perusall. Wherfor I shal add no mor but that I still am

Your affectionat faithfull freind  
& humble servant,

Old Aberdeen July 31 –95.

Ja: Garden.

For his honoured frein  
Master John Aubrey  
To be left with Doctor Gale, Schoolmaster  
of Paul's school in Pauls-church-yard,  
London.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 125.



5.

1699 & 1700

Papers between the  
Lord Reay & Mr Pepys &c  
touching the Second Sight<sup>a</sup>

*Lord Reay to Pepys, 10 October 1699<sup>b</sup>*

Culcairne the 10 October  
1699

Honoured Sir,

I would have written to you severall tymes as I promised to give you an account of all the information I could make in those things you recomended to me but that I was so harrassed with troublesome affairs since I came to this Kingdome that I had no tyme till of late to inquire unto them. Since I have made some but can't promise the'l answer your expectation thô I spared no pains in informing myself of all those that either by experience or learning could have any knowledge in them, and in a word I informed my self of all those I knew had any curiosity that way and waits only for a copy of a letter about the second sight my Lord Tarbat promised me to give you an account of all.<sup>c</sup> I have spoke to severall that pretended they saw them but were so ignorant that I could make nothing of them but I forbear this till I write to you more

<sup>a</sup> Pepys's cover sheet, MS ii, 1. Pepys's slightly more elaborate heading to his copies of these letters in MS ii, 10 is as follows:

Copys of Letters between the Right Honourable the Lord Reay of  
[Pepys's blank] in Scotland & Mr Pepys, Fellows of the Royal Society,  
relating to the Second-sight, ordinarily pretended to in the Highlands there.

<sup>b</sup> MS ii, 3; printed in Pepys, *Private Correspondence*, i, 189–90. It is endorsed: 'Culcairne in Scotland Oct 10th 1699'. 'Lord Reay to SP upon some Enquirys hee carry'd with him of his into Scotland touching the 2d Sight &c.' (together with a slight variant on this).

<sup>c</sup> For the earlier history of Tarbat's letter, see above, p. 34.

at large and assure you that none is more<sup>1</sup> inclined to serve you or more ready to obey your commands than

Sir,  
Your most humble servant,  
Reay<sup>d</sup>

When you're pleased to write to me  
direct it to the care of Mr Robert  
Menzies to be found att the bell  
chamber in Edinburgh

The Much Honored Mr Pepys  
to be found att his Lodgings in York Buildings London

*Lord Reay to Pepys, 24 October 1699<sup>e</sup>*

Durness the 24 of October 1699

Honored Sir

Conforme to my promise in my last, I send you all the Informations I could make in those things you recomended to me; I have Just now received my Lord Tarbats answer, and Shall Coppie<sup>2</sup> what is to the purpose.

I Remember that Severall years agoe, in answer to a letter of Mr Boyle's I Did wryt to him As to the Second Sight a Coppie wherof Receive herein [en]closed, If you please Returne it after using it; Since that tyme, I was not Much in the north, nor did I make any enquerie one purpose, and what I had occatione to hear therof Differs not considerablie from What I heird formerly[.] One of them wes of a footmane of Your great Grandfathers,<sup>f</sup> who wes mightily concerned on Sieing a dagger in the Lord Reays breast[.] Hee Informed his master of the sight, Who laughed at it[.] Some monethes thereafter He gave the Doublet which Hee Did weare, When the Sier Did Sie the dager in his breast, to his servant, Who Did Weare or Keepe it Ane Year,<sup>g</sup> & then Did give it to this footman Who Wes the Sier and hee wes stabed be annother in the breast When that Doublet wes one him. My Lord you May enquere further <in> the truth of this. Some things (tho nothing Demonstrative) perswade me still to

<sup>d</sup> George MacKay, 3rd Baron Reay (1678–1748), had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society on 9 November 1698.

<sup>e</sup> MS ii, 4–6 (paginated 1–6, and this has been followed here). Printed in Pepys, *Private Correspondence*, i, 213–19. The bulk of the letter is in a scribal hand (as Reay explains), but the last page and signature are in Reay's holograph. Pepys's copy of this letter and of the copy of Tarbat's comprise MS ii, 10–11: see Introductory Notes on the Texts, p. 46.

<sup>f</sup> I.e. Lord Reay's great-grandfather, Donald MacKay, 1st Lord Reay (1591–1649).

<sup>g</sup> Pepys's copy here has 'about a Year'; Pepys, *Private Correspondence*, i, 213, has 'two years'.

suspect that the Qualities of the eyes and <air><sup>3</sup> in these places, May contribute much to this sight, for as to the emission of species especially from moveing bodies, Beings are litle to be Doubted But that the species should flow from things befor they exist<sup>4</sup> whilst they are only potentiall as to the Circumstance wherin they are seen Requyr a new Sistem of phillosophy for explicating it. My Lord As to the Salt beeff I have eat salt beefe in the Castle of Borthwick (which is within eight mylls of Edinburgh<sup>5</sup> And I presume that it is the reladeall [?] that You have heird of) which both the housse keeper and others told me to be above 200 year old and still kepted in that place, And I Doubt not ther is of it as yet there, All the Gentlemen about that place concoure in the testimonie, for those liveing have heard it related by theyr Grandfathers as never to be Doubted of its being of soe /p. 2/ old a Date It would not appear to the eye to be other than a soft wood, But<sup>6</sup> when boylled It is evidently Deserned to be flesh, And ther is Testimoniall proof sufficient to extend it, beyonnd Hary the eight: that is I have heard old men of Good and untainted veracitie aserte that there Grandfathers Did afirm it to be esteemed wonderfull old

I wishe for a particular accompt of the sea fowll which builds in Earth holes lyk rabuts. I apprehend it to be the same which is called lyres In Orkany[.] You have them in Ileand henda.<sup>h</sup>

Sir this is the answar I had from my Lord Tarbat And receive heirinlosed a Coppie of the letter Hee sent to Mr Boyle[.] I Informed my selfe of the trueth of the Storie about my Grandfathers footman and finde <it> literally true: As Also of ane other much of the same Nature which I shall Give you ane accompt of Because that I had it from a sure authore being a frend of my own of unquestionable<sup>7</sup> honestie to whoes father the thing happened and Who wes witness to it all himself

John Macky of Dilril haveing put one a new sheete of Cloathes,<sup>8</sup> wes told by a seer that hee did sie the Gallowes one his Coat, Which he never noticed But some tyme thereafter gave the Coat to his servant William Forbes to whoes honestie there could be nothing said at that tyme, But was shortly thereafter hanged for theft with the same Coat about him My Informer being Eye witness to the executione and heard what the seer said befor. I have heard severall other stories But shall trouble you with no more<sup>9</sup> than what has happened since I cam to this Countrey Ther wes a servant womane in Murdo Mckyes house in Langduale one Strathnawer in the schyre of Sutheland told her Mistris shee saw the Gallowes about her brothers neck (Who<sup>10</sup> hade then the repute of being ane honest mane) at which her Mistris being offended put her out of her house, Her brother haveing stolen some goods wes sentenced to be hanged the 22 August 1698, Yet by the Intercessione of Severall Gentlmen who became baile for his further behaviour wes set free (tho not Customerie by our law) which made one of the Gentlemen Called leftenant Alexander Mckey<sup>i</sup> tell the woman servant that shee was once Deceaved, (The man being At libertie,) Shee replied hee is not Dead as yet, But<sup>11</sup> shall Certainly be Hanged.

<sup>h</sup> Reay refers to a rare and delicious sea fowl found in Orkney. It is the Manx shearwater (*Puffinus anglorum*). Handa is a small island on the west coast of Sutherland, a little south of Loch Laxford and some way north of Loch Glencoul.

<sup>i</sup> I.e. McKay; perhaps related to the figures referred to on pp. 148–9, above.

Accordingly, hee begane to steall of new, and being /p. 3/ Caught wes Hanged the 14th of February 1699. I wes this year at Hunting in my forest, Haveing<sup>12</sup> Severall highlanders with me And speaking of the second sight, One told me ther wes a boy in company that saw it, and had told many things which fell out to be true, and haveing Called him hee confessed it, I asked him what hee saw Last He told hee had <seen> the night before such a man by name who lived<sup>13</sup> 30 mylls from that place breaking my forrester servant's head the servant over hearing Laughed at him Sayeing, that, that could not be they being very good freinds. I Did not believe it then, but it hes certainly happend since.

These stories with what is Contained in my Lord Tarbats Letters are the most sufficient to prove the second sight of any ever I heard, and The people are so much perswaded of the trueth of it in the highlands and Isles That one would be More Laught at, for not beleiveing it there Than affirmeing it elsewhere,<sup>14</sup> for my owne part I Doe not Questione it Tho But a small Ground to perswade others to the beleife of it But I Dare afirm hade You the same Reasons I have You would be of my opinione. <I mean had you heard all the stories I have, attested by men of honour not to be doubted and been eye witness to some of them yourself, as the breaking of the mans head, fortelling of an others death and another story which the same boy told me long ere they happened.><sup>15</sup>

Their was a Blind woman in this Countrey in my tyme, who sie them perfectly wele, and fortold severall things that happened, Which hundereds of honest men can atest Shee wes not Borne blind, but became so by accident to that Degree that shee did not sie as Much as a Glimereing, Yet Saw the Second Sight as perfectly as befor.

I have Gote a mannu-script since I came to Scoteland Called Ane<sup>16</sup> Essay of the Nature and actiones of the Subterrenians (And for the most parte) Invisible people, heirtofor goeing under the names of Elves faunes and faries, or the like among the low Countrey Scots & tearmed *hubhrisgedh*, *caiben*, *lusbartan* 7 *siotbrudh* Amongst the Tramontans or Scottish Irish as they are now Descrybed By those that have the second sight And Now to occassione further enquerie Collected and compared by M: R K.<sup>j</sup> /p. 4/

The authore of this treatise was a parson <I received a letter this day from a friend I imployed promising me his acquaintance which I'm very covetous of, being perswaded it will give me much insight in this matter.><sup>k</sup> And Yet after giveing a very full accompt of this second sight, <defends><sup>17</sup> that there is no sin in it upon severall Reasones too tedious to relate; But when ever I have occasione I shall send you a Coppie of the booke; He is not of my Lord Tarbats opinione as to the qualitie of aire and Eyes. Ther is a people in these Countreyes surnamed Mansone who sie this sight Naturally Both men and womane tho they comonely deny it, But affirmed by all ther Neighbour

A seer with whome I wes Reasoneing one this subject finding me very Incredu-

<sup>j</sup> I.e., Kirk's *Secret Commonwealth*: see above, pp. 20, 40.

<sup>k</sup> The inserted passage is written in the lefthand margin. The identity of Reay's contact is unclear. Reay was obviously unaware that Kirk had been dead for some years.

lous of the trueth of what he asserted offered to let me sie them aswell as himselfe<sup>18</sup> I asked If hee could free me from sieing them thereafter And he saying he Could not put a stope to my Curiositie[.] the maner of shooeing them to ane other is, The seer puts both his hands and his feet above yours, And Mutters some words to himselfe which Doone both sies them alike.

This is Sir All the Informations I cane send You one this head till I have occasion to send You the formentioned treatise.

I Could Never heare any thing of the salt Beeffe save<sup>19</sup> what my Lord Tarbat tells of the beeff of Borthwick Which severall ages . . .<sup>1</sup> In vaine. You never heard of these foulls Called Lyres mentioned in my Lord T: his letter Its a Gray foull short winged of the size of a Teell with a bill like a Maveral<sup>m</sup> They build in holes of the Earth like Rabats but not above 3 foot in, the Young Ones are comonly Caught by a hooke tyed to the end of a stick Which by turneing the stick aboute entangles in the Nest and so pulls it and the Young out, Its almost all fat and so luscious that they are seldom <eaten><sup>20</sup> till they be salted, I have them in Island Henda But never sie one of them[.] Ther are severall other foulls on this Coast And many things in the Countrey that deserve a particulare descriptione But I had never tyme tho my enclynatione were never so good. /p. 5/

There is a Loch calld Dundelchake one the Laird of McKintosh his land two myles above Lochnes one a hight Which wes never known to freese befor Candlsmas<sup>n</sup> (Save once <19><sup>21</sup> years agoe) But freeses very hard then with the least frost,

Lochness minds me of a man<sup>22</sup> I sie at Inverness selling peats for fire[.] He is 125 Yeare old Yet comes 6 mylls back and fore in one day twice a week to sell those peats, The oldest man in that Countrey told me that hee wes a wery old man when hee was a Chyld.

There is a Kyle in the Harris a myle longe Which runes the winter halfe of the yeare (that is to say from September to March) Northerly<sup>23</sup>, And from thence to September againe Southerly I have forgot the name of the Kyle.

The Bones said to be found in the Court of the Earl of Argyles house at Inverarra, of a Monstrous bignes wes but a Romance.

I Cannot positivly tell you whether the Clay goose<sup>o</sup> be Suppositious or not tho all this Countrey men affirm it for a trueth I have seen my selfe ane old maste of a ship come in one the shore full of larg holes As If made by wormes wherinto ther sticks a shell within which ther is a small thing Which resembles a foull in every thing <in a warm day the shell oppens and the fowl would seem to stretch their wings.><sup>24</sup> But many of undoubted honestie assure me they have seen a foule with wings feathers feet and taill<sup>25</sup> sticking to a tree by the bill but wanted lyfe the shell falls away when they com to perfectione as ane Egg braiks and they stick by the bill till they Get lyfe

<sup>1</sup> The MS is damaged at this point.

<sup>m</sup> Probably for mavelard or mallard, a wild duck.

<sup>n</sup> I.e. Candlemas, 2 February.

<sup>o</sup> I.e. the claik or barnacle goose, to which this legend was attached. The find at the Argyle family seat at Inverary mentioned in the previous sentence has not otherwise been identified.

Those that were seen sticking to the tree wes as Larg as a small Chickine they engender only in firr<sup>26</sup> trees I have <seen> severall after they cam to perfectione but not <sticking> to the tree. /p. 6/ Their<sup>27</sup> will be hundreds of them sticking to one old mast, or planck of a ship.

I<sup>28</sup> spared no pains, (when my troublesome affairs) gave me leasure to satisfy your curiosity and am sory that I can't do it as much as I would de[ar] Syr, tho' I used my indeavour, But be sure if I can gett any information in this or any thing else that is curious, that I won't fail to acquaint you of it. I would be content to know the reason why<sup>29</sup> the lake never freezes till a certain tyme, and freezes with the least frost then, I can easily conceive why it should not freeze at all as many in this country never doe. And what can occasion the running of the formentioned Kyle the one half of the year southerly and <the> contrary the other half seeing the ocean at both end's of it (being only a myle long) flows & ebbs as other sea's. And if a fowl can reasonably ingender out of fir tree by lying in the sea, youl say not, but if real as I'm almost perswaded, what can be [the] occasion of it.

I expect you'l acquaint me how soone you receive this, And be perswaded that I am

Honoured Sir  
Your most humble  
Servant  
Reay

I made use of a servant to write  
this because my own hand  
is not very legible which  
occasions it's being so very  
uncorrect, and that I have  
not tyme scarcely to look over it.

*Enclosure: copy of Lord Tarbat's letter to Boyle*<sup>P</sup>

Copy of my Lord Tarbats letter to  
Mr Boyle.

Sir

I heard very Much but beleived very litle of the Second Sight, Yet its being affirmed by severalls of Great veracitie, I was enduced to make some enquerie after it in the year 1652, being then Confyned to Abyde in the North of Scoteland by the English usurpers, The more Generall accompts of it were That many highlanders Yet farr more Islanders were qualified with this sight, That men women<sup>30</sup> and children Indistinctly were subject it And Children whose parents were not Sometime people come to<sup>31</sup> age who had it not when young, Nore could any tell me by what meanes

<sup>P</sup> MS ii, 7 (paginated 7–10, and this has been followed here), printed in Pepys, *Private Correspondence*, i, 219–25. The MS also contains a copy made at Pepys's behest, ii, 11a, entitled 'The Lord Torbat on the same subject to Mr Boyle'.

produced, Its a Trouble to most of them who are subject unto it And they would be rid<sup>32</sup> of it at any rate if they could, The sight is of no long Duratione only Continuallly [sic]<sup>q</sup> so long as they Keep their eyes Steadie without twinckeing<sup>33</sup> The Hardie therfor fix their look that they may sie the longer But the timorous sie only glances their eyes alwayes twinkleing at the first sight of the object.

That which Generally is<sup>34</sup> seen by them are the species of liveing Creatures and of Animat<sup>r</sup> things which are in motione suche as shippes and Habites uppone persones[.] They never sie the species of any persone who is allreadie Dead[.] What they forsie fealls not to existe in the mode & in that place Where it appears to them. They can not<sup>35</sup> tell what space of tyme Shall Interveen betwixt the aparitione, and reall existance But some of the hardiest & longest experience have some Rules for Conjectures As if they sie a man with a Shrewding Sheet in the apparitione they would Conjecture at the neirnes and remotenes of his death by the more or less of his Bodie that is Covered by it, They will ordinarily sie ther absent freinds, tho at a great distance, sometymes no less than from America to Scoteland sitting, standing, or walking in some Certaine place, And then they concloude With assueance that they<sup>36</sup> will sie them so, and there. If a man be in Love with a woman, they will ordinarily sie the species of that man standing by her, And so lykwayes If a woman be in Love, And they Conjecture at ther enjoyment (of each other) by the species toucheing of the persone<sup>37</sup> or appeirance at a distance from her If any enjoy not another. If they sie the species of any person who is sick<sup>38</sup> to death they sie them Covered over with a shrewding sheet.

These Generally I hade verified to me by such of them as did sie And were esteemed honest and sober by all the neighbourhood for I inquired,<sup>39</sup> after such for my Informatione And because ther were more siers In the Isles of Lewes, Harris, and Uist, than any other place I did<sup>40</sup> Intreat Sir James McDonald (who is now Dead) Sir Normade McLeod And Mr Daniell Morison /p. 8/ A very honest parson (who is still alyve) to make inquerie<sup>41</sup> in this strange sight, And to acquent me therwith, Which they did<sup>s</sup> And all found ane agreement in these Generalls And Informed me of many Instances Confirmeing what they<sup>42</sup> said, But tho men of discretion & honour being but at second hand I <would> Choose rather to put my self than my freinds in the hazard of being Laughed at, for Incredible relationes

I wes once travelling yn the highelands and a good Number of servants with me, as is usuall ther And one of them Goeing a litle befor me entereing unto a house Where I was to stay all Night and Goeing heastily to the Doore, he suddenly start back With a scrich and did fall by a stone that hitt his foot[.] I asked What the matter wes for hee seemed to me to be very much frighted[.] He told me very seriouslie that I should not Lodge in that house, because shortly a dead Coffine would be Caryd out of it, for many were Caryeing it when hee wes herd Cry, I Neglecting his words and staying there He said to others of the servents, He wes very sorie for it, And that what hee saw would surely come to pass, and tho no sick persone wes then

q Pepys's copy has 'continuing'.

r Perhaps a mistake for 'inanimate'. Pepys's copy has 'Inanimat'.

s For details of the protagonists in Tarbat's narrative, see above, pp. 51–2, 91.

there Yet the Landlord a healthie highlander Dyed of ane apoplextick fitt befor I left the house

In the year 1653 Alexander Munro (afterwards Lieutenant Collonell to the Earle of Dumbartones Regiment) and I were walkeing in a place called Ullabill in Lochbroome, In a litle plain at the foot of a Rugged hill, Tharr wes a servant working with a spaide in the walk befor us his back to us and his face to the hill[.] Befor wee came near him, He let the spaide fall and looked Towards the hill, He took Notice of us, wee pass near him Which made me look at him and perceaveing him to Stair strangely,<sup>43</sup> I Conjectured him to be a seer[.] I Called at him, At which hee started and smiled, What are you Doeing said I, He answered I have seen a very strange thing Ane army of Englishmen leading of horses Comeing Downe that hill, And a Number of them are come Downe to the plaine and eating the Barley which is Groweing in the feild, neare to the hill, this wes one the 4th of May (for I noted the day) And it wes four or fyve dayes befor the Barley wes sown in the feild he spoke of, Alexander Munro asked him how hee knew they were English men, Hee said because they were leading horses, and had one hats and boots Which he Knew no scots men would have one there[.] Wee took litle Nottice of the whole storie as other then a foolish visione But wished that ane English partie were there wee being then at warr with them And the place almost unaccessable for horsmen, But in the begineing of August thereafter The Earle of Midletonne (then liffenent for the King in the Highelands) Haveing occatione to march a partie of his towards the South highelands He sent his foot through a place called Inverlawell And the fore part which wes first downe the hill Did fall of eating the Barley Which wes one the litle plain under it.<sup>44</sup> And Monro, Calling to mynd what the seer told us in May preceeding, He wrote of it and sent ane express to me to Lochsline in Ross (where I then wes) with it.

I hade occatione to be in company where a Young Lady wes (excuse my not nameing of persones) and I wes told there wes a Notable seer in the Company and I called him to speak /p. 9/ with me,<sup>45</sup> as I Did ordinarily when I found any of them, And after hee had answered severall Questiones I asked him if hee saw any persone to be in Love with that Lady, He said hee did but Knew not the persone for dureing the two dayes hee had been in her Company, He perceavd one standing near her and his head Leaneing one her shoulders, which hee said Did fortell that the man should mary her. And Dy befor here (According to his observatione) <this> <sup>46</sup> wes in the year 1655[.] I Desyred him to Descrybe the persone which hee did so I could<sup>47</sup> Conjecture by the descriptione, of such ane one who wes of that Ladyes acquaintance tho there were no thought of their mariage till two years thereafter And haveing occasion in the Yeare 1657 to find this seer who wes ane Islander,<sup>48</sup> In company with the other persone whome I Conjectured to have been descrybed by him I called him asyde and asked if that wes<sup>49</sup> the persone hee saw besyde the Lady near two years then past, hee said it wes, hee in deed for hee had seen that Lady Just then standing by him, hand in hand[.] This wes some few monethes befor their marredge, And the man is since Dead, And the Lady still alive

I shall trouble you but with one more which I thought most remarkable of any that occurred to me, In January 1682 [sic] the above named Lieutenant Colonel



Monro & I Happened to bee in the house of William McLeod of Feirinlea<sup>50</sup> in the Countrey of Ross, He, the Landlord, and I, sitting in three Chairs near the fyre, And in the Corner of the great Chimney there were two Islanders who were that very night come to the house & were related to the Landlord of the house, While the one of them wes Talkeing with Monro, I perceavd the other to Look oddly towards me, from his look, and his being ane Islander, I Conjectured him a seere, and asked him, why he staired, He answd by desyreing me to Ryse from that Chaire, for it wes ane unluckie one, I asked why[?] hee said because there wes a dead man in the Chair next to it, Well said I, if it be but in the next, I may safely<sup>51</sup> sit here But whats the likness of the man[?] He said He wes a tall man with a Long Gray Coate booted and one of his Leggs hanging over the Chair And his head hanging deed to the other syde and his arme backward as it were brockine[.] Ther was then some English troops Quartered near the place, and ther being at that tyme a great Froast<sup>52</sup> after a thaw, The Countrey was wholly Coverd over with Ice, Four or fyve English men ryding by this house some two hours after the vision where wee were sitting by the fyre Wee heard a great Noyse which proved to be these troupers, with the helpe of other servants Caryeing in one of their number, who had Gott a very Mischeifous fall and hade his arme brook; And falling frequently in swooneing fitts, They brought him to the Hall And sett him in the very Chaire And in The very poyster the seer had proposed But the man /p. 10/ Did not Dye tho he recoverd with great Dificultie.

Among the accompts Given me by Sir Normade McLeod ther wes one worthie of speciall Nottice Which wes this Ther wes a Gentleman in the Isle of Harris who alwayes seen by the seers with ane Arrow in his Thigh, such in the Isle who thought these prognosticationes Infallable Did not Doubt but hee would be shott in the thigh, Befor hee dyed, Sir Normade told me that hee heard it the subject of their Discourse for many years when that Gentleman wes present, At last He dyed without any such accident, Sir Normad was at his buriall at St Clements Church in the Harris[.] At the sam tyme the Corpes of ane other Gentleman wes brought to be buried in the same very Church, The frends one Either syde cam to Debeat Who should first enter the Church and in a trice from words they came to blowes, One of the Number (who wes armed with<sup>53</sup> Bow and Arrowes) Let one fly amonge them (Now every famely in that Isle have ther burriall place in the Church in stone Chists[.] And the Bodes are Caryed in oppon beers to the buriall place) Sir Normande haveing apaced the tumult one of the Arrowes wes found <shot> in the dead mans thigh to this Sir Normand himself wes a witness.

In the accompt<sup>54</sup> Mr Daniell Morisone parsonne in the Lewis gave me ther wes one which tho it be Hetrogenous from this subject Yet it may be worth Your Nottice. It was of a young woman in his parish, who wes mightilie frightened, by seeing her own Image still befor her alwayes when shee came unto the oppen air And the back of the Image being alwayes to her, So that it wes not a reflectione as in a mirroure But the species of such a body as her owne And in a very lyk habitte which appered to her self Continually befor here, The parsonne kepted her a long tyme with him But hade no remedie of her evill which troubled here exceedinglie I wes told afterwards that when shee wes 4 or 5 years older shee saw it not.

These are matters of fact which I asure you are truely related but these and all

others that occurred to me by Informatione or other wayes could<sup>55</sup> never lead me Into a remote Conjecture of <the cause> so extra ordinare a phænomenon[;]<sup>56</sup> whether it be a qualitie in the Eyes of some people in those parts concuring with a qualitie in the aire alsoe whether such species be every where though not seen by the want of eyes so qualified or from what ever other cause I must leave to the enquerie of Clearer Judgments than Myne[.] But a hint may be taken from this Image which appeared Still to this womane aformentioned & from another mentioned by Aristotle in the 4th of his metaphisicks If I remember right for it <is> longe since I read it As alsoe from that comone opinione that Young Infants (unsoyled with many objects) Doe see apparitiones which are not seen by those of oldere Years lykeways from<sup>57</sup> this that <severall> who did see the second sight when in the Highlands or Isles Yet when Transported to live in other Countreys especially in America<sup>58</sup> they Quite lose this qualitie as wes told me by a Gentleman who knew <some> of them in Barbadas who did sie no vision ther altho he knew them to be seers when they lived in the Isles of Scotland<sup>59</sup>.

*Pepys to Lord Reay, 21 November 1699<sup>t</sup>*

Mr Pepys to the Lord Reay  
York-Buildings Nov. 21st. 1699.

To the Lord Reay.  
My Lord,

I can never enough acknowledge either the honour or Favour of your Lordship's Letters of the 10th & 24th of the last. Could I have foreseen the least part of the fatigue my Enquirys have cost Your Lordship in the answering, I should have proceeded with more tenderness in the burthening you with them. But since your Lordship has had the goodness to undergo it; I cannot repent me of being the Occasion of your giving the World so early a Proof of what may further be expected from a Genius<sup>60</sup> so curious, so painful, so discerning, & every way so truly Philosophical, as Your Lordship has herein shewn Yourself to be. In the Exercise whereof I cannot (as an Old Man) but wish you a long Life, & a happy; to the honour of Your Noble Family, your Country, the whole Commonwealth of Learning, & more particularly that part of it (the Royal Society of England, dedicated to the advancement of Natural Knowledge) whereto Your Lordship is already become a peculiar Ornament.

And now, My Lord, for the Matter of Your Letters, they carry too much of Obser-

<sup>t</sup> Pepys's copy, MS ii, 8 (paginated 11–13, i.e. continuing from the previous item, and this has been followed here), printed in Pepys, *Private Correspondence*, i, 240–3. It is endorsed on the second verso, which is otherwise blank: 'Nov. 21. 1699. SP to the Lord Reay, Chiefe of the Mackays in the High-Lands of Scotland; upon the Subject of the Second Sight' ('Second' is preceded by 'Double' deleted). There is a duplicate of this letter in MS ii, 9.

vation & Weight in them, to bee too easily spoken to: And therefore shall pray Your<sup>61</sup> Lordship's bearing with me, if I ask a little more time for it.

This only I shall not now spare to say; That as to the Business of the Second-sight, I little expected to have been ever brought so near to a Conviction of the reality of it, /p. 12/ as by your Lordship's & the Lord Tarbutt's Authorities, I must already own myself to be.

Not that I yet know how to subscribe to my Lord Tarbutt's charging it upon some singularity of Quality in the Air, or Eye of the Persons affected therewith: Forasmuch as I have never heard of other Consequences of any indisposure in the Medium or Organ<sup>62</sup> of Sight, than what related to the miscolouring, misfiguring, diminishing, or undue magnifying of an Object truly existing and expos'd thereto. Whereas in this Case, we are entertain'd with Daggars, Shrouds, Arrows, Gibbets, & God knows what, that indeed are not: And consequently must be the Creatures of the Mind only (however directed to them) & not of the Eye.

Nor yet, as to the reality of this Effect; would I be thought, My Lord, to derive this Propension of mine to the Belief of it, to the Credit only which I find it to have obtain'd among your Neighbours the High-landers; for that it has been my particular fortune to have outliv'd the belief of another Point of Faith relating to the Eyes, no less Extraordinary, nor of less universal Reception elsewhere, than this can be in Scotland. I mean, the *Mal de ojo*<sup>u</sup> in Spain; with a third touching the sanative<sup>63</sup> & Prophetick Faculty of the *Saludadores* there. As having heretofore pursu'd my Enquirys therein so far upon the Place,<sup>64</sup> as to have fully convinc'd myself of the Vanity thereof, especially of the Latter, from the very Confessions of its Professors.<sup>v</sup>

But, My Lord, where (as in the Matter before us) the Power pretended to is so far from being of any advantage to the Possessors, as on the contrary to be attended with constant uneasiness to them, as well as for the most<sup>65</sup> part of evil & grievous /p. 13/ import (& irresistibly so) to the Persons it is apply'd to: In consequence whereof (as Your Lordship well notes) Your Seers are both desirous to be themselves ridd of it, & ready to communicate it to any other that will adventure on't. I say, these Considerations, joyn'd to that of its being so abundantly attested by Eye-witnesses of unquestionable Faith, Authority, & Capacity to judge, will not permit me to distrust the truth of it; at least, till something shall arise from my further deliberations upon your Lordship's Papers leading me thereto, than I must acknowledge there yet do's. In which Case, I shall give myself the liberty of resorting again to Your Lordship; praying<sup>66</sup> in the meantime to know how far I have your leave to make some of my Learned Friends partakers with me in the pleasure of them, & of what Your Lordship has been pleas'd with so much generosity to promise me of further light upon this Subject from the Manuscript lately come to<sup>67</sup> your Lordship's hand; a Copy of which will be a most welcome & lasting Obligation upon me from your Lordship.

I should now go to the rest of your excellent Remarks upon the Beef, the Geese, the Loch, the Peat-man, & the Kyle; nor shall an<sup>68</sup> Iota of them drop. But they have all <of them> their peculiar Weight; & I would not so soon requite Your Lordship's

<sup>u</sup> 'The evil eye'.

<sup>v</sup> See above, Introduction, p. 25.

late fatigue in writing, with a greater from myself in reading; and therefore (for your Lordship's sake only) choose rather to respite it to the next; remaining, with most profound respect,

My Lord,  
Your Lordship's most obedient servant,  
S Pepys.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Reay,  
to be left with Robert Menies  
at the Bill-Chamber in Edenburgh

*Lord Reay to Pepys, 9 January 1700<sup>w</sup>*

Invernesse. Jan. 9th  
1700.

Sir

I hade yours some tyme agoe and was delaying my returne in expectation to have sent you the manuscript I promised<sup>69</sup> But being oblided to stay some tyme from home you can't expect it so soone: I don't know whither to thank or blame you for your Letter which contained many things I did not deserve But we are apt to beleive all that is said to our advantadge which is a great failling And you'l excuse me to say you was too complasant[.] You may if ye think it worth the whyle communicat my Letter to whom you please For there is nothing in it but I know to be true or have good authors for And think it needless (tho I have heard many) to relaite any more<sup>70</sup> /p. 15/ stories of the second sight save one. which hapened since I wrote my last. A Gentleman who was married to «a Cousen of» Drynies living in the County of Ross<sup>x</sup> having come to waite of him on night at his own house called him to the door (the ordinary complements being past) to speak to him about some business But when they went out he was so frightned that he fainted and being recovered would nowayes stay in the house that night But went with his wife to a fermers hard by where shee asking why he left the house he told publickly that he knew Drynie would dye that night. For when they went to the Door he saw his wynding sheet about him And accordingly the Gentleman dyed that night tho he went to bed in perfect health and hade no Sickness for some tyme befor[.] I had this storie from Drynies son, The fermer, his servant, & the man himselfe, who saw it; For my pairt I am fully convinced of this sight But what to atribute it to I know not[,] neither can I

<sup>w</sup> MS ii, 9 (paginated 14–15, and this has been followed here), printed in Pepys, *Private Correspondence*, i, 268–9. It is endorsed on the separate cover-sheet: 'Invernesse Janu<sup>ay</sup> 9th 1699/700. Ld Reay to Mr Pepys touching the Second Sight'. MS ii, 9 comprises a duplicate of this letter.

<sup>x</sup> This figure has not been identified.

be convinced no more then you that it depends on the quality of either air or eyes But would gladly know your opinion of it[.] I assure you I have been at a daile of paines to informe myselfe in this and you shall find me as carfull in what else you recommend to me. I hope to see you Shortly in London and am Sir,

Your verie humble servant,  
Reay.

Inverness January  
9th 1700.

The badness of my rule <occasions><sup>71</sup> my making use of another.

*George Hickes<sup>y</sup> to Pepys, 19 June 1700<sup>z</sup>*

London June 19<sup>th</sup>. 1700

Honoured Sir.

I have been ill of a cold since I had the honour to wait upon you and Mr Ewres,<sup>a</sup> and that hath been the cause why I have been so long in performing the promise I made, of sending you in writing some things, you gave me occasion to say by imparting to me my Lord Reays letter to you, and the letter my Lord Tarbot wrote to him concerning the *second sight*.<sup>b</sup> This is a very proper term for that sight which those Scottish see-ers, or visionists have of things by representation. For as the sight of a thing itself is in order of nature the first or primary sight of it; so the sight of it by any representation whether really made without, as all apparitions are, or<sup>72</sup> within upon the stage of the imagination, as all sorts of visions are made, is in order of nature the second; or secondary sight of that thing, and therefore the sight of any thing by representation tho first in order of time may properly be call'd the second sight thereof. Thus the sight of a picture in order of nature is indeed the second sight of the thing, whose picture it is, and if custome would allow it, might be so called. But the Scots have restrained the use of the term only to that sight of things by appear-

<sup>y</sup> George Hickes (1642–1715), divine and scholar, was appointed chaplain to Lauderdale (see below) in 1676; from 1683 to 1690 he was dean of Worcester, and after being deprived of that office became a leading nonjuror.

<sup>z</sup> MS ii, 12–13 (each comprising two folios with text both on recto and verso), printed in Pepys, *Private Correspondence*, i, 367–76. The letter is in the hand of an amanuensis, signed by Hickes. It is endorsed: 'London June 19th 1700 [‘7’ altered from ‘6’]. The Dean of Worcester (the Learned Dr Hickes) to Mr Pepys upon the subject of the Second Sight & pretended to in Scotland.' This endorsement is repeated twice on the cover sheet, MS ii, 14.

<sup>a</sup> I.e. William Hewer (1642–1715), Pepys's former clerk, confidant and executor.

<sup>b</sup> Hickes was confused concerning the recipient of Tarbat's letter, apparently authorising a correction on this point: see below, n. 74. He was also confused concerning Lord Reay's and Hewer's roles: see Introduction, pp. 24, 25.

ance or representation, which those seers, or visionists among them use to have, but whether in outward apparitions alwaies, or inward visions, or sometimes one way, and some[times] the other, I have not yet learned, but it would be an inquiry proper for the subject, and fit for that<sup>73</sup> ingenious lord to make:

I told you when I was in scotland I never met with any learned man either among their divines, or lawyers, who doubted of the thing. I had the honour to hear my Lord Tarbot tell that story of the second-sight of my Lord Middletons march with his army down a hill which you read in the letter which his Lordship wrote to <Mr Boyle>.<sup>74</sup> It was before the Duke <of> Lauderdale he told it, when his grace was high-commissioner of Scotland about 22 years ago.<sup>c</sup> At the same time, as I remember, he entertaind the Duke with a story of *Elf-arrows*, which was very surprizing to me. They are of a triangular form somewhat like the beard or pile of our old English arrows of war, almost as thin, as one of our old groats, made of flint, or pebles, or such like stones, and these the country people in Scotland believe that evill spirits, which they calle *Elves* from the old Danish word *Alfiur*, which signifies *dæmon*, *genius*, *satyrus*, do shoot into the hearts of cattel, as coves, <oxen &> horses, and as I remember, my Lord Tarbot /12(1)v/ or some other Lord did produce one of these elf-arrows which one of his tenants or neighbours took out of the heart of one his cattel, that died of an usual death. I have another strange story but very well atteste<d> of an elf-arrow that was shot at a venerable Irish<sup>75</sup> bishop by an evill spirt in a terrible noise lowder than any thunder which shaked the house, where the bishop was, but this I reserve for his son to tell you, who is<sup>76</sup> one of the deprived Irish clergy-men, and very well known, as by other excellent pieces, so by his late book enstituted *The snake in the grass*.<sup>d77</sup> I mention this to encourage you to desire my Lord to send you a more perfect account of these elf-arrows, the subject being of so near alliance to that of the second sight, and to wichcraft, which is akin to them both. As for this subject, I had <a> very tragicall; but authentick story told me by the Duke of Lauderdale; which happened in the famly of Sir John Dalrymple laird of Stairs, and then Lord president; as they call the Lord chief Justice of Scotland.<sup>e78</sup> His grace told it to me when he was high-commissioner there 22 years ago, and he had no sooner told it me, but my Lord President com<e>ing into the room, he desird my Lord to tell it me himself, which altering his countenance he did with a very dismall melancholick air, but it is so long since that I dare not trust my memory to relate the particulars of it, tho it was a memorable story, but if my Lord Reay would be pleased to make enquiry into it <of><sup>79</sup> the present heir of the family, he would find it a story of great authority and worthy to be written by his excellent pen. Sir I beg your pardon for this digression from the second sight to witches, and perhaps the divine whome

c John Maitland, 2nd Earl and 1st Duke of Lauderdale (1616–82) was secretary for Scottish affairs, 1660–80.

d Hickeys reference is to *The Snake in the Grass* (1696) by the nonjuror and controversialist, Charles Leslie (1650–1722), son of John Leslie (1571–1671), Bishop of Clogher, the ‘venerable Irish bishop’ mentioned in the text.

e Hickeys reference is to Sir James Dalrymple, Laird of Stair (1619–95), and Lord President of the Court of Session, who was created Viscount Stair in 1690.

my Lord Reay tells you hath written a book in the defence of the innocency of seing things by the help of it, would be offended with me for joining them together.<sup>f</sup> In truth Sir I long to see that book, being myself uncertain in my opinion, whether that way of seeing things be always from a good or evill cause, or sometimes from one, and sometimes from the other: one would hope that in good men, who contribut nothing towards the having of it, it should be from good spirits, which the old Danes, and Norwegians, from whome the Scots have a great part of their language, called <lios-alfar>,<sup>80</sup> i.e. spirits of light, but in those who come to have it by certain forms of words which we call charm<e>s, or by doing, and performing such ceremonies, <as><sup>81</sup> are mentioned in my Lords letter, one would think it proceeded from evill spirits which the old Danes, and Norwegians called <suart-alfar><sup>82</sup> i.e. black spirits.<sup>g</sup> nay when wicked men have it <tho> without contributing any thing towards it, by charmes or ceremonies, one would fear upon the account of their wickedness, which provokes God and their good angells /12(2)/ to abandon them, that it proceeded from evill-spirits. It may also be presumed to proceed from the same cause in men otherwise of <unblamed><sup>83</sup> lives who are addicted to the study of magick, or judicial astrology, or who are known to converse with Dæmons, as many amongst the learned both ancient, and modern, both foreigners and our own countrymen are said to have done.

A good number of well attested stories out of good historians, and records, as well as living witnesses, would help to resolve these doubts. Among the former are to be consulted the histories of the old Northern nations written in old Danish of Suedish, which commonly have the title of<sup>84</sup> SAGA, which signifies a narration or history, and have been printed of late in Denmark, or Sueden.<sup>h</sup> But it may be those theories, and many more are sufficiently resolved, and accounted for, in the book above mentioned, which my Lord hath promised to send you. But if not, his Lordship <hath> great oppertunities of further enquiry into facts, by which as by *Phæomena* they may be resolved. It was commonly reported when I was in Scotland, that the Lord *Seaforth* then living had the second sight, and thereby foretold a very dreadfull storm to some of his friends who went by sea from London to Scotland, in which they had like to have been cast away.<sup>i</sup> I once heard the Duke of Lauderdale railly <with him> about it, but he neither did own it, or disown it, according to that maxim of the civill law, Qui tacet, ut non negat, sic utique neque fatetur.<sup>j</sup> At the same time there was a girle in custody at Edinburgh whose name was Jannet D<o>uglasse about 12 or 13 years of age; famous for the Second sight, and the discovery of witches, and their malefices, and inchantments thereby. This girle first signalized her self in the Western Highlands where she discovered how one Sir G. Maxwell was tormented in

<sup>f</sup> I.e. Robert Kirk: see above, p. 163.

<sup>g</sup> The *ljóðfar* are elves of light. The opposite in Icelandic is ordinarily *dökkðfar*, elves of darkness; but the usage *svart ðfar*, black elves, is found in the Edda.

<sup>h</sup> A reference to the publication of the poetic and prose Edda and other texts by the Danish scholar Peder Hansen Resen (1625–88) in 1665.

<sup>i</sup> Kenneth Mackenzie, 3rd Earl of Seaforth, who died in 1678.

<sup>j</sup> 'He who remains silent, just as he does not deny, nor equally does he confess'.



Effigie by witches.<sup>k</sup> She was not known there where she made this, which was her first, discovery, but from thence she came to Glaskow, whither her fame having got before her, the people in great numbers run out to meet her. As he was surrounded with the crouds, she call'd out to one man, a Goldsmith, as I remember, and told him, that of so long <a> time he had not thriven in his trade, tho he was<sup>85</sup> very diligent in it, because an image was made against him, which he might find in such a corner of his shop, and when the man went home there he found it, where she said it was, and the Image was such both as to matter and form, as she had described it, viz, a little rude<sup>86</sup> image made of clay. She told another, that he and his wife, who had been a very <loving> couple, of late had liv'd in great discord to the grieffe and astonishment of them both; and when the man asked the reason, she answered, as she did before, that there /12(2)v/ was an image made against them.

I have forgot <whether> she named the witches, who made those images, as she did those who made that in which they tortured<sup>87</sup> Sir Geo. Maxwell. But by those, and other such discoveries she made such tumults and commotions, among the people in Glaskow, that the magistrates thought fit to confine her, and sent an account of her to the privy counsell att Edinburgh, who sent for her up in custody. But when she came near the city, the people went out to meet her in vast crouds, and as she was surrounded with them, she accused severall persons of witchcraft, which obliged them to put her in close confinement, to keep the people and their minds quiet from the commotions, she had raised in them.

This happend a little before the Duke of Lauderdale went the last time High-commissioner into SCOTLAND in May 1678, when I had the honour to attend him, as his domestick chaplain. Hearing these, and many other stories of this girle I had <a> desire to see her, and discours with her. But it was sometime before I could<sup>88</sup> obtain leave to goe to her, because an order had been made in counsell, before we came into Scotland, that none should be admitted to her. In the interim upon an invitation by the then Lord Archbishop of Glasgow Dr Burnett of honourable memory, afterwards made Archbishop of St Andrews,<sup>l</sup> I went to see Glasgow, where I had the happinesse to meet Dr Rosse then Lord Bishop of Argile, who afterwards succeeded Dr Burnet in the Archbishoprick of St Andrews, of which he was deprived with the whole order soon after the late revolution.<sup>m</sup> It was from him I had the stories above related concerning Jannet Douglass with many more, which I have forgot, from her first appearance in the highlands, to her coming to Glasgow. My Lord Archbishop is still living, and if my Lord Reay would please to enquire of him, and many others yet alive, about <that> girle, he would be able to give you an account of her much more worthy your knowlege than any thing I can now write of her at so great a distance of time. One thing I must not omit to tell you, that in all her Marches<sup>89</sup> from Sir George Maxwells to Edinburgh no body knew her, nor would

<sup>k</sup> For the Maxwell case, see above, Introduction, p. 3.

<sup>l</sup> Alexander Burnet (1614–84), Archbishop of Glasgow 1664–9 and 1674–9; Archbishop of St Andrews 1679–84.

<sup>m</sup> Arthur Ross (d. 1704), the last archbishop of St Andrews, who was deprived at the Revolution of 1689. He was appointed Bishop of Argyle in 1675 and of Galloway in 1679; Archbishop of Glasgow in 1679 and of St Andrews in 1684.



she discover to any, who she was. After I returned from Glasgow, I renewed my petition to my Lord Duke for leave to see /13(1)/ Jannet Douglass which he granted me. My desire of seeing her arose from a great curiosity <I> had to ask her some questions about the Second sight, by which she pretended to make all her discoveries.

I took a reverend and worthy divine of Edinburgh with me one Mr Scot minister of the church in the Abbey of Halyrood now the palace of the Scottish Kings.<sup>n</sup> When we were first brought to her, <I found her> as I had heard her described, to be a girl of very great assurance, undaunted, tho surprized att our coming, and suspicious that I was sent to betray her. This made <her> very shy of conversing with us, but after many, and serious protestations on my own part, that I came for no other end but to ask her some questions about the second sight, to which she pretended, she at last promised, she would freely answer me, provided I would use my interest with my Lord high commissioner to obtain her liberty, upon condition she went into England, never more to appear in Scotland, which I promised to do. Upon this I began to premise something of the baseness of lying, and deceiving, and especially <of> pretending to false revelations, and the dangerous consequences of such practises, which made all such lying pretenders <odious><sup>90</sup> to God and man, and then requiring her in the presence of God to tell me nothing but truth, she promised me with a serious air to tell me nothing but what was the very truth.

I then asked her, if indeed she had the second sight, and if by it she knew those things she had discovered, to which she answered in the affirmative. I then asked her, if she thought it proceeded from a good or evill cause, upon which she turned the question upon me, and asked me what I thought of it; I told her plainly I fear'd it was from an evill cause, but she replied quickly, she hoped *it was from good*. I then asked her if it came upon her by any act of her own, as by saying any words, or performing any actions, or ceremonies, to which she replied, no.

I asked her upon this, if she remembered her baptismal vow, but she did not understand my question, till I began to explain it, and then with great quickness replied, she remembered it, and called to mind that she had renounced the devill, and all his works; then I told her, that by the devill was meant <Satan> the Prince of devills, and all evill spirits under him, and asked her, if she renounced them all, which she said she did. Then I asked her if she would renounce them in a form of words, that I had provided which promising to do, I bid her say after me, which she did in the most serious /13(1)v/ and Emphaticall expressions that I was able to devise. I then asked her, if<sup>91</sup> she could say the Lords prayer, she said yes I bid her say it upon her knees which she did. I then asked her if she ever prayed to God to deliver her from the power of the Devill, and all evill spirits, but not answering readily, and clearly to that question, I then asked her, if she would make such a prayer to God upon her knees which I had composed for her, which she did without any difficulty.

I then proceeded to ask her at what distance she saw persons, and things by the second sight, she replied at the same distance they were really from her, whether more or less. Then I asked her, if the second sight came upon her sleeping or waking,

<sup>n</sup> Robert Scott, transferred from the parish of Inverkeithing to Holyroodhouse in 1676; appointed His Majesty's Chaplain-in-Ordinary in 1679. Scott, *Fasti*, i, 24, iii, 259.

she answered never sleeping, but alwaies when she was awake. I asked this question to know whether the<sup>92</sup> second sight was by outward representation; which I call apparition, or by inward representation on the theater of the imagination caused by some spirit, or that I may once more use my own termes for distinction, whether these *second-sight-folks* were seers or visionists. or sometimes <one> and sometimes the other. Then I asked her if she was wont to have any trouble, disorder, or consternation of mind <be>fore, at, or after the second sight came upon her, to which she answered never, never, but was in the same temper at those, as at all other times. Then I asked her, if the second sight never left any weariness or faintness upon her, or listlessness to speak, walk, or do other busieness, to which she also answered, no, adding that she was then alwaies as before. These two answers of hers do not agree with some accou<n>ts in my Lords letter, wherein, as I remember he speaks of one, who said he had alwaies perturbation of mind attending the second sight. But as <to><sup>93</sup> this there may be a difference from the different temper of the Patients, and the different stock and temper of the animal spirits in them.

This girle, as I observed before, was of a bold, undaunted spirit, and might bear those sights, from what cause soever, without any fear, or perturbation, which others of more passive tempers, and a lesse stock of animal-spirits could not so well endure. There seems to have been this difference among the prophets themselves, whereof some, as we read, received /13(2)/ the propheticall influx with great terrours, labour, and consternation of which they complain'd when their visions, or apparitions were over, and desired of god to be excused from the propheticall influx, and the burden of it, but of others we do not read they had any such complaints. One of the last questions I asked this girle was, if she desired to have the second sight taken from her, to which she replied what God pleased. After I had discoursed her in this manner, as long as I thought convenient, I returned home and gave the Duke an account of my conversation with her, with which he was pleased, and I also told him of my promise to interceed with his grace for her liberty upon condition she might go into England, but he said that would not be convenient for certain reasons. After receiving which answer, I sent her word I could not obtain her liberty, and so she <was><sup>94</sup> shut up all the while that we were there, but soon after we came, away she was set at liberty. When I heard of it, I made all the enquiry I could what was become of her, and how she came to obtain her liberty, but I could not get any further account of her, which made me suspect that she was the child of some person of honour or quality, for whose sake all things were hushed. When I was with her, I asked her of her parentage, but she would tell me nothing of it. I also told her I observ'd how her words, and expressions were of the better sort, and asked her how she being an highlander, and in appearance a poor girle came to speak so well. To this she artfully replied by asking me why I shud suppose it so difficult for her to learn to express herself well. Indeed her wit, and cunning were both answerable to her assurance, which I told you was very great. I designed to give her a second visit, but my first made so much noise about the town, that it was not thought fit, and I did not presse for leave again, because I had reason to believe the denyall of her liberty would make her sullen and reservd. The famous Lord advocat Sir George Makenny of immortal memory designed to write her story, but why he did not, I can give you

no account.<sup>o</sup> People were divided in their opinion of her, some suspected her for an imposter, but others, of whom I myself was one, thought that she was really what she pretended, being induced to that opinion from the notoriety of the facts which the most incredulous, and suspicious could not deny. If you think these notices worth imparting to Mr Ewres, I pray you to communicate <them> to him, and to give <him> my humble thanks & service. You know what busieness I am daily employed in, /13(2)v/ Were not my time and thoughts taken up with that, I would have transcribed the first draught of this narrative with my own hand, and then it would have <come><sup>95</sup> to you in a better dresse, and more worthy of your perusal, but as it is, be pleased to accept it, as a small token of the great respect of him who by inclination, as well, as by the many obligations you have laid upon him, is, honoured Sir,

Your most obliged humble  
servant Geo. Hickes.

London June 19. 1700.

for Samuel Pepys Esquire at his  
house in York-buildings.

*Pepys to Hickes. 2 August 1700<sup>p</sup>*

Clapham. August 2<sup>d</sup> 1700

Reverend Sir.

I shall not think it becoming me, longer to delay my Return to your Learned, and most instructive Report to me, upon the subject of the *Second-sight*, in expectation of the Answers I would have been glad at the same time to have given you, to the several Enquiries you were therein pleased to refer me to others for fuller satisfaction in; I having immediately dispatched my Demands thereon, and particularly to my Lord Reay in Scotland, whose Distance from Edinburgh is what alone I have to impute my disappointment to.

I am in the first place greatly owing to you for the true Notion of the Word *Second-sight*, and your Reflexions upon what our knowledge is wanting-in concerning it; particularly, whether it be from Good, or Evil Spirits we ought to derive it, and whether this second-seeing be indeed the Act of a *Wakeing Agent*, and as from without, and at what distance, or of a *Dreaming Visionaire*, as from within. Which, as you rightly observe, nothing but variety of Facts well reported, well attested, and well compared, can set us fully right in: Which, with the furtherance you give me, I shall endeavour to make my self Master of, and submit to you what I am able to collect concerning them. Towards which, I fear, we shall not find our

<sup>o</sup> Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh (1636–91), King's Advocate, author and founder of the library of the Faculty of Advocates.

<sup>p</sup> Pepys's copy, MS ii, 15, printed in Pepys, *Private Correspondence*, ii, 29–31. It is endorsed on a separate cover-sheet: 'August. 2. 1700. SP to Dr Hicks in answer about the 2<sup>d</sup> Sight.'

selves so much beholden to the Parson's Book, as you seem to hope;<sup>q</sup> the style in which my Lord Reay mentioneth him, not rendring him (Methinks) a man of that Forme of Learning which this Argument would require.

What you have so largely and observingly noted of the *Elf-Arrows*, is wholly new to me, and most worthy further Enquiry after; which I hope I shall by my Friend Dr Smith make some Advance in, from Mr Lesly's Report of his Reverend Father's story relating thereto.<sup>r</sup>

The History of *Jannet Douglass* has many things very singular in it, & informing; especially with the Improvement it receives from your own Conversation with her, and learned Remarks upon it: For which, with your pains & patience in collecting and transcribing them at so great Length for my single Benefit, and at a season so little admitting the Interruption it must have been of to your nearer Cares, is an Instance of your Favour I can never enough acknowledge.

'Tis great pity Sir George Mackenzy let fall, or was prevented in his purpose of putting together the whole of that Girl's Legend.

I wish my Nephew's success in your Errand to Bologna, could /verso/ have been more to your satisfaction; but such as it is, I shall give you in his Words to me of the 13th of the Last N. S. from that place.<sup>s</sup> 'To my great trouble I have not been able to answer Dr Hicks's Gothick Enquiries here. It being a Vacation, the Lecturers are all gone, with the Keys of the Presses, to their Country-Diversions; thô were they here, I could not hope to be much the nearer: It being <a favour> (it seems) more than Ordinary, that I got admittance to the Library.'

Mr Hewer joyns with me in my thanks for your late Visit, wishing I might hope for your Call for my Coach to Foxhall<sup>t</sup> for another; Providence having lately administred another gates Topick for our Talk, than Elves & Seers.

I am ready to do you reason from my said Host, when instructed from you who to pay it to.

I shall very soon repeat my Demands to my Lord Reay touching the Lord President Stairs's Story, my Lord Seaforth's second-sight, the Parson's Book, and business of the *Elf-Arrows*, in case I hear not speedily from him to my First: though I could wish you had given me but a hint of any of the particulars relateing to <that of my Lord Stairs,><sup>96</sup> for my Lord's readier wording of the Enquiry after it.

I am with all Truth and Respect,  
Reverend Sir,

Your faithfull and most  
humble servant.  
S. P.

<sup>q</sup> I.e. *The Secret Commonwealth*: see above, p. 163.

<sup>r</sup> See above, p. 173. Pepys refers to Thomas Smith (1638–1710), nonjuring divine and scholar, for whom see below, pp. 181–3.

<sup>s</sup> John Jackson (1673–1723), Pepys's nephew, was on a European tour at this point. Pepys transcribes his letter in a kind of emboldened lettering, which had also been used to emphasise key words earlier in the letter.

<sup>t</sup> I.e. Vauxhall, a favourite haunt of Pepys's.

Pray let the present indisposition  
of my Eyes, make my Excuse for borrowing  
another's hand.

Unless you correct me, I shall take the  
Liberty you give me towards Mr Hewer, for a  
Licence for communicateing your Learned  
Paper to other of my Friends.

*Pepys's 'Letter-Notes'*<sup>u</sup>

Letter-Notes.

Lord Reay.<sup>v</sup>

Thanks for his Last.

Have used his leave in communicating it, to his great honour, and have some  
further Queries to return him.

Query, are they outward apparitions or inward Visions.

Query, an Account of the Elf Arrows.

Enquire of the Heir of Sir John Dalrymple Laird of Stairs late Lord President,  
after a Tragical Story, &c. relating to Witches.<sup>w</sup>

Press for the Parson's Book.<sup>x</sup>

Lord Seaforth (the late) said to have had the Second-Sight, and neither denyed  
nor owned it upon D[uke] of Lauderdale's rallying him on his foretelling a Storm,  
&c.<sup>y</sup>

Query of Dr Ross, late Arch-Bishop of St Andrews the History of Jannet Douglass  
a Girle about 1678, famous for the second sight, and discovery of Witches, and of  
many others yet alive.<sup>z</sup>

To be directed to one Mr Robert Meinyses<sup>a</sup> a Writer, in the Post Office in  
Edenburgh.

<sup>u</sup> MS ii, 2; printed in Pepys, *Private Correspondence*, i, 212–13 (where they are wrongly dated 1699). These clearly derive from Hickeys's letter to Pepys of 19 July 1700 and must post-date that. They are presumably notes for the letter to Reay to which Pepys refers in his letter to Hickeys of 2 August 1700, above. No response from Reay is extant.

<sup>v</sup> See above, pp. 160–1.

<sup>w</sup> See above, p. 173. His heir was Sir John Dalrymple, 1st Earl of Stair (1648–1707).

<sup>x</sup> Evidently a reference to Kirk's *Secret Commonwealth*: see above, pp. 163, 178–9.

<sup>y</sup> See above, p. 174.

<sup>z</sup> See above, pp. 175 and 174ff *passim*.

<sup>a</sup> I.e. Menzies; 'Writer' means 'Writer to the Signet'.

*Thomas Smith to Pepys, 6 July 1700<sup>b</sup>*

Lond. 6 July 1700

Honoured Sir,

My Lord Clarendon designing at your next enterview to give you a full relation (with all its circumstances) of what happened to his first Lady, or else to send you the same in a letter,<sup>c</sup> I was the less solicitous to convey to you the following imperfect accompt Hee gave mee: which yet I would not have deferred so long, could I have met with my Lord againe this weeke, to know of him, if I had omitted any thing, which was materiall and substantiall.

During my Lord his Fathers being Chancellour, there came one day to dine with him the Earle of Newburg and the Earle of Middleton, who had in their company a Scotch Gentleman of the High-Lands.<sup>d</sup> After dinner said one of the Lords to this Gentleman, *Man, what madest thou looke so wistly at table upon my Lady Cornbury?* [who it seemes, was a very lovely and beautifull woman]<sup>e</sup> *art thou in love with her?* *No, my Lord,* replied hee, with a troubled voice and countenance *I see her in her bloud.* The other Lord bid him hold his clack. My Lord, the husband, standing neere, and discoursing with other company, could not but take notice of it: thô at that time it made no great impression upon him: this faculty of the second sight being then rarely known and scarce, if at all, beebeived. Some while after, the Lady fell sick of the small pox, and through the great violence and malignancy of her distemper, the bloud issuing forth from the severall passages and emunctories of her body, soone put a period to her life.

I thinke, that here in England wee have no<sup>97</sup>/17(1)v/ Pretenders to this wonderfull kind of sagacity and foresight. It is as easy for an old doting nurse, as for a Learned Physician to determine positively, that the sick person, with all the symptoms of death upon him, cannot live above so many dayes or hours: but to bee dogmaticall and pass sentence, as to the fixt and determinate periods of chronicall distempers, must either proceed from extraordinary measures of knowledge and judgment, or else, which is ten thousand times more likely, from extravagance and

<sup>b</sup> MS ii, 17 (comprising two leaves, with text on both the recto and verso of the first and the recto only of the second), printed in Pepys, *Private Correspondence*, ii, 7–10. It is endorsed: 'July 6<sup>th</sup> 1700. Dr Smith to S. P. about the 2<sup>d</sup> Sight.' For Smith, see above, p. 179.

<sup>c</sup> Henry Hyde, 2nd Earl of Clarendon (1638–1709), married Theodosia, third daughter of Arthur, Lord Capel of Hadham, in 1660; her death occurred in February 1662. In 1665 he married again. After the elevation of his father, Edward Hyde (1609–74), to the earldom of Clarendon in 1661 he was styled Lord Cornbury until his succession to the earldom on his father's death.

<sup>d</sup> Sir James Livingstone of Kinnaird (d. 1670), a supporter of Charles II who was created Earl of Newburgh in 1660. On the Earl of Middleton see above, p. 52.

<sup>e</sup> The square brackets are in the original.

conceitednes of phantasy, and from a vanity of humor which has neither art, nor Philosophy, nor experience to support it. Having thus prepared the way, I will tell you a story, which is the common entertainment of the towne.

A certaine Gentleman, lately removed to a country seat twelve or thirteen miles west from London, finding him selfe very much indisposed, and his legs swelling more and more, sent for Sir Tho. Millington & Dr Radcliffe to consult about fit and proper remedies:<sup>f</sup> but this was not the first time, that they differed in their prescriptions and methods of cure: the latter being for the milke dyet, and the other utterly disliking and opposing it, as very hurtfull & pernicious: and these contests were carried on & maintained with great heate, in the presence, they say too, of their Patient. But it seemes<sup>98</sup>, that either at that time or soon after Radcliffe proceeded further, and bluntly told him, that if hee did not so and so, and especially if hee went into Holland, hee would not live to the end of six months. But for all this rash and foolish prediction, the Person most concerned said on Tuesday at dinner publicly, that notwithstanding<sup>99</sup> <what> Radcliffe had said, hee would begin his voyage on Thursday morning; which hee did accordingly. What great virtue there may bee in Dutch aire (unles /17(2)/ because it is naturall) to cure a dropsy and consumption, now complicated, wee shal know before winter. But however, if things should happen thus and thus, let the Brothers of the faculty run down R. as an ignorant drunken Fellow, others will cry him up, as the onely Englishman, who has the guift of the second sight, and is of such a deep penetration, as to foresee future events to a month with greater assurance, than Enthusiasts & Astrologers dare pretend to, *Accipio omen*:<sup>g</sup> as the old Romans used to say in such like cases, in which the good of their common wealth was concerned. But all dreaming and superstition apart, severall others let their tongues & phansyes loose, even to the prejudice of their reputed wisdome and sobriety: and will bee convinced six months hence of their idle phansyes and<sup>100</sup> speculations, when they <shall> see the person, whom they wish so well to, returne<sup>101</sup> in vigorous health and with fresh triumphs, arising from the establishing of the concerted division of the Spanish monarchy in spite of Vienna, and Rome, and all the Italian Princes and States put together.<sup>h</sup> But perchance I have been too severe upon these Gentlemen, who may be really what they<sup>102</sup> are reputed: and I retract my hasty censure, it just now coming into my coole thoughts, that wisdome, founded upon experience and a just and serious observation of things, is a kind of divination: and that the prudent man, who makes a good<sup>103</sup> and true use of

<sup>f</sup> I.e. Sir Thomas Millington (1628–1704), court physician and Sedleian professor of natural philosophy at Oxford, and John Radcliffe (1650–1714), physician whose patients from 1686 included the Princess Anne.

<sup>g</sup> 'I receive the omen'.

<sup>h</sup> Possibly a reference to Alexander Stanhope, a diplomat who took up his appointment as envoy extraordinary to the United Provinces on or shortly after 7 April 1700. The second partition treaty of March 1700 between William III and Louis XIV had been intended to settle the Spanish succession after the death of Carlos II, dividing his lands between the dauphin of France and the emperor's younger son, Charles. See Horn, *British Diplomatic Representatives*, pp. 156–7; Black, *A System of Ambition*, p. 141.

the eyes, which hee has in his head, usually lives next doore to the Prophet. Will you or can you forgive mee? However, I am resolved to bee, <Honoured Sir> Your most humble & obedient Servant, T.S.

For the honourable,  
Samuel Pepys Esquire  
at Clapham

*Hickes to Pepys, 8 August 1700<sup>i</sup>*

Aug<sup>t</sup>. 8. 1700

Honoured sir.

Your servant brought me your letter, while I was at dinner, or else he had not returned without my answer, for which I beg your pardon, and now beseech you to accept of my humble thanks for the great favour, and honour of both your letters by our common servant, the peny-post. As for the letter I formerly sent you upon the subject of the second sight, be pleased to shew it to whome you will without restraint, especially to those, who may delight in such facts, and theories, as belong to that subject. I am sorry any of your family is fallen ill. I pray God the doctors Conjecture may prove true, and that the voice of joy, and health may long be heard wheresoever you dwell.<sup>j</sup> I beseech you with my most humble thanks, and service to deliver the inclosed receipt to Mr Hewer. /verso/ which I sent with his generous present to the bookseller, who receives all the contributions towards the printing of my book, and obliges himself to deliver Copies to the Contributors.<sup>k</sup> I think my self very much obliged to Mr Jackson for his care of my affair at Bononia,<sup>l</sup> though he had not successe according to his desires.

Those gentlemen are very ignorant of their own treasures, and when they come to know them, are alwayes jealous of communicating of them to strangers.

I once more entreat you <to> give my most humble, and hearty thanks to Mr

<sup>i</sup> MS ii, 18, printed in Pepys, *Private Correspondence*, ii, 37. Endorsed: 'August 8. 1700. Dr Hicks Deane of Worcester to Mr Pepys upon the businesse of the 2<sup>d</sup> Sight & his sending him Mr Hewers £5 towards his Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium now in the Presse'.

<sup>j</sup> Pepys himself had been seriously ill in the previous year, but it is not clear who is here referred to.

<sup>k</sup> The work in question was Hickes's well-known *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus* (1703–5), to which Hewer had subscribed £5.

<sup>l</sup> I.e. Bologna.



Hewer, and wishing you both long Continuance of good health without which there is no enjoyment of life, I subscribe, as by many obligations I ought ever to be, Sir,

Your most faithfull  
humble servant Geo. Hickes.

for Sam. Pepys Esquire at  
Mr Hewers house in  
Clapham

*Earl of Clarendon to Pepys, 27 May 1701<sup>m</sup>*

London May the 27<sup>th</sup> 1701.

Sir

I cannot give a greater instance of my Willingness to gratify your Curiosity in any thing within my knowledge, then the sending you this foolish letter; the story I told you the other day, relating to what they call in Scotland the second Sight, is of soe old a date, & soe many of the Circumstances out of my Memory, that I must begin as old Woemen doe their Tales to Children; Once upon a time — The matter was thus, One day (I know by some remarkable Circumstances it was towards the middle of February 1661/2) the old Earl of Newbrugh came to dine with my Father at Worcester-house, & an other Scotch Gentleman with him, whose name I cannot call to mind; After Dinner, as we were standing and talking together in the Room; sayes my Lord Newbrugh to the other Scotch Gentleman (who was looking very steadfastly upon my Wife) What is the matter? thou hast had thine Eyes fix'd upon my Lady Cornbury ever since she came into the Room; Is she not a fine Woman? Why doest thou not speak? She's a handsome Lady indeed /19(1)v/ (sayd the Gentleman) but I see her in Blood; Whereupon my Lord Newbrough laugh'd at him; & all the Company going out of the Room, we parted: & I believe none of us thought more of the matter, I am sure I did not. My Wife was at that time perfectly well in health, and look'd as well as ever she did in her Life: In the beginning of the next Moneth, she fell ill of the Small Pox, she was always very apprehensive of that Disease, & used to say, if she ever had it, she should dye of it; Upon the 9<sup>th</sup> day after the Small Pox appear'd, in the morning she bled at the Nose, which quickly stop't; but in the afternoon the Blood burst out again with great vyolence, not only at her

<sup>m</sup> MS ii, 19 (comprising two leaves, with text on both the recto and verso of the first and the recto only of the second), printed in Pepys, *Private Correspondence*, ii, 222–4. It is endorsed: 'May 27. 1701. The E[arl] of Clarendon to Mr Pepys giving him an Account of a Proof of the Efficacy of the Second Sight in the Case of his owne Lady, the Lady Cornbury his first Wife.'

Nose, and Mouth, but by stool; and about eleven of the Clock that night she dyed, almost wallowing in blood. This is the best account I can now give of this matter, which tho I regarded not at the time the Words were spoken, yett upon reflection afterwards, I could not but thinke it very odd, if not wonderfull, that a Man only looking upon a Woman, whom he had never seen before, should give such a prognostick: The great grief I was then in, and going quickly after out of Towne, prevented my /19(2)/ being soe inquisitive as I should have bin after the person of this Scotch Gentleman, & into other things: you will not wonder that after soe long a distance of time, I cannot give a more particular account of a thing which seems soe very extraordinary; But I have kept you too long upon soe imperfect a subject, and will conclude with assuring you that I am with great esteem,

Sir,

your most affectionate  
& humble servant,

Clarendon

For my very worthy Friend  
Mr Pepys

*Pepys to the Earl of Clarendon, 10 July 1700 [sic]<sup>n</sup>*

Clapham July. 10<sup>th</sup>. 1700

My Lord.

I can never sufficiently own the honour of your Lordships, & the answer you have so kindly indulged me to my Enquiry after the second sight; it being what I durst not <have> hoped for from you, but your Lordshipp having your self broacht it, you must forgive me the Confidence none but you could have raised me to, of telling you that Nothing less than your own recounting <it> to me, will satisfy me to the degree I would be glad to be, in a Point so little intelligible and in an instance of Fact so uncontestable as your Lordships reporting it will render this I am your suitor for therein. Towards which; if your Lordshipp can have the further goodness, to think of doing it, before I can be in condition of waiting on you for it at London, your Lordshipp will, I hope, let me know by Dr Smith the day you shall design me the Honour

<sup>n</sup> Pepys's copy, MS ii, 16, printed in Pepys, *Private Correspondence*, ii, 13–14. It is endorsed: 'July. 10<sup>th</sup> 1700. S. P to the E[arl] of Clarendon'. Although the original bears the date 1700, it seems likelier that the letter dates from 1701 and is an acknowledgment of the preceding. It has accordingly been placed here.

THE OCCULT LABORATORY

of seeing you here; that my Coach may not fail of being ready at Foxhall or Lambeth to attend you hither.<sup>o</sup> I am with profoundest respect

My Noble Lord

Your Lordshipps most obedient servant  
S. P.

<sup>o</sup> I.e. Vauxhall. For Smith, see above, pp. 179n, 181–3. His link with Clarendon is not clear.

6.

ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣΚΟΠΙΑ

OR,

A brief Discourse concerning the  
SECOND SIGHT,  
Commonly so called.

By the Reverend Mr. *John Frazer*, deceased,  
late Minister of *Teree* and *Coll*, and Dean  
of the Isles,

and

Published by Mr. *Andrew Symson*, with a  
short account of the Author.

Edinburgh, printed by Mr *Andrew Symson*,  
*Anno Domini* M.DDC.VII /A2/

\*

To the  
Right Honourable,  
Universally learned  
and my very singular good Lord  
GEORGE  
Earl of *Cromartie*, Viscount of *Tarbat*, Lord *M<sup>c</sup>Leod* and *Castlehaven*, &c.  
Lord Justice General of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and one of Her  
Majesties most Honourable Privy Council.

This following Discourse, intituled *Δευτεροσκοπια* &c. written by the Reverend Mr: *John Frazer* late Minister of *Teree* and *Coll*, and Dean of the *Isles*, is with all due Respect and Reverence Dedicated by the Printer and Publisher hereof, his Lordships

Most humble and obedient Servant in all duty  
Andrew Symson:<sup>a</sup> /A3/

\*

The PUBLISHER To the READER

The Reverend Author of the ensuing Discourse having married my near Kinswoman, and being in this City in *Novemb.* 1700, in order to the settling of some of his Affairs; as we were discoursing of several things relating to the *Highlands* and *Western Isles* of *Scotland*, we came to speak of the *Second Sight*, reported to be so common in these parts; he told me, that as to the thing itself, it was most certain and undeniable, and that he could give many instances of it; As also that he had written a short Discourse upon that Subject. This he promis'd to transmit to me; accordingly, on his return home, after a tedious & troublesome Voyage both by Sea and Land, he sent me that Discourse written with his own hand, desiring me to publish /A3v/ the same, after some of his Friends here had perus'd it: which being done, I, at my own conveniency, put it to the Press, but before it was finish'd I received an account that the Author was dead; whereupon I forbore the publishing of it, till I should get an account of several passages concerning himself and Family, designing to prefix the same to the Discourse it self, which I conceiv'd would be acceptable to his Friends, and not displeasing to the Reader. And therefore I dispatched a Letter to one of his nearest Relations, and that was best acquainted with him, and with the passages of his Life, that so I might thereby be the better informed. In answer whereunto I received a Paper containing several Memoires, from which I have collected the following account:

Master *John Frazer*, the Author of this Discourse, was born in the Isle of *Mull*, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and fourty seven.

His Father Mr. *Farchard Frazer* was born in the North of *Scotland*, near *Stratharig*, about the year 1606. and lineally descended of the Family /A4/ of my Lord *Lovat*, but mediately of the Family of *Toher*, one of the Lairds of the Name of *Frazer*.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> On Symson, see above, pp. 26, 47. On Tarbat, see above, pp. 2, 26.

<sup>b</sup> Of Farquhard Fraser (1606–80), Symson's account can be supplemented by specifying that

After he had taken his Degrees at the University, and applyed himself to the study of Divinity, he was call'd by the Bishop of the Isles (there being then few learn'd Men able to preach in the *Irish Tongue*) to be Minister of the Isles of *Teree* and *Coll* (to which Charge the Deanry of the Isles was annext) he was the first Master of Arts, that preach'd constantly there as Minister of the Parish; there being then there one *Euan Mclean*, who was appointed to catechize and convey the People, there being few or none, as said is, able to serve the Cure: But being there, he was very diligent in his Ministerial Function, in teaching and instructing them, leaving them far better than he found them; for at his first coming, there were but three heritable Gentlemen of the Name of *Mclean*, that could subscribe their own Names. The time Mr. *Farchard Frazer* served as Minister of the Isles of *Teree* and *Coll*, which were conjoyn'd in one Parish /A4v/ may be collected from his Epitaph written by his Son, our Author, which is

*Epitaphium* Magistri Ferchardi Frazer Decani Insularum: qui obiit 14 die  
 Februarii Anno Domini 1680 ~~Ætis~~ 74.  
*Pervigit & blandus: mitis, gravis atq; benignus,*  
*Doctus et Eloquii dexteritate fluens:*  
*Pavis oves Christi, pandens mysteria Verbi;*  
*Exemplum Vitæ præbuit ipse Gregi.*  
*Lux fuerat populi lustris bis quinq; peractis,*  
*Sacra docens, sancto munere functus obit.*  
*Hic Requiem tumulo Corpus capit; inde regressus*  
*Spiritus ad Dominum, qui dedit ante, volat.*  
 Mr. Johannes Frazerus, decanus Insularum:<sup>c</sup>

His Mothers Name was *Janet Mclean*, Daughter to *Lauchlan Mclean* of *Coll*, an ancient Family of that Name and Clan.

His father, as he was careful to instruct others, so he did not neglect his Son, our Author, but having fitted him for the Universitie, he sent him to the College of *Glasgow*, and committed him to the Care of Mr. *William Blair* one of the Regents there, who advanced him to the Degree of Master of Arts between the 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup>

his AM was of St Andrews (1629) and that he was instituted to Teree and Coll on 28 July 1633. See also Scott, *Fasti*, iv, 119.

<sup>c</sup> The epitaph of Mr Ferchand Frazer, Dean of the Isles, who died on 14 February AD 1680, aged seventy-four.

Ever watchful and pleasant: gentle, serious and kind,  
 Learned and fluent in the dexterity of eloquence:  
 He fed the sheep of Christ, spread the mysteries of the Word;  
 He himself offered an example of life to the flock.  
 He was the light of the people through the passage of fifty years,  
 Teaching sacred things, he died [still] performing the sacred employment.  
 Here [his] body takes [its] rest in the tomb, whence departed  
 The spirit flies to the Lord, who gave [it] before.

Mr John Frazer, dean of the Isles:

year of his Age. From thence he went to the Isle of Mull, & /A5/ was Chaplain to Sir Alan Mclean of Duart. Thereafter, viz. March 4th 1677 he was married to Mary Symson the only surviving Daughter of Mr. Matthias Symson, sometime Minister of Stirling, who dyed Nov 1664. Two or three years before his Fathers death (being canonically ordained Presbyter) he was admitted to his Fathers charge, in regard his Father; partly by age, and partly by Sickness was rendered very unfit to serve the Cure of these two Islands Teree and Coll; as also of Icolmkill which was also annex to it, and at a greater distance: however, such was his care & diligence in the work of the Ministry, that, by the blessing of God upon his Endeavours, he converted to the true Protestant Faith 24 Familys in the Isle of Coll (the Laird himself being their ring leader) that were deluded by Father O Donald & others;<sup>d</sup> his Father not being able to oversee his Flock; by reason of his foresaid Condition.

His Father dying in the year 1680, he served the Cure, thereafter, by constant & diligent preaching, baptizing, /A5v/ marrying, visiting the sick, & exercising all other duties incumbent in him, but at length, because his Principles would not allow all the demands of the Synod of Argyle, his charge was declared vacant, and his Stipend taken from him; notwithstanding whereof, there being no Minister sent to oversee these Islands, he went about the Exercise of his Ministry as formerly, being supply'd by the Charity and Benevolence of his Parishioners, who had an entire kindness for him: but his Stipend, as said is, was taken from him and bestowed some other way: And thus he continued, till about a Month before his death, which was on the 25th day of August 1702. in which he chang'd this troublesome Life for a better; leaving behind him a desolat poor Widow, with several Children, both Sons and Daughters, as also a sorrowful people, who were now wholly deprived of a Spiritual Pastor, and of such a one as was every way qualified for that charge; for he was not only a good and learned Man, but was master of their Language, being born and bred up in the Isles; understood /A6/ their humours, conditions and manner of Life, and being a wise and sagacious person, complasent and of a winning deportment, all which good qualifications he was endowed with, as all, which were acquainted with him, can sufficiently testify.

As for the subject of the following discourse (commonly called the *Second Sight*) though I think it might be more fitly called the *First Sight*, because it for the most part sees things before they are) I shall not undertake to defend all the Notions that he has of it, and whether they will agree with true Philosophy, but shall refer that to others of a higher reach and deeper understanding, than I ever durst pretend to; But this I will say in his defence, that considering the place where it was written, even among the remote Isles, *vervecum in patria*,<sup>e</sup> where he wanted the converse of learned Men, & the benefit of Books 2 necessary qualifications for one that writes on such an abstruse subject; I humbly conceive that the great Clerks of this Age, who have

<sup>d</sup> Presumably the priests referred to on p. 194, below.

<sup>e</sup> 'in the land of the sheep', a quotation from Juvenal, *Satires*, x. 50, alluding to the obscure Thracian origins of the ancient philosopher Democritus.

the benefit of Books & Converse, should not superciliously undervalue him that wants them. /A6v/

However although I shall not pretend to maintain all that he writes, as to the causes &c. of this *second Sight*; nor do I believe all the stories that I have heard concerning it, yet the thing it self, or that there is such a thing as is commonly called the *second sight*, I do firmly believe, being induc'd thereto by the Relations that I have received from persons of known integrity, & such as I suppose are wiser than to be impos'd upon, and honester than to impose fables instead of Truths, upon others. Among the Relations that I have been told concerning this subject, I shal only single out one or two, and then I shal conclude.

A Noble Peer of this Nation being one morning in his Bed-chamber, and attended by several persons, when his Servant had put a new Coat upon his Lord, a Gentleman standing by, presently cry'd out, for Gods sake, my Lord, put off that Coat; and being ask'd the Reason, he reply'd, that he saw a Whinger or Poinard stick in the Breast of it: the Noble Peer esteeming this as a meer fancy, reply'd, This Coat is honestly come by, and I see no reason /A7/ why I may not wear it, the Gentleman still entreated and earnestly craved that it might be put off; upon which debate, the Noble Peers Lady being not far off, came in, and being inform'd of the whole affair intreated her Lord to comply with the Gentlemans desire, which he did; mean time one of the Servants standing by, desired the Lady to give it him, and he would wear it: she granted his Request, who put in on, and ere Night he was stobbed by a Poinard, in that very place which the Gentleman had pointed to in the Morning. This Relation I had from a very ingenious and understanding Gentleman, who was Grand Child to the said Noble Peer.

I shall add another strange story, which I had from a reverend Minister of the Gospel, and my intimate acquaintance, 'Tis thus, in the year 1665 *Alex. Wood* Eldest Son to the Laird of *Nether Benholm* in *Angus*, having ended his Prenticeship with a Merchant in *Edinb.* told Mr *James Walker*, that (in the year 1662 or 1663) he had been employed by his Master to go to the *Lewis* to make up Herring, & being /A7v/ there, and having a good Tack of Herring, their Salt and Cask were all made use of and then, they being idle, he began to fret, that his Master had delay'd so long to supply them, and being one day drinking in a Countrey-House and complaining, he went to the Door of the House, and there followed him a Countrey Man, who said to him; If you will give me a small hire, I'll tell you what is become of the Ship you are looking for, & without more ado he set his Foot upon the Gentlemans Foot, in which time he saw the Ship in a great Storm ready to perish, and the Seamen casting out their Loadning, to lighten the Ship: But when the Countrey Mans Foot was off his, he saw nothing: The Ship at that time was about an hundred miles from them, and about 48 hours thereafter she came into the same Harbour, and had been in the same Condition he saw her in at that time the Countrey Mans Foot was on his Foot: It would be tedious to add any more stories that I have had from persons of undoubted Veracity. And therefore, Reader, I shall only subscribe my self

Your humble Servant in all duty  
ANDREW SYMSON /A8/



\*

## A Short Advertisement to the READER;

Courteous READER,

You may be surprised to meet with such an abstruse Theme (handled in *Specie* by few or none) from the Pen of a Person in my Circumstances lying at a great distance from the Universities and center of the Kingdom, and consequently, may be justly supposed to want that ordinary help of Books, and conference with the learned, that others may enjoy.

In the first place, believe that I am so far from affecting vain singularity (a hateful Vice in the Schools, as well as the Pulpit) that nothing of that kind moved me to treat of the subject of the following Discourse: But for my own satisfaction, I drew up the following Heads, and did not resolve at the first to expose them to the publick /A8v/ View (justly fearing the Censure of Presumption) But I was, by the perswasion of some serious Friends, prevailed with to commit my self to the favourable Judgment of the Learned (who might sooner commend my Endeavours than censure my failings) rather than suppress such a fine subject, which probably might be more fully and largely treated of by others after the perusal of this Discourse. Take this *Pamphlet* then in the rude dress that I could give it; at least it may excite thy Thoughts, if not to approve of what is here deduced; yet to propone of thine own a more satisfying method of explaining this remarkable *Phænomenon* ; which is the genuine Design and Wish of,

Sir,

Your humble  
Servans.<sup>f</sup> /1/

<sup>f</sup> Sic. The 1820 edition here has 'Your humble Servant, the AUTHOR'.

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ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣΚΟΠΙΑ;  
OR, A  
Brief Discourse concern-  
ing the *Second Sight*,  
commonly so called.

MANY have undertaken to treat of the nature and operation of Spirits, as also of the various manners of Divination among the *Gentiles* (and but too much used among Christians,) likewise of the Perturbation and Deception of the Fancy, caused by Melancholy: And very many speake in ordinary discourses, of this called the *Second Sight*, and the consequences of it; but none, that I know, handle it *in Titulo*.<sup>g</sup>

That such representations are made to the eyes of Men and Women, is to me out of all doubt; and that effects follow answerable thereunto, as little questionable; But I have found so many doubt the matter of fact; which I take to be the reason that so little has been written of /2/ it, that I think it necessary, to say something briefly, that may put the existency of it beyond all Scruple; if I should insert all the clear Instances that I have had of this matter, it would be tedious and unnecessary; Therefore I will content my self, and I hope will satisfy the Reader, with four or five Instances, as follows.

The first Instance is by a Servant of my own, who had the trust of my Barn, and nightly lay in the same; one day he told me he would not any longer lye there, because nightly he had seen a dead Corps in his winding sheets, straighted beside him, particularly at the South side of the Barn: about an half year thereafter a young man that had formerly been my Servant fell dangerously Sick and expecting Death would needs be carried near my house, and shortly thereafter he Died, and was laid up a night before he was Buried, in the same individual Barn and place that was foretold: and immediatly the Servant that foretold this, came to me, and minded me of the Prediction; which was clearly out of my mind till he spoke of it. /3/

The second Instance is after this manner; I was resolved to pay a visite to an *English Gentleman Sir William Sacheverill* who had a Commission from the *English Court of Admiralty* to give his best tryall to find out Gold or Money, or any other thing of Note in one of the Ships of the *Spanish Armado*, that was blown up in the Bay of *Topper-Mory*, in the Sound of *Mull*.<sup>h</sup> And having condescended upon the number of men that were to go with me, one of the number was a handsom Boy, that waited upon my own person, and about an hour before I made Sail, a Woman, that was also one of my own Servants, spoke to one of the Seamen, and bad him dissuade me to take that Boy along with me, or if I did I should not bring him back alive; the the Sea man answered he had not confidence to tell me such unwarrantable Trifles: I took my Voyage, and Sailed the length of *Topper-Mory*, and haveing stayed two or three nights with that Literat and Ingenious Gentleman, who himself had collected many observations of the *Second Sight* in the Isle of *Man*, and /4/ compared his notes

<sup>g</sup> Lit. 'under a separate heading', i.e. specifically (cf. 'in *Specie*' on p. 192, above).

<sup>h</sup> On Sacheverell (c. 1664-?) and his visit to Iona in 1698, see above, p. 26.

and mine together, in end I took leave of him. In the mean time my Boy grew Sick of a Vehement Bloody Flux, the Winds turn'd cross, that I could neither Sail nor Row; the Boy died with me the eleventh night from his decumbiture, the next morning the Wind made fair, and the Seaman to whom the matter was foretold, related the whole story when he saw it verified: I carried the Boy's Corps Aboard with me, and after my Arrival and his Burial, I called suddenly for the Woman and asked at her what warrand she had to foretell the Boy's Death; She said, that she had no other warrand but that she saw, two days before I took my Voyage, the Boy walking with me in the fields Sewed up in his windeing sheets, from top to toe, and that she had never seen this in others but she found that they shortly thereafter Dyed; and therefore concluded that he would Die too, and that shortly.<sup>i</sup>

The third Instance was thus; *Duncan Campbel* Brother German to *Archibald Campbel* of *Invera*,<sup>j</sup> a Gentleman of /5/ singular Piety and considerable knowledge, especially in Divinity, told me a strange thing of himself; that he was at a time in *Kintyre*, haveing then some Employment there, and one morning walking in the Fields, he saw a dozen of men carrying a Bier, and knew them all but one, and when he looked again, all was evanished: the very next day, the same company came the same way carrying a Bier, and he going to meet them, found that they were but eleven in number, and that himself was the twelvth, though he did not notice it before: and it is to be observed that this Gentleman never saw any thing of this kind before or after, till his dying Day: moreover, that he was of such solid Judgment and Devote Conversation that his report deserves an unquestionable Credit.

The fourth Instance I had to my great grief from one *John Mc'Donald* a Servant of *Lauchane Mc'lean* of *Coll*, who was then newly returned from *Holland*, haveing the Charge of a Captain; This Gentleman came one afternoon abroad to his Pastime in the Fields; and this /6/ *John Mc'donald* meets him, and seeth his Cloaths shineing like the Skins of Fishes and his Peirwig all wett, tho' indeed the day was very Fair, whereupon he told privately, even then to one of *Cols* Gentlemen that he feared he should be Drowned, This Gentleman was *Charles Mc'lean* who gave me accompt of it. The Event followed about a year thereafter, for the Laird of *Coll* was drowned in the water of *Lochy* in *Lochaber*. I examined both *Charles Mc'lain* and *John Mc'donald* and found that the Prædiction was as he told me; and the said *Mc'donald* could produce no other warrand, than that he found such Signes frequently before, to foregoe the

<sup>i</sup> At this point, the reprinted version of this section of Fraser's book in [McLeod], *Treatise on the Second Sight* (see above, Introductory Notes on the Texts, p. 47), p. 72, adds the following passage, which is presented as if it was part of Fraser's text, continuing the same paragraph without a break.

In the isle of *Man*, the inhabitants, under night, before burials, see lights, or a number of candles moving from ships that are at anchor on the coast, or from houses in their cities, to the church-yards, which is the forerunner of interment the next day. I had this account from a modest person that was on the island when some of these amazing scenes were observed.

<sup>j</sup> I.e., *Inverary*, hence presumably a member of the *Argyle* family. However, no further information has been found either on *Duncan Campbell* or the figures mentioned in the next paragraph.

like Events: this man indeed was known to have many Visions of this kind, but he was none of the strickest life.

The fifth Instance is strange and yet of certain truth and known to the whole Inhabitants of the Island of *Egg*, lying in the Latitude of fiftysix Degrees and twenty Minuts; Longitude 14 Degrees. There was a Tenent in this Island that was a Native, follower of the Captain /7/ of Clan *Rannold* that lived in a Town called *Kildonan*, the year of God Eighty five, who told publickly to the whole Inhabitants upon the Lord's day after Divine service, performed by Father *O Rain*, then Priest of that place,<sup>k</sup> That they should all flit out of that Isle, and plant themselves some where else; Because that People of strange and different habits and Arms, were to come to the Isle and to use all acts of Hostility, as Killing, Burning, Tirling and Deforceing of Women; Finally to discharge all that the hands of an Enemy could do; but what they were, or whence they came, he could not tell: At the first there was no regard had to his words; but frequently thereafter he begged of them to notice what he said, otherwise they should repent it when they could not help it; which took such an impression upon some of his near Acquaintance, as that severals of them Transported themselves and their Families, even then; some to the Isle of *Cannay*, some to the Isle of *Room*, Fourteen days before the Enemy came thither, under the Command of /8/ one Major *Ferguson* and Captain *Pottinger*, whilst there was no word of their coming, or any fear of them conceived.<sup>l</sup> In the moneth of *June* 1689. this man fell Sick, and Father *O Rain* came to see him, in order to give him the benefit of Absolution and extream Unction, attended with several of the Inhabitants of the Isle, who in the first place narrowly Questioned him before his Friends, and begg'd of him to recant his former folly and his vain prediction; to whom he answered that they should find very shortly the truth of what he had spoken, and so he Died. And within fourteen or fifteen days thereafter, I was Eye witness (being then Prisoner with Captain *Pottinger*) to the truth of what he did foretell, and being before hand well instructed of all that he said, I did admire to see it particularly verified; especially, that of the different habits and Arms, some being clad with Red coats, some with White Coats, and Granadier Capes, some Armed with Sword and Pike, and some with Sword and Musket. Though I could give many more Proofs as /9/ unquestionable as these; yet I think what is said, is sufficient to prove the Being of such a thing as the same in hand. And I can not but wonder that men of Knowledge & Experience should be so shy to believe that there may be Visions of this kind administrated by Good or Bad Angels; there being nothing more certain than that good Angels suggested Visions to the Prophets of the Lord, before the coming of Christ in the Flesh; and particularly, to the Apostle *S. John* after the Ascension of our Lord:<sup>m</sup> like-

<sup>k</sup> Possibly Father Ryan, one of the seven Catholic priests who had established themselves in the Highlands prior to the 1688–9 revolution: see Leith, *Memoirs of the Scottish Catholics*, ii, 169.

<sup>l</sup> Major James Ferguson (d. 1705) was placed in command of a detachment of troops charged with subduing the Western Isles which sailed from Greenock in May 1690 with a squadron commanded by Captain Edward Pottinger. In June, they dispersed to raid the small islands, and it was probably at this point that Fraser became Pottinger's prisoner: Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War*, pp. 211, 234–5.

<sup>m</sup> A reference to the Book of Revelation; the principal prophet of the coming of Christ was Isaiah.

ways, that evil Angels presented Visions, as well as audible Voices, to the four hundred & fifty false Prophets of *Ahab*, the four hundred Prophets of the Groves, is as little to be doubted:<sup>n</sup> it being as easy, if not easier, to work upon the sight, as well as upon the hearing; We know but too well, that Necromancers & Magicians themselves have not only seen the shapes & forms of things, but likeways have allowed others to see the same, who had no skill of their Art. A precedent for which is the Witch of *Endor*.<sup>o</sup>/10/

I Remember about twenty three years ago, there was an Old Woman in my Parish in the Isle of *Tirey*, whom I heard was accustomed to give Responses, and likewise averred that she had Died and been in Heaven, but allowed to come back again; and because she could not come to Church, I was at the pains to give her a Visit, attended with two or three of the most intelligent of my Parish: I questioned her first, whither she said she was in Heaven, And she freely confessed she was, and that she had seen Jesus Christ, but not God the Father or the Holy Ghost; that she was kindly entertained with Meat and Drink, and that she had seen her Daughter there, who Died about a year before, that her Daughter told her though she was allowed to goe there, that she behooved to come back and serve out her Prentiship on Earth, but would shortly be called for, and remain there for ever. She could very hardly be put out of this Opinion till I enquired, more narrowly of her Children, if she fell at any time in a *Syncopa*, which they told /11/ me she did, and continued for a whole night, so that they thought that she was truly Dead, and this is the time she alleaged she was in Heaven; The Devil took an advantage in the Ecstasy, to present to her fancy a Map of Heaven as if it had been a Rich Earthly Kingdom, abounding with Meat, Drink, Gold, and Silver; By the Blessing of God, I prevailed with her to be persuaded that this was but a Vision presented to her fancy by the Devil, the Father of Lies; and that she might deprehend the falshood of it from this one head, that she imagined her Body was there, as well as her Soul, and that she did Eat and Drink and was Warmed, while as her own Children and the Neighbours that Watched her, did see, and did handle her Body several times that night, so that it could not be with her in Heaven. I did further examin her what warrand she had for the Responses she gave, which were found very often true, even in future contingent events: she freely confessed that her Father upon his Death-Bed taught her a Charm /12/ compiled of Barbarous words, and some untelegible terms, which had the Vertue when repeated, to present some few hours after the proposition of a question the answer of the same, in live Images before her Eyes, or upon the Wall, but the Images were not tractable, which she found by putting to her hand, but could find nothing. I do not think fit to insert the charm, knowing that severals might be Inclined to make an unwarrantable tryal of it. This Poor Woman was got reclaimed, and was taught fully the danger and vanity of her practice, and died peaceably about a year after, in extream old Age.

I know assuredly that *Janet Dowglas*, that was first a Dumbie, yet spoke thereafter, who had given many Responses by Signs and Words, and foretold many future events, being examined by Mr *Gray* one of the Ministers of the City of *Glasgow*, denied any explicit or implicit Paction, and declared freely that the answers of the questions

<sup>n</sup> See 1 Kings 22.

<sup>o</sup> See 1 Samuel 28, 7ff.

proponed to her were represented by a Vision in lively Images, representing the /13/ persons concerned and acting the thing, before her Eyes; This Master Gray exchanged several Discourses in writ with Sir *James Turner*, concerning her.<sup>p</sup>

By this time you may see that this Theme deserves the consideration of the Learned. First, to enquire how much of this may come from a natural constitution and temperament, when confounded with a flatuous or Melancholick Distemper: and what influence an External Agent, namely an Angel, good or bad, may have upon the Organ of the Eye, and the fancy; and how far the *Medium* between the Organ of the Eye and an object visible may be disposed for their purpose, namely the Air and Light; And what Connection may be found betwixt the Representations made to the Eye or Fancy, and the future contingent Events, that experience teaches do follow thereupon: as for example, A man is seen Bleeding, or sew'd up in his winding sheets, who is shortly to be wounded, or assuredly to Die. /14/

As for the first, all the learned Physicians of the World, know too well by experience what great labour they have to cure the deceptions of the fancy, especially in Hypochondriack diseases: many Patients can not be persuaded but they see Men, Women, Fowls, and four footed beasts; walking abroad or in their Chambers: Seldom it is that a man passes any great and turbulent Fever without the trouble of some such representations. It is a memorable, that a Gentleman that had been a great proficient in Physick himself, imagined at length that there was a quick Frog in his Belly; and after he had travelled over a good part of *Italy*, and consulted with the Doctors of *Padua*, yet could not be cured, or dissuaded: He came at length to the Learned Physician *Platerus*, in *Basil*, who told him that a Frog by certain experience is known not to live above three years, so that his Distemper continuing longer than three years, could not be caused by the Frog that could not live so long: Moreover that his Stomach would strangle the /15/ Frog, and that the Frog could not live any considerable time out of its own Element, the Water; so that the properest and most specifick Medicines being made use of, it were a shame for him to be so obstinat; at last he was persuaded, and his fancy Satisfied.<sup>q</sup> This story is no less renowned of what befell *Andreas Osiander*, a Man Learned in most Languages, when he was a young man, and being troubled with a Quartan Ague, a little before the Fitt, he could not be persuaded that he was in the house at all, but that he was in a Wood, and much molested with wild Beasts and Serpents of all kinds; neither could he be prevailed with, that this imagination was false, till *Facijs Cardanus* was called for to him, who cured him for the time, so that he knew his Friends that were sitting beside him and the Chamber to be his own Chamber: but after *Facijs* had left him, he was troubled with the same opinion, and Distemper, ever till the Ague had quitt him.<sup>r</sup> I have my self seen a Neighbour of my

<sup>p</sup> On Janet Douglas, see above, pp. 174–8. ‘Mr Gray’ is probably John Gray (d. 1729) who studied at Glasgow and was admitted to the collegiate church there in 1693; he transferred to the Wynd church in 1700: Scott, *Fasti*, iii, 432, 451. His correspondent was the soldier and author, Sir James Turner (1615–86?).

<sup>q</sup> The reference is apparently to *Praxeos medicae tomi III* (1602) by the Swiss physician, Felix Plater (1536–1614).

<sup>r</sup> Fazio Cardano’s cure of the famous theologian Andreas Osiander (1498–1552) is recorded in book xviii of Cardano, *De subtilitate* (above, p. 97).

own, and my Parishioner too, /16/ *John M<sup>c</sup>phale* that lived to the Age of Fourscore years, a man that was truly very Sagacious by Nature, and though his sight was much decayed, the Seat of his Judgement was nothing touch'd: and as he grew weaker, meerly by Old Age, without any remarkable Distemper I made frequent Visits to him; one day as I was coming away from him, he told me he had something of consequence to ask at me, and desired all to Remove except his Wife and an other Gentleman that was a Friend of his: this done, Sir says he, I desire to know by what warrand or Commission so many of my Friends that are dead long agoe, are allowed to come and Discourse with me, and Drink before me, and yet are not so civil as to give me a tasting of it? I told him, that it was only the trouble of his fancy, and his frequent thinking of the World to come, and his Friends that were gon before him; and he replied to me very Smartly, Sir says he, I perceave, it is the work of the Fancy, for since I cannot see yourself (for only by your Voice I know /17/ you) how could I see them? It was strange that he saw them the very mean time that others were in the house with him, and asked several questions at them, but got no answer: And for all this, the seat of his Witt was as intire as ever; Moreover this trouble left him a little before he died.

Many such Illusions are reported of Eremites, caused meerly by the confusion of the Brains, bred by their fasting, and unwholsome Food; which I shall not trouble the Reader with.

If you will ask, how cometh this to pass? Take notice of the following method, which I humble offer to your consideration.<sup>s</sup> Advert in the first place, that visible Ideas, or Species, are emitted from every visible Object to the Organ of the Eye, representing the figure and colour of the Object, and bearing along with it the proportion of the distance: for sure the Objects enter not the Eye, nor the interjacent distant tract of Ground: And a third thing different from the Eye, and the Object and the distant Ground must inform /18/ the Eye. These Species, are conveyed to the Brain by the Optick Nerve, and are laid up in the Magazine of the Memory; otherways we should not remember the Object any longer than it is in our presence: and a remembering of those Objects is nothing else but the Fancie's revieuing, or more properly the Soul of Man, by the Fancy, revieuing, of these intentional Species formerly received from the visible Object unto the Organ of the Eye, and recondited into the Seat of the Memory. Now when the Brain is in a Serene temper, these Species are in their integrity, and keep their Rank and file, as they were received; but when the Brain is filled with gross and flatuous Vapors, and the Spirits and Humours intraged, these Ideas are sometimes multiplied, as an Army by Mist: sometimes magnified; sometimes misplaced; sometimes confounded by other Species of different Objects: perhaps by half and half: so that the Fancy has two for one, one bigger than two of it self, and sometimes the half of one /19/ and the half of an other represented in one: and this Deception is not only incident to the Fancy, but even to the External Senses; particularly the Seeing and Hearing. For the *Visus* or Seeing is nothing else but the Transition of the intentional Species thro' the Crystallin Humour to the Retiform coat of the Eye, and judged by the common Sense, and convey'd by the Optick Nerve to the Fancy.

<sup>s</sup> For Fraser's theory of vision, see above, Introduction, p. 27.



Of this we have a clear demonstration, from the representation of external Objects, through a Crystallin Glass, upon any lucid smooth and solid reflectent, placed before the Glass in a dark Chamber, which is one of the noblest Experiments in the whole Opticks.

Now if these Species formerly received, & laid up in the Brain, will be reversed back from the same to the Retiform Coat and Crystallin Humour as formerly, there is in effect a lively seeing and preception of the Object represented by these Species as if, *de novo*, the Object had been placed before the Eye: for the Organ of the Eye had no more /20/ of it before, than now it has; Just so with the Hearing, it is nothing else, but the receaving of the Audible Species to that part of the Ear that is accommodated for Hearing; so that when the Species are retracted from the Brain to their proper Organs; for Example the Ear, and the Eye, Hearing and Seeing are perfected, as if the Objects had been present, to influence the Organs, *de novo*: And it is not to be thought that this is a singular Opinion, For *Cardanus* an Eminent Author, of great and universal Reading and Experience, maintains this reversion of the Species; and attributes his own Vision of Trees, Wild-Beasts, Men, Cities and instructed Battles, Musical and Martial Instruments, from the fourth to the seventh year of his Age, to the Species of the Objects he had seen formerly, now retracted to the Organ of the Eye: And cites *Averroes*, an Author of greater renown, for the same Opinion. See *Cardanus de Subtilitate rerum*, *pagina trecentesima prima*.<sup>t</sup> /21/

And it seems truly to be founded upon relevant grounds. I have observed a Sick Person, that complained of great Pain and Molestation in his Head, and particularly of Piping, and sweet singing in his Ears; which seems to have been caused by the Species of Piping and Singing, which he had formerly heard, but were now through the *Plethory* of his Head, forced out of the Brain, to the Organ of the Ear; thro' the same Nerve, by which they were received formerly: and why may not the same befall the visible Species, as well as the Audible? which seems to be confirmed by this Optick Experiment. Take a sheet of Painted Paper and fix it in your Window, looking steadfastly to it for a considerable time, for example, some few minuts; then close your Eys very strait, and place a Sheet of clean Paper before your Eys, and open your Eyes suddenly, you will see the Painting almost as lively as they were in the Painted sheet with the lively Colours; this Compression of the Eys by consent, causes a Compression /22/ of the whole Brain; which forces back the visible Species of the Painted Sheet to the Organ of the Eye, through the Optick Nerve, which will presently evanish if the reflectent did not help to preserve them. You may see then how much of these Representations may be within our selves, abstracting from any external Agent, or Object without the Eye to influence the same.

The Second thing that comes under consideration, is the influence and Operation of external Agents, namely an Angel, good or bad. It is not to be denyed but good Angels may help and dispose all our Faculties, excite, elevate, and sett them upon Edge and Action: Likeways, that evil Angels, may perturb, confound, and hurt

<sup>t</sup> I.e. page 301 of Cardano's *De subtilitate*, on which see above, p. 97. The authority that Fraser notes that he cites is the Islamic philosopher Averroës, otherwise known as Ibn-Rushd (1126–98).



our External and Internal Senses (when permitted) particularly by stirring the Spirits, Humours, and Vapours, which of themselves when so stirred, help to make many Shapes & Representations, either regular or irregular (as has been formerly observed) & withall, they /23/ can colorate External Objects, far beyond any Painter, insensibly to the Beholder, *Repente applicando activa passivis*:<sup>u</sup> and that they can alter the Medium interposed between our Senses and the Objects, by making it grosser, or thinner, Opaque or Lucide, is a thing not to be questioned; For a clear proof of this I hope any rational man will allow me.

That even the evil Angels, who were Created in a degree above us, must have a more penetrating Witt than ours is, and having Experience from their Creation to this very day, and can be present to ev'ry Experiment found out, or that is committed to Writing by the Art of Man; and withall, being not subject to Oblivion, as Man is, (for they have no material faculty to be Obliterated) I say, any Rational Man will allow me, that they can do as much, and beyond what the Art of Man is able to do; But so it is, that Painters can make one Object more pleasant than an other; distorted and worse favoured, than an other: that any /24/ Smoak may engross the Air: that a Cloud removed on or off the Face of the Sun, give way to the Beams of it to illuminat the Air, or to Eclips its Light: that Vapours, and Exhalations, from Sea and Land, Multiply and Magnifie Objects, Mishapes and distorts them, and makes them of diverse Figures, all in an Instant; which is observable in hot Summer days, especially in the end of the Canicular days; for you may see readily about three or four in the afternoon, the same Hills (providing they are situated at a considerable distance from you) to be of diverse shapes, forms & figures, changeing very suddenly from one shape to another; for example, form a Globe to a Pyramid, from a Pyramid to Quadrangular figure, &c. All which our ordinary Multiplying, Magnifying and Distorting Glasses produce. Moreover, that Physicians can administer such Medicins as may provoke a man to Madness, and Rage, yea to Phantastick & Hypochondriack fits: so also Medicins that move pleasant and unpleasant /25/ Dreams, by exciting the Melancholick, or Sanguine Humours; rageing or peaceable Dreams, by moving the Cholerick or Flegematick Humour.

How much more can the Prince of the Air do, and his Retinue, who is better seen in the nature of the Elements and their Compounds; who is better seen in the nature of Trees, Plants, Minerals, Stones, the secret qualities, of Springs and Fountains, Rivers and Lochs, and the Influence of Celestial Bodies &c. And who is better seen in the Constitution of every man, his Customs and Inclinations, and his present state and bygon circumstances: I say, in all these he is better seen than any Man, and can accommodat them to his purpose beyond the greatest *Virtuoso's*.

Let us therefore Consider, that an evil Angel, being permitted thereunto, can muster in our Brain the Latent intentional Species of External absent Objects, and can present the same to the Fancy in the methods best fitting his purpose; and not only so in time /26/ of our Sleep (for then indeed the Fancy sticks with more Tenacity to what it apprehends) but also when we are not Sleeping, he can deduce these Species, by forcing them out of the Rooms or Cells of the Brain to the Organ of

<sup>u</sup> 'Active is suddenly to be applied to passive'.

the Eye, and Ear, and so of necessity a man either sitting, or going in the high way, will hear and see such things as these Species do represent: And seing that naturally it may be done, as would appear from what is above spoken, from the strength and force of Medicines, to operat upon the Spirits and Humours of Man to work strange things, why may not a good or bad Angel excite Nature to it? or by an immediat impulse, force these material Qualities to the Organs of the External Senses, as well as they can move their Vehicles, which are the Spirits and Humours?

The Third thing proposed was the Connection of these Representations with the future contingent Events that are observed to follow them; as for example, a SECOND SIGHTED /27/ Man sees a Winding-Sheet upon his Neighbour, or Blood running down his face, Shoulders or Arms, he concludes that he must Die or be Wounded in the Face, Shoulder, or Arms: If you will ask what Warrant he has for this? he will tell, he has found by Experience, that when ever he saw the like of this, that he found Death, or Wounds to follow. *Quæritur*,<sup>v</sup> Then, what Connection can this Representation have with an effect, or contingent event not yet existent? For answer to this, GOD who knoweth all things, no doubt, imparteth much of the Foreknowledge of things; not only to good Angels but also evil Angels, for reasons well known to himself; particularly that they might give some true Signs, and so have way to Deceave in many things besides: and tho' the Signs foretold should surely come to pass, it does not inferr, that the Doctrine of evil Angels, and their Lyes that they would suggest to mankind, should be Credited. This is clear from the 13th. of *Deuteronomy*, 1.2 3. *Verses*. /28/ *If there arise among you a Prophet, or a Dreamer of Dreams, and giveth thee a Sign or a Wonder, And the Sign or the Wonder come to pass whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other Gods (which thou hast not known) and let us serve them; Thou shalt not hearken to the words of that Prophet, or that Dreamer of Dreams: for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whither you love the Lord your God, with all your Heart, and with all your Soul.* And this is very just with God when men give themselves over to a Reprobat and wicked mind, and evil and unwarrantable practises, expresly against the Lord Commands; I say it is just with God to let evil Angels or Sprits Delude them and give way to these Spirits, in order to confirm their Lies, to appoint Signs before hand, which Signs by Gods appointment may come to pass, answerable to the Prediction. It may Rationally and very probably be concluded, that *Ahab's* false Prophets, in number four Hundred, have often foretold truth:<sup>w</sup> and this purposely by /29/ Gods appointment that they might be the better believed, and more easily perswaded to lay Siege to *Ramoth Gilead*: and it is hard to conceive that *Ahab* should give them so much credit, or they themselves so extraordinary confident, if they had not had many truths Suggested to them, and made proof of the same to *Ahab*: It is not for nought, that we are Commanded to trye the Spirits; and that rather by their Doctrines than their Signs and Wonders, or fair and smooth pretences.<sup>x</sup> Therefore suppose these evil Angels to know a contingent future event, either by a revelation, or natural or moral causes, they may in the method foresaid, make the Representation of them to the Eyes or Ears.

<sup>v</sup> 'It is asked'.

<sup>w</sup> See above, p. 196.

<sup>x</sup> See 1 John 4, 1.

As for Example; an Angel, good or bad, finds that either the Lungs, Heart, Stomach, Liver, or Brain, are under such a Consumption as may against such a time kill a man; or that he knows the secret contrivance of a potent party, that is resolved to Wound or Kill him, or that its revealed to him it should be so (which may very /30/ well be, as has been above Noted) he can easily represent these before hand, though the event should follow but a considerable time thereafter: he has no more to do then to reverse the Species of these things from a Mans Brain to the Organ of the Eye.

Here ariseth a Question from what has been said, Whither it be more probable, that good Angels make the Representation (because men having this SECOND SIGHT are found to tell truth, and to be innocent in their Lives & free of any Paction either implicit or explicit; Likeways free of any Fraudulent design, and sound enough in the necessary Articles of their Salvation,) Or that it be done by evil Angels for the tryal of Men and Women, juggling with their Fancies and external Organs, and so have a patent way to tell Lies, among some Truths. For answer to this question I shall not be ready positively to determine these thing; But I humbly conceive that as the representations are oft done by evil Angels, so likewise tis probable that it may /31/ be done by good Angels, I can not be so uncharitable to several men that I have known to be of considerable sense, and Pious and good conversation, As to conclude them to be given over to be deluded continually by an evil Angel: moreover I conceive that there are many good Christians, if they would advert well, that have some secret tokens and signs, of notable alterations to come, Suggested to them before hand; And that these Signs, some of them, are common to them with others, as dreaming, which are often observed to be compleatly fulfilled: and that some of the Signs and Warnings are peculiar to some persons, which fail not to answer to the things signified. As for example; I have known certainly a man that when he found an involuntary motion in such a member of his Body, particularly his Right Hand or Right Eye, that was sure that some matter of Joy would shortly come to his Hearing; and that if he found the same motion in the Left Eye or Hand, it signified infallibly grief: And that /32/ which is more wonderfull, the thing to come signified by these Signs, and warnings, kept an exact Proportion with the continuance or Vehemency of the motion; if the Motion continued long, so did the Joy, or the Grief; if the Motion was snell or Vehement, so was the matter of Grief or Joy: And finding that this man was both a good man, and of a right penetrating witt, and had Art enough, it moved me to use freedom with several other good men, that had knowledge and senses enough to examin circumstances to a Hair, I found very many to acknowledge the very same thing, yet signified by different Signs (which shows they are not *Signa naturalia* but *ex instituto*)<sup>y</sup> which puts me in mind of Doctor *Brown's* observation to the same purpose, in his enquiry into vulgar errors, where he concludes severall presentations to be acted in us, by our Tutelary Angels that have the charge of us at the time:<sup>z</sup> Mark this, though the Signs be different in themselves, yet to each particular person, his own Sign is still significative /33/ of the same thing: And why might not this of the SECOND SIGHT be counted amongst

<sup>y</sup> I.e. natural signs rather than contrived ones.

<sup>z</sup> The reference is to *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1646) by the doctor and author Sir Thomas Browne (1605–82), probably to book i, chs. 10–11.

one of these? I likewise humbly conceive, that God might compensate the want of many other gifts to poor men by giving them this Minor Sort of foreknowledge: but I would advise all of them that have the SECOND SIGHT, to examine themselves; and to Pray earnestly to God, that no evil Angel should have power to abuse their senses, because the Devil still strives to imitate what God, or his good Angels, communicates to his own Children. I know that the common opinion of some Philosophers and Divines will be objected, and that is, that Angels good or bad may condense the Air, figurat and colorat the same, and make it of what Figure or Shape they please, so that this Representation is made by external Objects in effect, emitting visible Species to the Eye; and consequently that it is not the reversion of the Species formerly received: though, as I have observed before, that good and bad /34/ Angels, can alter the *Medium* in a strange way, and can work great alteration on the Elements and their Compounds; I think it very improbable, that any Created power can bring the Air to that Solidity, and actually condense it, Colorat and Figurat it, as to represent a man, by a Beast; or *Peter* by *Paul*: Specially at such a Distance, as from one side of a Chamber to the other. The Miracles done by the Magicians of *Ægypt* is their *Aobillean* Argument; but in short I say that what was done by the Magicians of *Ægypt* has neither been a delusion of the Senses (as some would have it) much less that the Devil could produce these Creatures *de novo*, of condensed Air; and that for the following reasons: first; thence it would follow that *Moses* and *Aaron* were deluded as well as the *Ægyptians*, but the last is false; therefore the first.<sup>a</sup> Secondly; It would follow, that the fashioning and framing of *Adams* Body, of Clay, was but a mean Act of Creation, in comparison of these Creatures, if they should be /35/ fashioned and framed of Condensed Air, which is naturally a Fluid Element, not so easily Stigmatized as the Earth. I do not deny but the Devil can snatch Dead and Quick Bodies, from one place to an other, and that insensibly to the Beholders, by pressing their Optick Nerves; as *Franciscus Valesius* has observed in his *Sacra Philosophia*.<sup>b</sup> and I conclude with *Abraham Couley* (no contemptible Author) that the Magicians of *Ægypt*, were after this manner served by the Devil, to imitate God's Power in the hands of *Moses* and *Aaron*.<sup>c</sup> Mark, finally, if it were within the Sphere of Angelical power, to take Bodies of Condensed Air, what needed them assume such material and Earthly Bodies, as these Angels that came to *Abraham* and *Lot* assumed, whose Bodies could be touched and handled, and whose Bodies were not found to yield to the touch, as the most Condensed Air must do?<sup>d</sup> And it is very consisting with reason, that the Angels good or bad, should rather assume Bodies of the Element of the Earth, which /36/ is, by a great deal, more easily brought, to the Figure and fashion of a Body, than the Air. Some curious Spirits perhaps may desire to know, whether this *Second Sight* be Hereditary, or propagable from father to Son: And I think no wonder that some would think so, because the Sanative Gift of the *Kings Evil*, is lineally traduced to the natural Heirs of the Crown of

a See Exodus 7, 10–12, 19–22; 8, 5–7, 16–19; Genesis 2, 7.

b *De iis qua scripta sunt physicè in libris sacris, sive de sacra philosophia* (1587) by Francisco Vallés de Covarrubias, physician to Philip II of Spain.

c See verse iv and the accompanying notes of 'The Plagues of Egypt' in *Pindarique Odes* (1656) by the poet Abraham Cowley (1618–87). See also Genesis 18, 1–8.

d See Genesis 9, 1–11.

*England*:<sup>e</sup> and there is a whole Family in *Spain*, that has a Sanative gift of some particular diseases; which gift is propagated from the Father to the Son; neither it is diminished, or augmented more, by the morality or immorality of the persons: as has been observed by that famous Philosopher and Phisician *Franciscus Valesius*, who lived in that Kingdom, and had time and opportunity to examin the truth of this affair.<sup>f</sup> In short, I answer that it is not propagable from Father to Son neither Peculiar to any particular Family: and as I have observed many honest men, free of all Scandal that ever I could learn, to have it; so I have /37/ observed many Vitious persons to have it who foretold truth, oft enough.

Perhaps it may be doubted, what should make this *Second Sight* more frequent here than in the heart of the Kingdom: I answer that it is the lack of observation and inquirie that It should not be found there as well as here. *Secundo*. that it passes under a great *odium* and Disgrace, with the most of men, which causes those that see it conceal it. *Thirdly*. I confess that Credulity and Ignorance give occasion to evil Spirits to juggle more frequently, than otherways they would have don. But sure it is that men of little Learning and Education may be recompensed by notable presentations, not so obvious to others of greater parts. I Remember of a Noble man in *Spain* that was Dumb and Deaf from his Infancy, & yet was taught by a Monk to Speak, & understand what was spoken to him, only by observing the motion of his Lips that Spoke to him. Sir *Kenelm Digby* saw him, as he tells in his treatise of Bodys: and the Monk /38/ that taught him was a Cousine of *Franciscus Valesius*'s.<sup>g</sup> This was more than ordinarie Sagacity and Docility: and it is found that many Dumb persons foretell many things before hand: and it is hard measure to conclude all to be from evil Spirits. In fine, as I noted before, As questionless Satan may and often does Deceive after this manner, so it is as sure it may be allowed, that good Angels may forewarne this way, as well as by other Signs and tokens: as Doctor *Brown* observes.<sup>h</sup>

It is observed that these who have the SECOND SIGHT, have this Representation at any time of the Day; but indeed more ordinarily Morning and Evening; and with Candle light.

The Design of these weak conceptions of this Sublime *Theme* is not to impose upon any man; freely leaving every man to follow his own Judgement, in things that offend not Church or State: But that others of greater capacity may be stimulated to prosecute the same in a better method, Humble submitting /39/ my self to the Judgement of my Betters; to whose hands perhaps, this Pamphlet may come.

## FINIS

<sup>e</sup> See above, pp. 87, 100, 105.

<sup>f</sup> See above, p. 203n.

<sup>g</sup> This instance was recounted by Digby (above, p. 17), in *Two Treatises*, pp. 307–9. The episode evidently occurred when Digby was in Spain in the entourage of the future Charles I in 1623. The deaf man was the younger brother of the Constable of Castile.

<sup>h</sup> See above, p. 202.

## 7.

*Edward Lhuyd's and Robert Wodrow's  
questionnaires and the responses of  
John Fraser and John MacLean*

*Lhuyd's original questionnaire<sup>a</sup>*

Part of the Letter to <the Revd> Mr James Fraser  
Minister of Kirkhill in the Aird near Invernes:<sup>b</sup>

Dated at Falkirk in Sterlingshire Dec.18 1699.

——— But it lies not in their way to be so immediately assisting in the undertaking I am engagd in; in regard, they are strangers to the old Scottish Language & customes, the comparing of which with the Welsh, Cornish, & Armorician is one part of my design. I therefore make bold to addresse my self to you for your kind assistance; & intreat you that besides you'r own trouble, you would prevail with some friend or two (in regard it may prove tedious) to contribute their helping hand. In return I can only promise that if hereafter it may lye in my way to be serviceable to your self or any friend, in my station at Oxford, I shall very faithfully observe your directions, and if I shall understand that any new book there may be acceptable to you, I shall study to expresse my Gratitude. Now the Requests I have chiefly to make (so far as they occur to my thoughts at present) are as follows. /fol. 26v/

1. An interpretation of the Nouns in Mr Ray's *Dictionariolum Trilingue*;<sup>c</sup> with the Addition of the Verbs & Adjectives in the vulgar *Nomenclatura* into the Northern Ersh would be very acceptable.<sup>1</sup>
2. A catalogue of the towns, castles, villages, mountains, vales, Lochs & Rivers, within ten (or twenty) miles;<sup>2</sup> with an interpretation of such of these names as are indubitably intelligible; and queries or conjectures about some of the others.

<sup>a</sup> Bodleian Library MS Carte 269, fols. 26–8. For its context, see above, p. 48. Lhuyd's reference to his 'station at Oxford' alludes to his keepership of the Ashmolean Museum.

<sup>b</sup> I.e. James Fraser (1634–1709), divine, traveller and writer: Scott, *Fasti*, vi, 473. See also above, p. 48.

<sup>c</sup> I.e. *Dictionariolum trilingue* (1675), an English–Latin–Greek vocabulary by the naturalist John Ray (1627–1705).

3. Some account of the Barrows or artificial mounts; of monumental stones, whether those<sup>3</sup> inscrib'd with Letters, or other carving; or those plac'd in a circular order, or vast stones placed on the tops of others pitch'd in the Ground.
4. An account of the Amulets & charms &c. viz. Adderstones, Toadstones, Cock-knee-stones, snail-stones, mole-stones, Lêag,<sup>d</sup> Elf Arrows & the like; with any other *Relations* that may fall under this Head. And as many of those curiosities as may be procur'd without much expence, are earnestly desir'd.<sup>4</sup> /fol. 27/
5. Any Coin, Fibula, or other old brasse<sup>5</sup> utensil; or small stones of any peculiar figure (whether natural or artificial) would be no lesse acceptable.
6. The peculiar Games & customes observ'd on set days throughout the year; &<sup>6</sup> any other fashions that you know peculiar to the Highlands. I have already about 3 sheets of the customes & Rites of the Highlands; which the famous Mr Boyl had procur'd from some correspondent: and would judge of the verity of these according as we find them confirm'd by your account and our own observations in the Western Isles, &c.<sup>7</sup>
7. A catalogue of the Highland Poets of note, and of all the other writers on what subject<sup>8</sup> soever in the Ersh or<sup>9</sup> Scottish Irish. When they flourish'd: what they writ: How large their works; with the three or four initial & final words; and where their works may be seen at present.
8. A catalogue of the Christian names purely Ersh;<sup>10</sup> with a mark of distinction to those still in use.

Thus Sir, you find I have cutt out for your self & your friends a great deal of work, but I pretend not /fol. 27v/ to be your Taskmaster. An answer to any of these Heads would be very thankfully receiv'd. And for the time; about May next will be very seasonable; and a twelve month hence not too late.

Pray pardon this trouble given you by (worthy Sir) your very humble servt E.L.

Any papers, &c. will come safe to my hands, if directed to be left either with Mr James Paterson at the Taylor's hand in the Cow-gate, Edenbrough or with Mr Walter Thomas at Bernards Inne. London.<sup>11</sup>

*Wodrow to MacLean, 13 April 1701<sup>e</sup>*

For Mr John McLean when going home to Mull

D. C.

I was extreamply satisfied yesternight to hear that the Learned and Curieuse Mr

<sup>d</sup> *leug*.

<sup>e</sup> Edinburgh University Library MS Laing III 355, fols. 117v–119. Printed in Wodrow, *Early Letters*, pp. 159–62.



Beaton, was in this Country, and near you, I have <not> the Honnour of his acquaintance, 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 follou, and I hope you will discourse Mr Beaton on what of them you Think Convenient.

1. Let me have what 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<sup>13</sup> 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 Religieuse people that have had it. hou it is Come By, with the Circumstances of and way and time hou, and when 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 own Nation are, especially since I read the very Circumstantiated relation of it, in our MSS Fordoun.<sup>f</sup> 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. /fol. 118/

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 refound you whatever Charges 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 Custome[s] that are peculiar to the Highlanders, would be very acceptable: of their, ancient Bards, their peculiar games, the customes and frites [sic] observed, on set dayes, Throughout all the year[;] Their Mariage, and funerall solemnitys &c. I hear there was, ane accompt of all this write by some body or other to the Honourable Robert Boyl, & that there is a Copy of this, In some Curieuse person in Mull, or some of the Neighbouring Islands, his hand. I would give anything for a Copy of it.

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<sup>12</sup> In the 2d Century, and that there was a Copy of it sent up to Ophlaharti.<sup>g</sup> The author is Carlrile Fachaire a heathen.<sup>h</sup> pray get accompt of this from the learned Mr Beaton, of its subject, Bigness and what advances, are to be made out of it, in our History, or the Maners of our ancient Druids.

6ly. what accompt you Can give me of the Barrous or artificiall Mounts, Buriall Stones, other stones with letters, or carving on them, those in a circular form, or urns, &c. that have been dugg up. /fol. 118v/

7ly. ane accompt of the opinions of the vulgar Highlanders, touching the Adder stones, Toad-stones, Cocknea-stones, Mole-stones, *leag*,<sup>i</sup> &c. what they say of their virtues, origine, &c. and, if you can procure me any of them or elf arroues, it will be very acceptable.

<sup>f</sup> I.e. John Fordun (d. 1384?), part-author of *Scotichronicon*. 'Gathelus', or *Gaedheal Glas*, was the eponymous ancestor of the Gaels.

<sup>g</sup> The Irish historian, Roderic O'Flaherty (1629–1718).

<sup>h</sup> I.e. Cairbre Lifechair: see below, p. 210.

<sup>i</sup> *leug*.



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 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 the house, feild or warr.

9ly. ane accompt of your old Highland poets of Note, Historians and Physitians, when they lived, what they Wrote[,] hou large, their Books may be, and wher 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 when it came first in use. it seems old and to have, some congruity, with the Hebreu way of naming people.

11ly. if Mr Beaton can give you any light, Whither the Romans wer ever in/fol. 119/ Ireland, I can meet with noe Nottices of this In their Historyes, and if they wer not, what reason can be given, Why they Invaded not Island, [sic] 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, what they Treat of[,] hou ancient they are, if they be In Irish or latine, and what advances, as to our History may be made out of them.<sup>j</sup>

I hope for a large accompt of Matters in answer to what is Above; and for my Collection here, I doubt not But you will doe what you Can to Help it forward. let me have Keel, pyrites[,] that yellou substance that is in Slates, elf arroues, cockneastones, adderstones Toadstons[,] *leag*, Nutts that are Cast in from the sea, oars of Metall, Corkye-litt. with ane accompt hou it groues, is gathered, and made use off;] any stones of ane odd, shape figure collour weight or lightness, particularly from I-colm-kill, 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] what occurs raptime, and without any deu order. in giving yourself this Trouble you will extremly oblige

your affectionat Comrad and humble servant,

Ap. 13,<sup>14</sup> 1701.

R. Wodrow.

<sup>j</sup> In fact, Beaton apparently did not have these MSS: see Campbell and Thomson, *Lhuyd in the Scottish Highlands*, p. 35.

*MacLean's reply, 20 April 1702<sup>k</sup>*

Sir,

I was verie ambitious to get you all the satisfaction possible concerning your queries in order to which I saw Mr Beaton and discoursed him upon the most of them And I understand that he can give abundance of light and satisfaction in all these and (I suppose) in what else of this nature your curiositie could propose. He was verie willing to oblige you yet not having his bookes beside him and your Queries being such as would require some time and paines to answer them particularlie and to any purpose he cannot give <you> full satisfaction concerning them now. Onlie this in generall

<sup>l</sup>As for the first Querie anent the second sight, he cannot say much but what experience has made common: it was <verie> frequent here some few years ago, & not altogether yet extinguished. & he affirms that it readilie went from father to son <but not of the best livers> You may consult Cardanus upon it[,] who had it & wrote of it. he refers you to Mr Frazer anent it, hearing you imployed his son.<sup>m</sup>

2 As for Gathelus he averrs that indeed he is the Progenitor of the Scoti Antiqui who inhabited Ireland whose genealogie unto Noah he can shew & instruct with good evidence, as also all the generations from him downward even to this day which he sayes Hugo Vardius in vita Rumuldi, as also the Annals of Scotland and Ireland which are with him to which St Asaph has appealed & all the late English writers, do prove. as also Carbre Livathaire, one of the Kings of Ireland[,] a heathen, & of the race of Gathelus himself, writes in this manuscript of which Mr Luyd wrote to you.<sup>n</sup> This he sayes is neither fabulous or unprobable seeing there were records left by every generation to their posteritie & these men were (not as ye suppose unlearned<sup>o</sup> but great philosophers)<sup>o</sup> Gathelus being the Grandchild of Pheneus Farsi, who was grand teacher of the languages haveing taught in his school four score

<sup>k</sup> National Library of Scotland Wod. Qu. Lett. ii, 12–14. Endorsed 'n. 6'; on fol. 14v, endorsed by Wodrow: 'J. McLean. Ap. 20. 1702'. Previously printed in *Analecta Scotica*, i, 121–5. See also above, p. 49.

<sup>l</sup> There is a cross in the margin at this point; two more appear opposite MacLean's answer to question 5 lower on the page.

<sup>m</sup> See above, p. 97. In fact, it was Fazio Cardano who had it, rather than Girolamo Cardano, who wrote about it.

<sup>n</sup> Hugh Ward [*Aodh mac an Bhárd*] (1592–1635) was a member of a Donegal bardic family and an Irish Franciscan at Louvain, who collected material from the Annals of the Four Masters and other sources for his life of St Rumold, published in 1662. See Campbell and Thomson, *Lhuyd in the Highlands*, pp. 26–8. 'St Asaph' is presumably a reference to the scholar and divine, William Lloyd (1627–1717), Bishop of St Asaph, whose works included *An Historical Account of Church Government, as it was in Great Britain and Ireland when they first received the Christian Religion* (1684).

<sup>o</sup> At this point an asterisk appears, with a note by MacLean: 'look where the asterisk is, in the 3d page': see below, p. 211.

ten languages immediatlie after the confusion of languages at Babylon. and Gathelus himself being taught in all the arts and sciences of the Magicians of Egypt being contemporary with Moses & then there at Pharoah's overthrow. & Married Pharoahs daughter called Scota. & Manie generations thereafter Milo Hispanus his children having come to Ireland one of them called Eabhgrigin glúngheal<sup>p</sup> a Philosopher & a Druid left a register of all both genealogie & manie other memorable things by past with his posteritie[.] Next him Constantinus Centibellis<sup>q</sup> his druid Fraith druith . . . Sabina, or Saebh, daughter . . . /fol. 12v/ till that time.<sup>r</sup> Next unto that Fergus Phili mac Finn druid & philosopher[;] likewise Caffie draoith druid to Couchair<sup>s</sup> King of Ireland, and Brikne mac Chárta Chea<sup>h</sup>léith Druid to Fergus MacRoiss monarch of Ireland & progenitor <of> the kings of Great Brittain of the Stewart race[.] After this, Torn ékshe Druid & philosopher to the Great Monarch of Ireland Niall Naoidhiollach. likewise Lughie oCleri, Taog McDari[.] But before Torn ékshe Carbre libhachaire & his <father> Cormag both Druids Philosophers & Kings of Ireland. betwixt them two this book presented to Mr Luyd has been compyled wherein they were helped & directed by the records of all those that went before & likewise all that has been done that is of any note since their time, is as a posthume work added to Carbre libhachaires book by the Druids & Bairds of Ireland.

As for the 3d Quærie concerning ane Irish Grammer there is none here except one that Mr Beaton has which will be useless (he sayes) for any thats but of ane ordinary capacitie in the Irish, because of its obscurity, unless put in a new form & method, which<sup>16</sup> he would not undertake to do without speciall incouragement. As for a vocabularie there is none at all, he sayes, there are many in Ireland, of which Mr Luyd gott severalls & that of different sorts.

4 The Fashions & customes peculiar to the Highlanders, their games & feites on set dayes, their marriage solemnities &c were so manie that it were tedious to make a full collection of them. I know none in this countrey that hath it with him. if any has it, I shall find it out. Mr Beaton certifies me that a list of all these are in the hands of Doctor Sibbald at Edinburgh.<sup>t</sup>

5 The Manuscript of which Mr Luyd informed <you> whose author was Carbre leabhachaire the heathen I have given you a hint of it in the answer to the 2d Querie concerning Gathelus. the biggness of it is a large sheet in everie leaf. the subject is various, chiefly the genealogie & origine of the Kings of Ireland from Gathelus & upwards from the creation. as also their historie. especiallye of that time wherein he wrote. of the then government<sup>17</sup> airts, sciences, learning, languages then in Ireland. of the names & sirnames of all kindes used there with their explication & etymologie[.] of the ancient inhabitants of Ireland, of the historie of other countempories . . . called with [?] . . .<sup>u</sup> /fol. 13/

<sup>p</sup> *Aimhirgin Glúngheal*.

<sup>q</sup> I.e. the Latinised name of *Conn Cádchathach*, 'Conn of a hundred battles'.

<sup>r</sup> The MS is damaged at this point and at least a line of text, and possibly more, is missing at the foot of the page. It is likely that the word *daughter* was followed by *of Conn*.

<sup>s</sup> *Conchaire*.

<sup>t</sup> I.e. the original of the MS printed above, pp. 54ff.

<sup>u</sup> MS damaged at this point; see above, note r.

6 As for artificiaall mounts I know nothing of them here, but there are innumerable vestiges of old forts and castells which they call Dun's, they seem to have been of a very odd contrivance, many of their vaults do yet appear[;] they are mostly situat near the sea, there<sup>18</sup> are stones of a very prodigious bigness in them, they are denominat by the proper names of men whose Etymon<sup>v</sup> seems mostly to be of an unknown language. Some think they were built when the<sup>19</sup> Danes possesst our Isles but I think they are more ancient.

7 As for our Physicians Bards & Seanchies or Seneciones our Physicians were Beatons both in Mull & Ilay of whose skill & acts they talk great things.<sup>w</sup> they were expert schollars both in Irish & latine but had English ne'er a word. They had an heritable right to so much land while they could so much as draw blood. which they yet enjoy. Mr John Beaton being the only schollar of their race has fallen to all their books & manuscripts, as also of the Seneciones, whose sirname was Morison, & their priviledges like unto the former. The last of them that was eminent in that office Called Muldonich McEoin was 34 years at the schools in Ireland, he died about 20 years ago & because Sir John McLean was of none age & the place in disorder by reason of the controversie betwixt them & the family of Argyle, these offices were wholly extinct.

8 Mr Beaton affirms that he could instruct that alltho the Romans were not in Ireland, yet the Irishes voluntarily submitted to them & made an agreement with them. yet he affirms that at that time, they were of such fortitude both of body & mind that they were invincible. & that tribute was payed to them <by> the most part of all the Kingdoms both in Asia & Europe, so that it is reported that one of their number being at Judea to receive that tribute when Christ was crucified, when he came home told the <King> that he saw a man who was called the Son of God crucified at Jerusalem, was sorely reproved that he did not resive him.

9 As for the Black rolls of Icollumkill their subject is various, they are mostly historicall, & that not only Domestick but forraign.

\* Nota that where the asterisk is in the first page there is something wrong about Gathelus which I cannot correct nor had I time to be rightly informed about it since I saw Mr Beaton. ye may suspend your thoughts about it till further information. it is only in the degrees or generations betwixt him & Pheneus Farsi deace;

I had a promise from a friend of mine to write very particularly anent the most part of these articles, which ye might have be this time, were it not the gentleman was diverted by his fathers death. /fol. 14/

<sup>v</sup> I.e. the origin of a word.

<sup>w</sup> See Bannerman, *The Beatons*, which also supplies such information as is available to elucidate the further particulars given in this paragraph.

At Inveraray. Apryle 20 702.

Sir

I beleive ye have been informed of what diverted me from writeing & sending to you the inclosed[.] I was wholly against my inclination entered upon tryalls which took up all my time till now[;] it may indeed be surprizing to any of my acquaintance, but much more astonishing to my self & especially that I have been brought through all the steps of my tryalls as I have been.<sup>x</sup> Mr Beaton is willing if he were encouraged to bring to light what he thinks will be forever burried in his books otherwise. Mr Campbell the King's historiographer designes to encourage him & speake to the Duke of Argyle anent him,<sup>y</sup> he wrote to him when I was in Mull last inviteing him to come to his house & bring his books alongs so that he might teach him to read & understand them & that himself would methodize & emitt a peice concerning our antiquities. but he was not at home. my being diverted as foresaid occasiond that I had not some rare thing to send you. receive a cylindrical white stone, & a little stone which they call bats stones because they heall horses of the worms they call bats. they grow out of a rock near the sea in Mull. I had two of them but I lost the best, & the other is broken, I could <not> get that substance that is <in> skleats separated from it, but I sent broken peices of the skleat itself. I pray you if ye can send me information how I may get the cases of the meetings which ye have in the Biblio-thick written & sent me, & after information, I shall send the money. remember my kindness to your father.

I remain Sir

Your very humble servant  
Jo: MacLean*Fraser's reply to Wodrow's enquiries<sup>z</sup>*

## Brief answeare to Mr Witherow's [sic] Queries

Imprimis. As to the Second Sight, you may Shortly gett ane accompt from my son what my judgement of it is[;]<sup>a</sup> in the meane time you may fully persuade yourself that

<sup>x</sup> Probably a reference to the difficulties that MacLean experienced in the aftermath of his succeeding Beaton. His request to Wodrow in the last sentence of this paragraph may be related to this.

<sup>y</sup> I.e. Archibald Campbell, 1st Duke of Argyle (d. 1703). The king's historiographer, appointed in 1700, was Daniel Campbell, author of various religious works and minister of Glassary from 1691 to 1722 (Bannerman, *The Beatons*, p. 132).

<sup>z</sup> National Library of Scotland Wod. Qu. Lett. ii, 5–8. Endorsed '2'; on fol. 8v, endorsed by Frazer: 'Answere [t]o Witherow Queries', and by Wodrow: 'To the Highlands By Frazer'. Previously printed in *Analecta Scotica*, i, 117–20.

<sup>a</sup> Fraser is known to have had several sons (Scott, *Fasti*, iv, 120), but it is unclear which of them is here referred to.

severall persons hes it[,] that is free of paction, yea & are found to be pious, & hes abundance of sense, neither is it propagated from father to son.

2do. You are not to expect to find any Irish Grammare in Scotland<sup>20</sup> of that perfection that our greek & Latine grammars is & the best of them in Ireland teaches more of the airt of poesy (which with them was very intricatt & of greater variety of verses than all the Latine Liricks) than in either declinatione of names & conjugatione of verbs, or the Syntaxicall part, or congruity, the reason is that in Ireland Irish was the native Language So that they needed no rules to the right Speakeing of it only they wrott some of orthography & the right pronounciatione[;] I hear at Lovan they have compleat ones[;] you may see with my son a compend of Such a grammare that came half dilacerat to my hands. /fol. 5v/

3tio. It would be a litle tedious to give you ane exact Map of the customs of the Highlanders[;] in the Generall they were Litigious, ready to take arms upon a small occasion, very preydatory, much given to tables, carding, & dicing; there games was military exercise, & such as rendred them fittest for warr, as arching[,] running, jumpeing with & without race[,] swimeing continuall hunting & fouling[,] feasting specially upon their holy days the which they had enough borrow'd from popery, their marriage & funerall solemnities were much like their neighbours in the Low countrey, only at their funeral, there was fearfull owleing screeching & crying with very bitter Lamentation, & a compleat narratione of the descent of the dead person, the valourous acts of himself & his preydecessors sung with tune in measure[,] continuall pipeing if the person was of any quality or professing arms[;] ther Chiliarchy had there Ushers that goed out & came in befor them in full arms. I can not pass by a cruell custome that's hardly yet exstinct[;] they played at cards or tables (to pass the time in the winter nights) in partyes perhaps four on a side[;] the party that lost was obliged to make his man sitt downe on the midst of the floor, then there was a single soled shoe well plated /fol. 6/ Wherwith his antagonist was to give him six stroaks ane end upon his bare hoof & the doeing of that with strenth & airt was thought gallantry.

They had Bardi, poetici, & Seneciones peculiare to every family<sup>21</sup> & Symphoniaci[;] the Bards office was to rehears what was<sup>22</sup> compiled by the poets[;] the poets versified with admirable art & in such a high & Lofty stile & such exact measures & variety of measure as may justly be compared with Homer or Virgil. Ther Bards was sometimes allowed to compose some Rythmi but not to medle any higher[.] The Seneciones were such as medled only with history & the true stateing of genealogys & descents of familys whose records were so sacredly kepted that it's admireable how farr back they could recurr[.] The Symphoniaci made songs & Sung songs.<sup>23</sup>

4to. They needed no artificiall mounts because naturally the countrey is hillish, their buriall stons was carved with curious artificiall knots more noteably these at Icolumkill where there was such a number of curious crosses that one Sederant of the clergy meeting there in the beginning of the reformation caused destroy eighteen score of crosses[;] that is of unquestionable trueth[.] I had a copy written by Sir Robert Murrey upon the place in time of the Englishes /fol. 6v/ Of all the inscrip-

tions then legible which I gave to the late Earl of Argile<sup>b</sup> but gott it not back again[;] the most of them are now oblitteratt.

5tly. They esteem that the adder stons are good against the stinging of the adder, the toad stone so too[;] but I find Levinus Lemnius commends the toad stone to be applyed to flatulent tumours,<sup>c</sup> snail stons are much commended for the eyes & I'me confident their cooling vertue is preyvalent against pains <bred<sup>24</sup> by a hott cause[;] ther origine is thus. Some excrementitious parts avoided by these creaturs, condensed by the circumjacent air & turned to a round figure by the frequent turning, but this is observable that some of them speciallye snailestons hes the exact figure of the snaile[;] of the rest I know litle of note, for the elf arrowes it is known they fall from the air<sup>d</sup> I have discover'd no remarkable vertue of them[;] only the people superstitiously imagine that they preyserve them from evill spirits[.] Ther were a great many fine & pretious stons amongst the Highlanders many of which they hung about their necks of old & keep'd in their standards & attributed more vertue to than ever Albertus Magnus did & that was too much.<sup>e</sup>

6to. I could meet with no coins fibula's or rings of any note /fol. 7/

8tly. Cristall is found in severall quarters in the Highlands[;] at IcolumKill abundance of Marble – white & with a variety of colours, the late Earl of Argile carryed thence a piece of it & caused polish it at London which was very beutifull[;] their lyes of Alabaster in the high church of IcolumKill a large communione table dedicated by one of the McLeods of Harayes. ther's abundance of that shineing substance in Slets<sup>f</sup> but none of them in this isle[.] I doe not tak them to be pirites[;] at lest they differ from the descriptione that Cardanus gives of it[.]<sup>g</sup> I doubt not artificers might find in many places in the Highlands ores of many Mettals as of Lead, iron, brass, if not better which a very skilfull person assured me of that took a view of severall of our hills[;] Marle & foulers earth is found in the isle of Sky.

9tly. These stons in IcolumKill are those of most note & is truely serviceable for severall uses[.] I referr to the bearer to give you the full accompt of them<sup>h</sup>

10tly. Old charters must be expected from those that medle in Law affairs.

11tly. I know no <remarkable> animalls here saveing some birds in our woods that are of so various & orient colours as any that coms from India[;] there's abundance of bony shells /fol. 7v/

<sup>b</sup> On Argyle, see above, p. 148. On Moray, see above, p. 3. Fraser's loan of this MS to Argyle is also referred to in Sacheverell, *Account of the Isle of Man*, p. 101; it does not survive.

<sup>c</sup> Probably a reference to *Occulta naturæ miracula* (1559) by the natural historian and church historian, Levinus Lemnius (1505–68).

<sup>d</sup> There is here a cross in the text and in the margin, indicating that the passage inserted at the end of the document is relevant at this point.

<sup>e</sup> Albertus Magnus (1193–1280) was a Dominican theologian and author of a book on minerals.

<sup>f</sup> I.e. Sleat in the Isle of Skye. On Argyle, see above, p. 148. There are Macleod tombs in the cathedral at Iona.

<sup>g</sup> Probably a reference to Cardano's *De rerum varietate* (1558): see above, p. 97n.

<sup>h</sup> Possibly the son referred to on p. 212, above.

Sir

If any thing of note occur to my observatione as I am desireous enough for my owne satisfacione to take notice of it, so I shall be so willing to communicatt the same to you or any Lover of Knowledg[.] I add no more, but am

Sir

Your most humble servant

Jo. Fraser

\* It is strange that these elf stones whither litle or mikle hes still the same figure though certainly knowen to fall from the aire[;] the commonality superstitiously imagins that the fairies both makes them & givs them that shape & that they doe hurt by them which we call to be elf shot & Alectorius or the cock ston is reported by Levinus worn near the Skin vehementer excitare ad res venereas[;]<sup>i</sup> It would look to be reasonable because the cock himself in whose gasorde it's found is a creature full of lust[.] I have had a ston of the diamiter of half ane inch that grew as ane excrement upon a cocks knee & made him halt at the weight of it. /fol. 8/

I refer you to my son for the observations I have had of the nuts cast up by the sea on our shoars.

<sup>i</sup> 'Arouse vehemently to venereal affairs'. For Lemnius, see above, p. 214.





## TEXTUAL NOTES

### 1. Boyle's interview with Tarbat

- 1 accidentally repeated.
- 2 followed by *very* deleted.
- 3 followed by *now* deleted.
- 4 replacing *and* deleted.
- 5 replacing *tyme* deleted.
- 6 altered from *formere*. There is a slight change of ink at the start of this paragraph.
- 7 followed by *in* deleted at the start of the next line, evidently because the phrase was originally accidentally left incomplete.
- 8 followed by *some* deleted.
- 9 followed by *hands* deleted, evidently confirming that the text was dictated.
- 10 followed by *the* deleted.
- 11 altered from *affrighted*.
- 12 replacing *one of their number* deleted.
- 13 followed by *and* deleted.
- 14 altered from *indeed*. The previous word, *not*, is lacking from the MS, but has been added to complete the sense, as has *the* two lines earlier. Four words later, *swoon*e replaces *swound* deleted.

### 2. Highland Rites and Customs

- 1 this is Lhuyd's suggested emendation; the original word (which is not deleted) is *things*.
- 2 duplicated by *spring*.
- 3 altered from *MacKeens* [?].
- 4 replacing *bread* deleted.
- 5 followed by *THEIR DRINK* deleted.
- 6 followed by *broken above the* deleted, replaced by *sen*.
- 7 replacing *Connach* deleted.
- 8 replacing *throbus* [?] deleted.
- 9 in square brackets, duplicating *ware*, which is underdotted.
- 10 followed by *t* deleted.
- 11 followed by *persons* deleted.
- 12 altered from *Sighgt*.
- 13 followed by *[* deleted.
- 14 altered from *somnwhat*. Nine words later, *at* replaces *to* deleted.
- 15 replacing *apes* deleted. There is an asterisk above this and in the margin.
- 16 altered in composition from *Gurt* [?].
- 17 altered from *Ceaps*.
- 18 altered from *one other* [?].
- 19 altered from *Failleart*.

- 20 followed by *to* deleted.  
 21 altered from *theyr*.  
 22 replacing *Arдох* deleted; *Cuich*, which precedes it, was probably also supposed to be deleted.  
 23 replacing *of* deleted.  
 24 altered from *cowel*.  
 25 replacing *any* deleted.  
 26 altered from lower case.  
 27 followed by *without* deleted.  
 28 duplicated by *to*.  
 29 replacing *or* deleted.  
 30 altered from *others*.  
 31 *for preventing*. . . *curing them* and *They cure . . . by Charms* are both accidentally repeated and the second deleted.  
 32 followed by *the r* deleted at end of page.  
 33 at this point there is a mark in the text keying to a matching mark on fol. 30v.  
 34 this sentence is deleted in the original, evidently on the advice of Beaton.  
 35 replacing *whom* deleted. Three words later, *Olluib* is altered from *Ollab* [?].  
 36 altered from *expressing*. Earlier in the sentence an extra stroke is deleted at the end of *where*.  
 37 at this point, an entry occurs that was deleted because it repeats no. 15. Its omission leaves a gap in the sequence of numeration.

## 29. MUSIC

The Greatest Music is harp, pipe, viol & Trump. Most part of the /fol. 20/ Gentry play on the Harp. Pipers are held in great request. They are train'd up at the expence of Grandees & have a portion of Land assignd them and are design'd such a mans piper.  
 Their women are good at vocal music & inventing songs.

- 38 followed by 8 deleted.  
 39 replacing *ghostly* deleted.  
 40 altered from *ged*.  
 41 altered from *the summer*. Ten words later, & is followed by *to* deleted.  
 42 replacing *Phansy* deleted.  
 43 replacing *great* deleted.  
 44 followed by *a* deleted; the last eight words of this sentence are crossed through in the MS.  
 45 altered from *OBSERVATIONS*.  
 46 this sentence is crossed through in the MS  
 47 replacing *The* deleted.  
 48 followed by *f* deleted.  
 49 this word is underlined with a wavy line.  
 50 followed by *<some>* deleted. The next word but one, *marryd* is altered from *marry*.  
 51 altered from *Paer*. The next word but one, *Castoun*, is altered from *Castoune* and duplicated by *Colstown* and the following word, *sayd*, is underlined.  
 52 altered from *Bothumb*.  
 53 replacing *Cates* deleted.  
 54 replacing *Fonds* [?] deleted.

- 55 followed by a blank in MS, where the whole of this passage is deleted. The passage that follows was perhaps meant to follow on.
- 56 replacing *April* deleted.
- 57 followed by *that of* deleted. Five words later, *Lwnystal* is preceded by *Ly* deleted.
- 58 followed by a deleted character.
- 59 followed by *against* deleted.
- 60 replacing *shortrine* [?] deleted.
- 61 followed by *mast* deleted.
- 62 followed by *the want* deleted. Two lines later, *they want* is followed by *the want* deleted.
- 63 followed by *cut* deleted; two words later, *cleave it*, is followed by *Pr* deleted.
- 64 followed by *m* deleted; in the next sentence, *Nomine* is preceded by *the name* deleted.
- 65 followed by *they new moon* deleted.

### 3. Kirk's Secret Commonwealth

- 1 followed by *TO THIS* deleted. Further up the page, *A Secret* is written under *SECRET*.
- 2 followed by *The Like never heir to for* deleted. In the next sentence, *writers* is altered in composition.
- 3 followed by *For we shall see him* deleted. Certain of the texts on this page have been given numbers as if with a view to altering their order; however, these were then deleted again.
- 4 followed by *by M.R.K.* heavily deleted.
- 5 followed by *as* deleted.
- 6 replacing *doe order* deleted. In the previous line *Gospell* is altered from *Ghospell*.
- 7 altered from *nor*.
- 8 replacing *sort* deleted, itself replacing *people* deleted. The next word but one, *now*, is followed by *more* deleted.
- 9 altered from *stay*.
- 10 followed by *one* deleted.
- 11 followed by *kew* deleted.
- 12 followed by *sor* deleted.
- 13 followed by *he* deleted.
- 14 followed by *were once* deleted.
- 15 followed by *else* deleted. Later in the sentence, *shrug* replaces various attempts to spell the word.
- 16 followed by *ne* deleted. Earlier in the sentence, *Tenets* is apparently altered from something else.
- 17 followed by *joylitty* deleted. Four words later, *and* is followed by *prompted* deleted.
- 18 followed by *Œ* deleted.
- 19 replacing *produced* [?] deleted.
- 20 followed by *they* deleted.
- 21 replacing *state* deleted.
- 22 replacing *aery* deleted. Later in the sentence, *scatter* is followed by *not* deleted.
- 23 replacing *those* deleted.
- 24 followed by *air* deleted.
- 25 replacing *seen* deleted.
- 26 the MS bears an indistinct marginal gloss, *Rob* [?]. Eight lines earlier, *scarc* is altered from *scarcly*.

- 27 followed by *subtil* deleted, replaced by *hightnd*, also deleted. Nine words later, *change* replaces *thing* deleted.
- 28 replacing *worr* [?] deleted; later in the sentence, *person* replaces *man* deleted.
- 29 followed by *to* deleted.
- 30 followed by <*to this day*> deleted.
- 31 replacing *have* [?] deleted.
- 32 followed by *as* deleted.
- 33 followed by *eare* deleted.
- 34 replacing *they* deleted. In the previous line, *Martin* inserted twice and the first deleted.
- 35 replacing *tedder*, itself emended.
- 36 preceded by *which are noe* deleted.
- 37 replacing *which* deleted. The long insertion that precedes this is in the margin. Ten words later, *Seer* duplicates *Wizard*.
- 38 followed by *them* deleted.
- 39 followed by *further* deleted; after *out, from them* is repeated and the first deleted. The insertions earlier in this sentence and in sect. 13 are in the margin.
- 40 followed by *house* deleted. Three words later, *if* followed by *there* deleted.
- 41 followed by *Sco* deleted.
- 42 followed by *aeth* deleted.
- 43 the MS is damaged at this point, and a word is possibly missing; in the previous line *liveing* is conjectural for the same reason.
- 44 followed by *lay* deleted.
- 45 replacing *aside* deleted.
- 46 followed by *of* deleted.
- 47 followed by *second* deleted: i.e., it was omitted when the text was re-inked.
- 48 followed by *of* deleted.
- 49 followed by *ho* deleted.
- 50 replacing *with* deleted.
- 51 followed by *Highlander* deleted. Later in the sentence *and* is repeated and the first deleted.
- 52 replacing *Mr* [?] deleted.
- 53 replacing *was* [?] deleted.
- 54 followed by *Mr* deleted.
- 55 altered from *there*.
- 56 followed by *who* deleted.
- 57 replacing *thiere* deleted.
- 58 replacing *It is doubtful that anie* deleted, within which *This* has been inserted before *that* but then deleted again. Four words later, *it* replaces *this sight* deleted. Later in the sentence, *he* is in each case altered from *they*.
- 59 this phrase is inserted in the margin, and it is not clear exactly where it should be placed.
- 60 accidentally repeated and the first deleted.
- 61 altered from something else, perhaps *C*.
- 62 altered from *vision*.
- 63 altered from *insinuated*. Later in the sentence, *palpable* is apparently followed by *v* deleted.
- 64 followed by *object* deleted.
- 65 preceded by 6 deleted.

- 66 accidentally repeated and the first deleted; the same is true of *hom* later in the sentence.
- 67 replacing *and* deleted. Later in the sentence, *possibilitie* is altered from *possibilities*.
- 68 replacing *Well-wishers* deleted.
- 69 followed by *Dæmon* deleted.
- 70 altered from *Spirits*.
- 71 replacing *tragically* deleted.
- 72 followed by *before* deleted. The subsequent insertion appears in the margin. The word *gustibus* is obscured by a stain on the manuscript.
- 73 followed by *an* deleted. In the next sentence, a cross appears in the margin opposite of *theirs*.
- 74 repeated and the first deleted (at end of line).
- 75 followed by *the* deleted. Later in the sentence, *England* is repeated and the second deleted.
- 76 followed by *Brief* [?] deleted.
- 77 preceded by *IO. Thoe I will not be soe curious* deleted.
- 78 altered from *complexional*. In the previous line, a comma is deleted after *Struma*.
- 79 an extra *w* in the insertion has been deleted.
- 80 altered from *3*. In the next line, *Who* is altered in composition.
- 81 altered from *distinctly*.
- 82 the inserted phrase appears in the margin.
- 83 followed by *Second* deleted.
- 84 repeated and the first deleted.
- 85 followed by *the* deleted.
- 86 repeated and the first deleted.
- 87 followed by *course* deleted.
- 88 altered from *on*.
- 89 altered from *themselves*. Later in the sentence, *withal*, replaces *by*, deleted.
- 90 altered from *they*.
- 91 followed by *Spirits* deleted.
- 92 replacing *sights* deleted. Earlier in the sentence, *But* is altered from *and*.
- 93 followed by *people* deleted.
- 94 replacing *and* deleted.
- 95 followed by *the* deleted.
- 96 followed by *the* deleted. Five words later, *perform* replaces *act* deleted.
- 97 replacing *action* deleted. Eight words later, *is* is altered from *was*.
- 98 altered from *Q*, as is the case with nos. 7–9. The inserted phrase that follows replaces *It* deleted.
- 99 followed by *and* deleted.
- 100 followed by *previous misb* deleted.
- 101 followed by *Œ* deleted. Later in the sentence, *the* is followed by *pursueing* deleted.
- 102 followed by *it* deleted. In the next line, *But* is altered from *yet*.
- 103 followed by *only* deleted. Seven words later, *time* is repeated and the first deleted (at end of line).
- 104 this entire paragraph is written on an extra part-leaf inserted into the bound manuscript notebook and keyed to the text.
- 105 this passage, from *It might* to *children*, has been written in the margin, starting on p. 91 and ending on p. 90. Four words later, *Nature* is repeated and the first deleted (at end of line). Ten words after that, *maner* is altered from *matter*.

- 106 followed by *to it* inserted but deleted.
- 107 followed by *clear and* deleted. Three words later, *voyde of* replaces *without* deleted.
- 108 replacing *and* deleted; & also deleted before this (at end of line).
- 109 altered from *and*; two words later, *persons* altered from *men*.
- 110 altered in composition; two words later, *more* repeated and the second deleted.

### Kirk's 'Short Treatise'

- 1 replacing *are* deleted. In the previous sentence, there is a cross in the margin opposite *Telesm*.
- 2 followed by *been* deleted.
- 3 followed by *pleasure* deleted. In the next sentence, *Taylor* is preceded by *Taylor* deleted.
- 4 accidentally repeated and the first deleted.
- 5 followed by *p* deleted.
- 6 altered from *Seaventh*. In the bottom righthand corner of the page are the words *turne over*.
- 7 followed by *nomine* deleted. The crosses later in this sentence were originally diagonal but then altered; the same is also true of the spell on p. 111.
- 8 repeated, and the first, which was emended in composition, deleted.
- 9 *with ane* accidentally repeated and the first deleted.
- 10 replacing *the* deleted. Later in the sentence, *Bride* is followed by *ti* deleted.
- 11 followed by *and* deleted.
- 12 followed by *to further it*; deleted.
- 13 followed by *L* deleted.
- 14 followed by *cogniscance examination or determination of a judge*, deleted when written out more clearly below.
- 15 replacing *of* deleted. This entry appears under 'G'.
- 16 preceded by *Intrigues* deleted.
- 17 followed by *throw his sleep* deleted.
- 18 preceded by *ob* deleted.
- 19 altered from *plagiary*. Two lines later, *parelij* is preceded by *par* deleted.
- 20 replacing *those people* deleted. The subsequent insertion replaces *the Earth* deleted.
- 21 replacing *under* deleted. The subsequent insertion replaces *Earth* deleted. Under *Seer*, *before* is repeated and the first deleted.
- 22 followed by a heavily deleted word: *other?* Eleven words later, & replaces *and such like familyars* deleted.
- 23 followed by *a [?]* deleted.
- 24 altered from *Singularity*.
- 25 followed by *such* deleted.
- 26 followed by *natural* deleted.

### 4. Garden's letters to Aubrey

- 1 followed by *dista [?]* deleted.
- 2 followed by *diameter* deleted.
- 3 replacing *east* deleted.

- 4 followed by *be* deleted. In the previous paragraph, Aubrey has underlined the description of the content of George Garden's letter in pencil
- 5 followed by *for* deleted.
- 6 followed by *I* deleted.
- 7 followed by *It* deleted.
- 8 followed by abbreviated form of *their* deleted.
- 9 followed by *to wh* deleted.
- 10 followed by *s* deleted.
- 11 followed by *the* deleted.
- 12 the bracket replaces a deleted semi-colon; after *with*, *amot* deleted.
- 13 replacing *which is sett up on the* deleted except *is*, probably accidentally. Six words later *south* followed by *& in the* deleted.
- 14 replacing *that* deleted.
- 15 followed by *&* deleted. Two lines later, *alreadie* is followed by *mentioned* deleted
- 16 preceded by *rif* deleted and duplicated by *rift*.
- 17 followed by *it wilbe* deleted.
- 18 replacing *Mr* deleted.
- 19 followed by a closing bracket and one further letter deleted.
- 20 *to attend* accidentally repeated and the second deleted.
- 21 followed by *were* deleted when the word was moved to precede *Bards*.
- 22 followed by *from* deleted.
- 23 followed by *When* deleted. In the next line, *no* is followed by *other* deleted.
- 24 followed by *favour to* [?] deleted.
- 25 replacing *by* deleted.
- 26 followed by *expiations* [?] deleted.
- 27 replacing *beside* deleted.
- 28 followed by *the* deleted. Two lines later, *been* is followed by *tp* deleted.
- 29 followed by *& enclosed* deleted.
- 30 followed by *King Reuda* deleted.
- 31 followed by *whether* deleted. In the next line *first* duplicates *former*.
- 32 followed by *<D>* deleted.
- 33 repeated and the second deleted.
- 34 followed by *who might be* deleted.
- 35 followed by *has* deleted.
- 36 followed by *the* deleted. In the next line, *the* is followed by *drafts* deleted.
- 37 followed by *erected* deleted. In the next line, *o e* deleted after *from the*.
- 38 followed by *in* deleted. Two lines later, *contegere* followed by *ossa atque* deleted.
- 39 duplicating *pagans*.
- 40 accidentally repeated.
- 41 altered from *dieties*.
- 42 repeated and the first deleted.
- 43 preceded by *Ap* [?] deleted.
- 44 followed by *been* deleted.
- 45 followed by *acqu* deleted.
- 46 at this point, Garden originally began the next paragraph, writing the first fourteen words of it before deleting it to include this passage. Two lines later, *Druids* is followed by *are sai* deleted.
- 47 replacing *Plinie* deleted.
- 48 followed by *eligunt* deleted.



- 49 repeated and the first deleted.  
 50 followed by *th* deleted.  
 51 altered from *inferentiation* [?] deleted.  
 52 followed by *I go* deleted.  
 53 followed by *if they* deleted. In the next line, *all* is followed by *such* deleted.  
 54 replacing *room* deleted.  
 55 followed by *I o* deleted. Eight lines later, *please* is preceded by *ples* deleted.  
 56 preceded by *The* deleted.  
 57 followed by *those answers* deleted. Before and after this, the words *answers . . . from another* and *shall think . . . afterwards* have been underlined in red crayon by Aubrey.  
 58 followed by *being* deleted.  
 59 followed by *prefer* deleted. Two lines later, *Coffin* is followed by *with* deleted.  
 60 replacing *such an* deleted. The next word, *instances*, is followed by *I* deleted.  
 61 following by *contr* deleted.  
 62 followed by *serve* deleted.  
 63 replacing *passing* deleted; *men* also altered on composition.  
 64 followed by *shriek* deleted.  
 65 followed by *to* deleted.  
 66 followed by *a* deleted.  
 67 followed by *Glencoe* deleted, originally written *Gencoe*. Five lines later, *least* preceded by *lest* deleted.  
 68 followed by *ta* deleted.  
 69 this phrase accidentally repeated and the second deleted.  
 70 followed by *when* deleted.  
 71 altered from *whom*.  
 72 followed by *w* deleted.  
 73 followed by *fire* deleted. In the next line, *you* replaces *them* deleted. Six words after that, *the* is followed by *fire* deleted.  
 74 replacing *and* deleted.  
 75 followed by *stil* deleted.  
 76 followed by *p* deleted.  
 77 followed by *may containe some account* deleted. Thereafter, *Rosicrucians, goe under . . . concerning them; cortex Wintoranus; for the scurvy; by a Gent: in a meeting of the R.S. and monuments of stone in Orkney* all underlined in red in MS by Aubrey. The same is true of *July* in Garden's postscript.  
 78 followed by *that* [?] deleted.  
 79 replacing *were* deleted.  
 80 followed by *touching these monuments* deleted.  
 81 followed by *so* deleted.  
 82 followed by *gre* deleted.  
 83 followed by *proceeding from* deleted.  
 84 followed by *once* deleted, as is *so* after *without*.  
 85 followed by *But the case is* deleted.  
 86 followed by *h* deleted.  
 87 followed by *con* deleted.  
 88 followed by *Œ* deleted.  
 89 followed by *hor* deleted. Four lines later, *awoke* is followed by *o* deleted.  
 90 followed by *what* deleted.  
 91 followed by *t* deleted.

- 92 replacing *whether* deleted.
- 93 followed by *by* deleted.
- 94 followed by *that was beheaded* deleted.
- 95 preceded by *I am no* deleted.
- 96 followed by *wherfor* deleted.
- 97 followed by *wit* deleted. Aubrey has ticked this sentence in the margin in red crayon. He has similarly ticked the bracketed phrase in the following paragraph.
- 98 *-ence* duplicating *-ing*.
- 99 followed by *I* deleted. The next word, *holding* is altered from *hold*.
- 100 followed by *h* deleted.
- 101 altered in composition. Two lines later, *with* followed by *it* deleted.
- 102 replacing *which* deleted.
- 103 altered from *mentions*.
- 104 duplicating *heads*.
- 105 replacing *did* deleted.
- 106 altered from *appear*. Two lines later, *of* is followed by a deleted stroke.
- 107 followed by *ye* deleted.

## 5. Pepys's collection of letters

- 1 repeated and the second deleted.
- 2 followed by *verbatim* deleted.
- 3 replacing *the aire* deleted.
- 4 followed by *of the* [?] deleted.
- 5 followed by deleted closing bracket.
- 6 altered from *put*.
- 7 altered from *unquestionably*.
- 8 A mark on the MS at this point disguises an alteration to the word.
- 9 altered in composition; the next word, *than*, is altered from *them*.
- 10 altered from *He*.
- 11 altered from *He*.
- 12 followed by *the weather* deleted. Six words later, the *sp* of *speaking* altered from *m*.
- 13 altered from *we*. . [?] deleted. Eleven words later, *head* is followed by *his* [?] deleted.
- 14 altered from *elwhere* [?].
- 15 written in the lefthand margin.
- 16 altered from *ane*.
- 17 replacing *Defends* deleted.
- 18 altered from *hisselfe*.
- 19 altered from *safe*.
- 20 written in the lefthand margin.
- 21 written in the lefthand margin. Three words later, *But* is followed by *Growes* [?] deleted.
- 22 followed by *that* deleted. In the next line, both *twise* and *week* altered in composition.
- 23 altered from *So*.
- 24 written in the lefthand margin.
- 25 followed by *that* [?] deleted.
- 26 altered from *fire* [?].
- 27 From this point the letter appears to be in Lord Reay's own hand.

- 28 followed by *have* deleted.
- 29 followed by *when* deleted.
- 30 altered from *womane* [?].
- 31 followed by *andyt* deleted. Twelve words later, *me* is altered from *can*.
- 32 altered from *ride* [?].
- 33 altered in composition, possibly from *trembling* or *twinceing*. Pepys's copy has *trembling*, as also later in the sentence. The next word, *the*, is followed by *far* deleted.
- 34 altered from *tis*.
- 35 repeated and the second deleted. Eleven words later, *and* is followed by *the* deleted.
- 36 followed by *would* deleted.
- 37 followed by *of* deleted.
- 38 altered from *see* [?].
- 39 altered from *enquered*. Nine words later, *were* is altered from *was*.
- 40 altered from *I*.
- 41 altered from *enquerie*.
- 42 altered from *say*.
- 43 altered in composition.
- 44 followed by *with* [?] deleted.
- 45 altered from *him*.
- 46 replacing *which* [?] deleted.
- 47 followed by *by* deleted. Two lines later, *thought* altered in composition.
- 48 altered from *highlander*.
- 49 followed by *w* [?] deleted. The next word but one, *persone*, is followed by a deleted comma.
- 50 followed by *in Ross* deleted.
- 51 written in the lefthand margin. Six words later, *likness* is altered in composition from *com . . . ness*.
- 52 altered in composition, as is *was* six words later.
- 53 written over closing brackets.
- 54 followed by *Mr* [?] deleted.
- 55 followed by *lead* deleted. Four words later, *Into* is altered from *unto*. Five words after that, the inserted words appear in the margin.
- 56 altered from *Phænomenon* .
- 57 followed by a deleted comma. Three words later, *severall* replaces *servants* [?] deleted.
- 58 from this word onwards the text continues in the lefthand margin. Six words later, *as* is followed by *I* deleted.
- 59 followed by an unidentified symbol signalling the end of the text.
- 60 altered from *genios* [?].
- 61 altered from *your*.
- 62 altered from *Organs*.
- 63 followed by *Power* deleted.
- 64 followed by a short illegible deletion at the end of the line: *the* [?].
- 65 altered from *p*.
- 66 followed by *you* deleted.
- 67 altered from *into*.
- 68 altered from *ane*.
- 69 followed by *you* deleted.
- 70 altered from *f* [?].
- 71 replacing *make* [?] deleted.

- 72 apparently altered from *ore*.  
 73 altered from *the* [?].  
 74 duplicating *my Lord Reay* in the same hand as the corrections, but with no deletion.  
 75 altered in composition.  
 76 altered from *his* [?].  
 77 followed by *I mention* deleted at end of line.  
 78 followed by *<and then Lord pre>* inserted and then deleted.  
 79 replacing *all* deleted.  
 80 replacing an abortive attempt to spell the word which has been deleted.  
 81 replacing *ar* deleted. Four words later, *my* is followed by *letter* deleted.  
 82 replacing *suare-ahrap* [?], apparently attempted in cursive script, deleted.  
 83 replacing *good* deleted.  
 84 followed by *Saga* deleted.  
 85 followed by *w* deleted.  
 86 followed by *i* deleted at end of line.  
 87 the first letter altered from *f* deleted.  
 88 followed by *I could* deleted.  
 89 altered from *marches*.  
 90 replacing *actors* deleted.  
 91 followed by *she* deleted.  
 92 followed by *second* deleted.  
 93 replacing *for* deleted.  
 94 written in the lefthand margin.  
 95 replacing *commend* [?] deleted.  
 96 replacing *the first* deleted.  
 97 followed by *kind of* deleted.  
 98 altered from *seemed*.  
 99 altered in composition.  
 100 followed by *they* replaced by *see*, both deleted.  
 101 altered from *be*.  
 102 altered from *are*.  
 103 altered from *as good*. Six words later, *the* is altered from *his*.

## 7. Lhuyd's and Wodrow's questionnaires

- 1 W. has *our ordinary Vocables* for the whole phrase from *the vulgar*; C. has *your Western for the Northern*.
- 2 W. adds (*of the person*); five words later, he has *much* for *such*; and instead of *or conjectures . . . others* he has *about the origine of others*.
- 3 here and later in the line W. has *these*.
- 4 instead of this sentence, W. has: *It were to be wished that one might have as many of them as easily can be procured*.
- 5 W. here adds *silver &c* after *utensil*; he lacks *or*; and instead of *no lesse acceptable* he has *procurd*.
- 6 W. has *or*; three words later, he lacks *that you know*; and he has *Highlanders* for *Highlands*.
- 7 C. has *during our short stay for in the Western Isles, &c.* W. lacks this entire sentence,

instead having: (*Mr Edw. Lhwyd has 3 sheets of the customs and rites of the Highlands which he procured from some correspondent in Scotland.*).

- 8 W. has *of that sort*.
- 9 followed by *Irish* deleted in Carte MS. C. and W; both lack *Ersh or*.
- 10 W. has *Irish* and adds *both ancient and modern*; C. adds, *or Irish*. At the end of this sentence, W. adds: *A catalogue of the towns, villages, castles, mountains, valleys, rivers, brooks and lochs in Chuidsdale. To be left at Mr Walter Thomas at Bernards Lond. [?]*
- 11 following this at right angles in Carte MS is the following memorandum, probably unrelated: *NB. in the Irish words any one of the broad vowels may be usd for an other. viz. a e o.*
- 12 followed by *by* deleted.
- 13 *of a Compact* accidentally repeated.
- 14 altered from *12*.
- 15 followed by a deleted comma.
- 16 altered from *he* in composition.
- 17 followed by *in* deleted.
- 18 blotted in the course of alteration from *they*.
- 19 followed by *when [?]* deleted.
- 20 followed by a deleted letter.
- 21 followed by *the poete* deleted.
- 22 followed by *done* deleted.
- 23 followed by *W [?]* deleted.
- 24 replacing *caused* deleted.

## APPENDIX

### Quotations of Biblical Passages Cited in the Texts above<sup>1</sup>

#### *Kirk's Secret Commonwealth*

- p. 82: Philippians 2, 10. 'That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth.'
- p. 83: Luke 13, 26. When the master of the house returns and makes his servants answer for themselves. 'Then shall ye begin to say, We have eaten and drunk in thy presence, and thou hast taught in our streets.'
- p. 85: Daniel 10, 13. 'But the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me one and twenty days: but, lo, Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me; and I remained there with the kings of Persia.'
- p. 86: 1 Kings 18, 42[-4]. 'And Elijah went up to the top of Carmel; and he cast himself down upon the earth, and put his face between his knees.' In this way he saw 'a little cloud out of the sea, like a man's hand,' which his servant could not discern till he had looked for the seventh time.
- Luke 1, 20. When the angel Gabriel appeared to Zacharias in the temple to foretell the birth of John, he said: 'And, behold, thou shalt be dumb, and not able to speak, until the day that these things shall be performed, because thou believest not my words, which shall be fulfilled in their season.'
- 2 Kings 6, 17. 'And Elisha prayed, and said, LORD, I pray thee, open his eyes, that he may see. And the LORD opened the eyes of the young man; and he saw: and, behold, the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha.'
- Acts 5, 9. Ananias, Sapphira's husband, had fallen dead for a 'lie to the Holy Ghost'. When Sapphira repeated the lie three hours after, Peter declared 'behold, the feet of them which have buried thy husband are at the door, and shall carry thee out'.
- 2 Corinthians 12, 3-4. 'And I knew that such a man, (whether in the body, I cannot tell; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth;) How that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter.'

<sup>1</sup> For the convenience of the reader, quotations are given here of all passages which are cited in the original texts without being quoted. Note that neither passages that are actually quoted by the authors in question, nor allusions which have been identified editorially, are here included.

2 Kings 5, 26. Although Elisha had refused to take a gift from Naaman, Gehazi pretended that he had been sent to beg Naaman for a talent of silver and two changes of raiment. Elisha knew of Gehazi's action by supernatural means: 'Went not mine heart with thee?'

Matthew 4, 8. 'Again, the devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them.'

p. 96: Daniel 10, 13. See above, under p. 85.

Revelation 12, 7. 'And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels.'

p. 97: Mark 9, 4. 'And there appeared unto them Elias with Moses: and they were talking with Jesus.'

p. 98: Deuteronomy 18, 10–11. 'There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, Or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer.'

p. 99: 1 Kings 7, 21. 'And he set up the pillars in the porch of the temple: and he set up the right pillar, and called the name thereof Jachin: and he set up the left pillar, and called the name thereof Boaz.'

p. 100: Job 28, 1–2. 'Surely there is a vein for the silver, and a place for gold where they fine it. Iron is taken out of the earth, and brass is molten out of the stone.'

Job 22, 24–5. 'Then shalt thou lay up gold as dust, and the gold of Ophir as the stones of the brooks. Yea, the Almighty shall be thy defence, and thou shalt have plenty of silver.'

John 14, 2. 'In my Father's house are many mansions . . .'

Hebrews 11, 3. 'Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear.'

Ecclesiastes 1, 6.<sup>2</sup> 'The wind goeth toward the south, and turneth about unto the north; it whirleth about continually, and the wind returneth again according to his circuits.'

2 Samuel 5, 6. ' . . . Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither.'

<sup>2</sup> This is the text which it seems likeliest that Kirk meant to refer to. However, his actual citation is of Ecclesiastes 12, 6: 'Or ever the silver cord be loosed, or the golden bowl be broken, or the pitcher be broken at the fountain, or the wheel broken at the cistern.' It is also at this point that MS 5022 has a reference not found in the Laing MS, Proverbs 18, 1–2: 'Through desire a man, having separated himself, seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom. A fool hath no delight in understanding, but that his heart may discover itself.'

Mark 5, 10. The reference is to a man of the Gadarenes possessed by an unclean spirit, which, on being asked his name by Jesus ‘answered, saying, My name is Legion: for we are many’.

**p. 101:** Revelation 2, 26. ‘And he that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations.’

Tobit 3, 8. ‘Because that she had been married to seven husbands, whom Asmodeus the evil spirit had killed, before they had lain with her. Dost thou not know, said they, that thou hast strangled thine husbands? thou hast had already seven husbands, neither wast thou named after any of them.’

Matthew 4, 5[–6]. ‘Then the devil taketh him up into the holy city, and setteth him on a pinnacle of the temple’, and tempted him to cast himself down because it had been promised that angels would save him if he did.

Luke 24, 39. After his resurrection, Jesus said to his disciples: ‘Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.’

Philippians 2, 10. See above, under p. 82.

**p. 102:** Isaiah 13, 21–2. ‘But the wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces: and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged.’

Exodus 12, 29. ‘And it came to pass, that at midnight the LORD smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, from the firstborn of Pharoah that sat on his throne unto the firstborn of the captive that was in the dungeon; and all the firstborn of cattle.’

2 Kings 19, 35. ‘And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the LORD went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses.’

**p. 103:** Daniel 10, 8, 17. ‘Therefore I was left alone, and saw this great vision, and there remained no strength in me . . . straightway there remained no strength in me, neither is there breath left in me.’

**p. 105:** 2 Kings 6, 17. See above, p. 86.

**p. 107:** Psalms 50, 18. ‘When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers.’

John 1, 1. ‘In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.’

Psalms 58, 4–5. ‘Their poison is like the poison of a serpent: they are like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear; Which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never so wisely.’



Deuteronomy 18, 11. See above, under p. 98.

p. 108: Matthew 4, 6. The devil says ‘. . . for it is written, He shall give his angels charge concerning thee; and in their hands they shall bear thee up . . .’.

### **Garden’s letters to Aubrey**

p. 124: Jeremiah 9, 17. ‘Thus saith the Lord of hosts, Consider ye, and call for the mourning women, that they may come; and send for cunning women, that they may come.’

p. 130: Deuteronomy 16, 21. ‘Thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the LORD thy God, which thou shalt make thee.’

Judges 6, 25. ‘And it came to pass the same night, that the LORD said unto him, Take thy father’s young bullock, even the second bullock of seven years old, and throw down the altar of Baal that thy father hath, and cut down the grove that is by it.’

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## GLOSSARY<sup>1</sup>

- airt, airth** a quarter of the compass  
**anent** concerning  
**another-gates** of another sort  
**apostem** an abscess  
**arage** service done by tenants to landlords in men and horses  
**atteen, attain** to find out  
**barming wort** the yeast formed on the surface of a fermenting liquor  
**bear** barley  
**beard** the barb of an arrow  
**beefpot** a pickling tub  
**bitles** little pieces  
**blansh, blanch** pale  
**bleed (of corn)** to yield well when threshed  
**blew** blue  
**boals of sheers** the apertures in the handles of scissors  
**brieve, brief** a spell or charm  
**bullet** a boulder  
**canicular days** dog days, the hottest part of the year, associated with the rising of Sirius  
**cautioner** a surety  
**champaign** open country  
**chiliarchy** a body of a thousand men  
**churle** to whistle shrilly  
**coag** a wooden vessel for holding milk, etc.  
**commer, cummer** a sponsor or godparent  
**compeir, compear** to appear  
**corby** a crow  
**Corkye-litt, Corklit** a purple dye made from the lichen 'corkie'  
**corybantick** reminiscent of the extravagant dances performed in the Phrygian worship of Cybele  
**couple** a principal rafter  
**cris** to cross  
**croik** a dwarf  
**decumbiture** the act of taking to bed in an illness  
**den, dene** a bare sandy tract by the sea  
**dilacerat** torn in pieces  
**drol, droll** a jester  
**emmet** an ant

<sup>1</sup> This glossary complements that which Robert Kirk himself included in *The Secret Commonwealth*, above, pp. 112–16. Words used only by Kirk that he elucidates there are not included here.

- emunctory** a cleansing organ or canal  
**faint** sluggish  
**fairn, farne** a fern  
**faison** see foyson  
**fey** dying, doomed  
**filiu terrae, terrae filii** persons of obscure parentage  
**flitting** moving or changing one's home  
**folding** an outfield manured by cattle being folded in it  
**fouler's earth** fuller's earth  
**foyson** essence or nutriment  
**good will** a gratuity  
**gossip** a godparent  
**greece, grece** a flight of stairs  
**hallinshaker** a beggar  
**hares haw, hare-shaw** a hare-lip  
**head & throwes** head to feet alternately  
**healf** to halve or share equally  
**horse and hattock** a call to get ready to ride off  
**I-Colmkill, Icolmkiln, Icollumkill, I columb kil, Y Columb Kil** Iona  
**illapse** a neologism of Kirk's from the Latin word 'illabor', 'to enter into'  
**jockies** strolling minstrels  
**keel** a variety of red ochreous iron ore  
**kenning** the range of sight  
**Kolumb kill** St Columba  
**kyle** a narrow strait or channel  
**lakewakes, lykewakes** the watch by the dead  
**meer** a mare  
**melt, milt** the spleen in a mammal, or roe in a male fish  
**merld, marld** variegated  
**millefoil, milfoil** common yarrow  
**mortclaith, mortcloth** a funeral pall  
**morthhead** a mortar  
**mutchkin** a liquid measure equivalent to an English pint  
**open-head** bare-headed  
**Pech** Pict  
**peel** to pillage or strip  
**Peruvian bark** cinchona bark, a renowned cure for fever  
**piaculum** a false accusation  
**pile** an arrow-head  
**piot, pyot** a magpie  
**pismire** an ant  
**plyes** folds  
**poinard, poniard** a dagger  
**poyster** posture  
**propines** gifts  
**rack** a mist or fog  
**ran** the rowan  
**raptime** speedily or hastily  
**recondite** to put away



## GLOSSARY

- resentment** appreciation  
**ride the meec** evidently a form of ritual humiliation  
**ruffies** wicks clogged with tallow  
**sain** to cross oneself  
**salt-fat** a salt-vat  
**saps** pieces of bread soaked in milk, given to a child  
**sayl** canvas as used in sails  
**scare** easily frightened  
**sederunt** a sitting of a deliberative body, esp. ecclesiastical  
**sel, sell** to throw away an advantage  
**sene, sain** to make the sign of a cross  
**servet** a salver  
**sheet, sheath** a suit [of clothes]  
**sheild, shiel** a shepherd's hut  
**skaith, scathe** to hurt or damage  
**skeen** a dirk or dagger  
**skleat** slate  
**snell** quick  
**species** an emanation creating a phantom or image perceptible to the senses  
**spring, spraing** a stripe or variegated streak  
**squinancy** quincy, inflammation of the throat  
**stenting** an assessment for taxation  
**suanoch** a garment of sunach or tartan design  
**sungates** sunwise  
**syncopa, syncope** a fainting fit  
**target** a shield  
**tedder** a cord or other fastening  
**teind** a tithe  
**telesm** a talisman  
**timously, timeously** in good time  
**tirl** to strip or denude  
**trake, traik** a stroll or walk  
**tramontan, transmontan** a Highlander  
**travail** to travel  
**travelling** in childbirth  
**unseened, unsained** unconsecrated  
**wain** to ween  
**weason** a gullet or windpipe  
**whinger, whinyard** a short sword  
**wramp** to wrench or twist

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