

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE REV. PETER WALKDEN.

LETTERS FROM A LANCASHIRE STUDENT AT GLASGOW
UNIVERSITY DURING THE REBELLION OF 1715.

By James Bromley.

(Read 11th December, 1884.)

IN this Society's *Transactions* (vol. xxxii. p. 117), appears a review of the rural life, at Chipping, Lancashire, of the Rev. Peter Walkden, Presbyterian pastor; and of that paper the following annotated transcripts from Mr. Walkden's unpublished MSS. may be regarded as an addendum.

Mr. Walkden's characteristic mannerisms, and the quaint humour of his old-time records, have furnished—to the student of the modes of life and social relations in the rural communities of a past age—material that combines instruction with amusement. Although the facetious condiment that stimulates the reader's appetite is missing in the present paper, and there is little immediate relation to the history of the two counties, with which this Society is more intimately concerned, still, the circumstance that at the period of which these letters treat many Lancashire students of Puritan theology were training at Glasgow University—as well as the fact that a rebellion was raging, which soon spread from the highlands of Scotland into Lancashire, entailing the erection of impromptu defensive works round Liverpool and other towns—lifts the narrative out of the narrow bounds of mere local interest to the higher ground of general historical importance.

The earlier letters contain valuable illustrations of the curriculum and life in the Scottish University at a turbulent period,

of which Professor Veitch informs me the Collegiate records are scanty. Some of the later letters, amid observations on current events in Scotland, reflect the rumours current at Glasgow about the rebellion, and may be advantageously compared with the authentic records of the first Jacobite rising; the seventh conveys the writer's condolence to Mr. Walkden on the death of his cousin, the pastor's first wife; and the last details some of the movements of the Presbyterian ministers in Cheshire and elsewhere. These letters are introduced by a short prologue, and closed with a biographical sketch of the writer, from the pen of Mr. Walkden, the transcriber.

The early youth and parentage of the Rev. Jonathan Woodworth, the writer of these letters, is involved in obscurity, till we find him at the famous training school of the Rev. Charles Owen, at Warrington,* when it was broken up by the operation of the Schism Bill, an act passed for the purpose of suppressing Dissenters' training schools. He then went to Glasgow University—his name appearing on the College books first 20th December, 1714, as a student of theology, with the designation "*Anglo Britannicus*," and afterwards, 18th November, 1715, on the roll of "*Laureates*."† He left the College in the spring of 1716, and was examined for and certified as a preacher in August of the same year. A week after ordination he accepted a call to the pastorate of the Presbyterian chapel at Kingsley, near Frodsham, Cheshire,‡ the duties of which he probably discharged till a short time before his death; which event, from correlative facts, seems to have occurred in 1718, at his father's house at Hale, near Altringham, when he was 26 years of age.

When pastor of the church at Kingsley, Mr. Woodworth appears to have occasionally exchanged pulpits with the neighbouring ministers. He twice, in 1717, preached to overflowing

* For an interesting description of this training school, by the late Mr. H. A. Bright, see *Transactions*, vol. xi. p. 1.

† Graduates.

‡ Mr. Woodworth's name does not appear in Urwick's *Nonconformity in Cheshire*, nor is there any reference to his pastorate, though the resignation of Mr. Holland in 1716, and the appointment of Mr. Thomas Valentine, in 1719, are recorded—the greater portion of the intervening time being probably that of Mr. Woodworth's pastorate at Kingsley.

congregations at Cross Street Chapel, Sale Moor, through a reciprocal arrangement with the Rev. Mr. Fletcher, its pastor.

Some members of the Woodworth family were wealthy, and moved in good society. Henry Woodworth, who was a cousin of the Rev. Jonathan, spent the Christmas of 1730 with Lady Crofton and Lady Green in Dublin. The latter lady was a daughter of Mr. John Hampson, a Liverpool merchant, who was admitted a freeman of the town in 1711.

Many particulars of a dispute in the Woodworth family are related in the diaries of the Rev. Peter Walkden, who being a kinsman, was naturally interested in it, though he nowhere expresses sympathy with any of the litigants. An uncle of Henry Woodworth died at Oxford, July, 1729, and left him a considerable fortune; and the will being disputed—seemingly on the ground of undue influence—by his brothers, Thomas and John and his brother-in-law, George Fryre, came up for proof before the Mayor of Oxford's Court, 25th October, 1729. Judgment was given for Henry Woodworth, and he was put into possession of the estate, though not until he had been seriously wounded in a riot which Fryre fomented in the city, and for which he suffered imprisonment. From the interest and commotion this case excited, it seems to have been of considerable importance.

As Mr. Walkden married his first wife, Margaret Woodworth, when he was stationed at Garsdale, Yorkshire, and locomotion was in those days a matter of difficulty, it is probable that a branch of the Woodworth family was settled in that vicinity. She died in childbed, December, 1715, and was buried in the interior of Hesketh Lane Chapel, near Chipping, her funeral sermon being preached by the Rev. John Jolly, of Hinfield.

Having cleared the ground of this explanatory matter, we commend the letters to the reader, with the preliminary observations, (1) that they are transcribed from Mr. Walkden's MS. book, 16mo demy, 2 inches thick, in the possession of the writer, with all the arbitrary Latin and English spelling and old style dates; (2) that slight errors in the text may be attributed to the difficulty of deciphering, even with a magnifying glass, Mr. Walkden's

minute writing ;* and (3) that partly owing to the paucity of good authorities in our local libraries, and partly to the probability that these transcripts will come under the notice of the professors at Glasgow University, who are much better equipped with ability and available authorities, little elucidation of or notes on the portion of the text relating to their College has been attempted.

As the information of a single note has in many instances been gathered from several sources, it is almost impossible to indicate each particularly, but generally the authorities are :—*Walkden's Diary*, *Urwick's Nonconformity in Cheshire*, *Halley's Nonconformity in Lancashire*, *Calamy*, *Ormerod's Cheshire*, *Notitia Cestriensis*, *Dr. Heginbotham's Stockport*, *Crabbe's Historical Dictionary*, *The Boyle Lectures*, *Ray's History of the Rebellion*, *Browne's History of the Scottish Clans*, *Sleizer's Theatrum Scotiae*, *History of Glasgow*, *Chetham and Historic Societies' volumes*, and *Walkden's unpublished MSS.* The writer is also indebted for annotating information to Professor Veitch, of Glasgow ; Sir Thomas Baker, of Manchester ; Dr. Heginbotham ; Mr. T. N. Morton ; and the late Mr. Wm. Dobson, of Preston.

Letters written to me by divers hands, with Two written by my own hand. y^e Atthours of some of which letters being dead, I have transcribed them to keep their names in Remembrance. The other I transcribe, either for y^e matter in y^m observable, or y^e occasion y^e were writ upon, or y^e diverting myself in a review.

A Letter written by my late dear cousin Jonathan Woodworth now deceased, when he was at Glascoe, unto me.

Dear Cousin :

I have long expected an answer to my last, w^{ch} I sent soon after I came here ; wherein I gave you an account of my journey, and some observations of y^e city and college ; but I am afraid either mine or yours has miscarried. I called on y^e ministers by y^e way, and y^e bear my charges hither.† I enter'd y^e

* The late William Dobson, who edited "Walkden's Diary," told the writer that he for some weeks suffered from partial blindness, set up by the strain of transcribing Mr. Walkden's wonderfully minute originals.

† This was a common practice amongst Dissenting communities. See *Hist. Soc. Trans.*, vol. xxxii., p. 127.

divine hall, and lodge in a Room in y^e colledge.* The Professors† are as follows. The Professor of Theology is stiled y^e professor, without any other addition; The rest are distinguished by their respective sciences, as first y^e professor of Phisick medicine, second professor of Law (3rd) professor of y^e orientall Languages. These three make their Prelections‡ on Teusday on their course, in y^e common hall, before y^e professor, collegeants, and divines, as some of y^e Rest doe on Thursdays. (4) y^e Regent of y^e magistrand class (Naturall philosophy) (5) y^e Regent of y^e Batchelours class (Logicks, metephisicks, pneumaticks, and Ethicks (6) y^e Regent of y^e Semi-class (y^e eliments of Logicks) (7) y^e Professor of mathumaticks (8) Professor of y^e Greek tongue, (9) Professor of humanity or y^e Latten Tongue. Over these is one called y^e principall. The Professors of Philosophy expound y^e principles of Religion to their Pupils weekly. A little before Christmas was y^e examination at y^e black stone.§ There are about 56 divines. On mondays, some of y^e divines have a discourse or exposition. On fridays, a Thesis or conference. on Saturday, we meet without y^e professor, to answer cases of conscience and doubts in Scripture. on other days y^e Professor explains markius|| medulla, confession, and occasionally Pictatus.¶ He convenes us 4 times a week, 4 times I attend y^e professor of y^e orientall Language, 5 times y^e Regent of Batchlours class in his private class, 5 times with y^e professor of hystory (I forgot to name him among y^e professors) he was born blind, only he could have discern'd colors. He has printed severall books, and lately one called y^e sum of Episcopall controversy, which has sold well its said in England. The ministers are generally zealous Preachers, well acquainted with y^e Scriptures, but no great masters of y^e English Tongue. There is 3 Kirks in y^e city, one of w^{ch} contains 3 congregations, soe contrived y^t I being there yesterday to hear y^e professor preach, I could see or hear but a sounde.** Last Lord's day y^e minister gave notice of y^e commission for y^e Generall Assembly, the Petition to y^e King to have y^e 20th Ins^t to be a

* The prints of The College in Sleier's *Theatrum Scotiae*, 1660, and in Allan, 1761, shew substantially the same building, with the quadrangles formed by an intersecting wing, crowned by a high spirelet of Renaissance style. The surrounding buildings are three storied, of Scottish Baronial style, with staircase towers in each angle. The dormitories are on the top floor, with their dormer windows in the roof. Glasgow College was founded and first endowed by William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow, 1450, under a bull of Pope Nicholas the fifth.

† Mr. Woodworth's list of professors is somewhat confusing. It is possible that the professor of Theology is synonymous of that of Divinity, and the professor of the Elements of Logic of that of Moral Philosophy; but even then the chairs of the professors of Greek and Mathematics, both founded before 1714, are ignored. From Mr. Woodworth's subsequent statement it appears that Lowden was professor of Moral Philosophy, and Jameson—a blind man—professor of History.

‡ Expositions—Lectures.

§ First Examination—"Little-go."

|| John de Marckius, 1635-1731, professor at Leyden.

¶ Benedict Pictet, 1655-1724, professor at Geneva.

** The High Church—St. Mungo's Cathedral comprised three churches.

generall Thanksgiveing, which he Granted and order'd to be read in y^e Kirks.

The method in Publick assemblies is as follows, (1) Singing 2^{ly} prayer 3^{ly} exposition (in y^e forenoon) singing, prayer, sermon, intercession, benediction, singing. The clerk give notice for persons to be married. There is said to be 16,000* persons above 10 years old in this city. The young persons above y^t age are examin'd publickly. I think y^e begin at may. There are few dissenters in city or country. No Anabaptists† or Quakers meeting here, and I think but few in y^e Kingdom: But y^e highlanders are something related to Rome.

The English are courteously intreated, if y^e shew not themselves unworthy. I am in a good state of health, I desire to hear from you. If you have any acquaintance in Preston,‡ you may leave your Letters, to be sent by Glasgow carriers. you need only direct it for me Student at y^e college in Glasgow. I have no more to add but desire your prayers, and y^e prayers of those y^t desire Christ's Kingdom may come. y^t we may be under divine protection and be Nurrished up in y^e words of faith, and good Doctrine. So I continue your Loveing Cousin

JONATHAN WOODWORTH,
festine.§

Glasgow, Jan. 21st, 1714. ||

Another Letter by y^e same ingenuous hand.

Dear Cousin,

Yours I received yesternight. I am glad to hear nothing but well from you, I am also reasonable well. I thank you for y^e suitable advice, with w^{ch} I hope I shall sincerely comply. I have been of oppinion, and am now more confirm'd, y^t there are many superfluous branches in Philosophy: And as

1 See Mr. Lock on humane understanding. Vol. ye 4th.**

2 Lock on education.**

Mr. Baxter¶ observes well in his dying thoughts We should prefer things y^t are more necessary: to things y^t are Less so¹. Mr. Lock** (whom y^e world owns to be eminent in humane Learning) thinks y^t Reasoning consists not in mood and figure, and y^t y^e common² rules of Logick and Rethorick will not teach a man to Reason rightly, or express his thoughts

* The total population of Glasgow in 1712 is estimated to have been 13,620, on the basis of its 3405 houses containing an average of four persons, though this seems a small average. Dr. Webster's estimate for 1712 is 18,336.

† Baptists.

‡ Preston was on the great north-west road.

§ Hastily.

|| 1715, new style.

¶ Richard Baxter, 1615-91, *Saints' Everlasting Rest*.

** John Locke, 1632-1704. *Essay on the Human Understanding, Thoughts concerning Education*.

handsomly. As for Physicks he will not allow them to be a science: yet to fit a Gentleman for conversation, he thinks it meet he should acquaint himself with y^e system in fashion, but not expect a scientificall satisfaction in them. I am Persuaded y^t an curious search into y^e intricate parts of Philosophy, is not very needfull to divinity. The Learned^s Oldfield^s gives us his thoughts on Learning and ascribes each part of it to its proper subject or person y^t is to make use of it. As to y^e Divine he thinks he should be well acquainted with his bible, and y^e Languages it was writt in; But since Gentlemen and divines must have y^e same education It may be requisite to see what y^e new Philosophers say, and if I know y^t I shall not spend time to differ from them, I shall remark a few things you desired me to inform you of—Mr. Jameson Professor of hystory, is said to be born blind, but I gave you to understand in my Last, y^t blindness was not to be taken in y^e strictest sense, for he could for some time discern colours, as white from black, but even this was but temporary, for this glimmering sight he was for some time deprived off. As for y^e ministers in Scotland there must be expected to be degrees in their gifts: but y^e seem generally to be men of ability in y^e Scriptures. As for y^e English Tongue it is known to be corrupted here, and some of y^e Professors take notice, y^t tho: y^e think y^e speak Latin better than wee, yet own we speak English better than y^e. And its observed y^t Mr. Lowdon Regent of y^e semi-class strives to immitate y^e English.

My studies entertain me with verities: and attending so y^e classes, takes me off from reading, and in my Room we read for each other such things as we fix on for common studies; so y^t I am in y^e Less danger of Recieving any harm from my studys. Food is Reasonably cheap, but y^e butter and cheese is not like y^t in England, and their drink is used when new, which excuses me from drinking it, because I find it prejudiciall to me: But I think its no great Loss, for I avoid unnecessary expences. I have had few obligations to spend more than what was needfull or convenient, yet when all goes on buying, I find it makes a sensible decay in my purse. I have bought severall books (which are dear excepting bibles) as markius which we Lecture, Pictatus, Hebrew bible &c., & severall Linnens and other cloaths at my first coming; so y^t it has cost me I think above 6^l^s since I came. I thank you for your promise, and hope it may not come out of season, and wisdom may be some way or other advantagous to you or yours, which I hope I shall not fail in as oppertunity shall offer itself. Some of y^e professors have at this time a vacancy, Viz., Professor of hystory, of y^e orientall Languages, And of

* John Oldfield of Carsington, Derby (?) ejected 1662.

† About 15s. per week average since he came.

Divines. because most of y^e Pupils are Divines, and we have a work of no small moment on our hands. For a minister in Edenburg accused y^e Professor of Heterodoxie and teaching doctrines contrary to y^e confession of faith*. His accusation I think consists of about 7 sheets of paper. The professors will I think be above double if not treble y^e number of sheets. He denys y^t anything he teaches is contrary either to y^e confession of faith or Scripture, and those oppinions y^t are so, he leaves to be proved y^t y^e are his: And what he owns to be his oppinions, he'l debate them with his Antagonist. 15 of us are writing coppies of y^e Professor's answer to be given to so many members of y^e presbitery to consider of it, y^t y^e may do somthing in it before y^e Synod y^t it may be ended at y^e Generall Assembly.

The accuser is appointed to be here about y^e 29th of March y^e students of divinity have liberty to attend y^e Presbitery. Soe I expect we shall see y^e proceedings, as we have seen what has been done hitherto. But we are oblidged to be spareing of what we say, on this head till y^e cause be heard: But at present it seemes to come from misrepresentation. We see our weakness both in not understanding another's meanings and in disagreeing when y^e meaning is understood. What these things will end in I know not: But its observable, when y^e church prospers (as may be seen in y^e hystory of y^e church) somthing comes to make y^e members uneasy amongst themselves. How desireable is it to see brethren at unity; and prosperity at y^e same time. But I leave it in wisdom's conduct, and with my Love to you and your bedfellow my cousin, desireing your prayers I shall at present subscribe myself your Loveing Cousin,

JONATHAN WOODWORTH.

Glasgow, March y^e 5th, 1714-15.

A third Letter by y^e same hand.

Dear Cousin,

My last was in answer to yours, but not hearing from you, I am affraid it has miscarried, tho: I thought I had sent it by safe hands, viz. by Mr. Robert Yates one of our fellow students in Divinity, who lives in Lancashire not very far from Preston as I think, and I order'd it to be left in Preston at y^e flying horse.† Since that time I went to Edenbrugh on may y^e 2nd and 3rd to y^e Generall Assembly: Partly to hear y^e proceedings of y^e Assembly, and partly to hear what was determined in y^e controversy between

* The Westminster Confession.

† This house stood in Fishergate, and is now pulled down. The back weint was called "The Flying Horse backside." The name of the Inn is evidently from Pegasus, as the emblem of the express pack horse.

y^e Professor and Mr. Webster of Edinburgh. Mr. Webster had been in Glasgow and brought his witnesses to prove his charge against y^e professor: The Professor on y^e other hand undertook to prove y^e contrary, from y^e same witnesses. Mr. Websters Libell^e consisted of Propositions so Generall y^t y^e Presbitery thought it requisite to add some qualities to them to make them what Mr. Webster called them. Whether Socinian[†] or Arminian[‡] y^t y^e sense might be determined before y^e examin'd y^e witnesses. The Defendant is allowed by an act of y^e Generall Assembly to produce his witnesses first for Exculpation. When y^e professor was about to produce his witnesses: Mr. Webster protested against y^e conduct of y^e Presbitery, and appaled to y^e Generall Assembly. (y^e synod was to near) on may y^e 4th y^e Assembly met, and y^e Last moderator Preached before them. The Earl of Rothess was y^e King's commissioner. Mr. Casteys principal of y^e college of Edinburgh was chosen new moderator. On y^e 6th y^e Read their obligations as Civill and Ecclesiastick subjects. On y^e 7th Mr. Websters Appale came before them, as for y^e Presbiteries conduct y^e refer'd it till y^e whole matter was considered. The controversy y^e refer'd to y^e committee of overturs (w^{ch} met to prepare work for y^e Assembly), to propose y^e method for ending it. On y^e 9th Two ministers were deposed for not keeping y^e day of thanksgiving for y^e Kings accession to y^e throne, and being demanded whether y^e had pray'd for y^e King, y^e would not answer. On y^e 10th and 11th The Transporting of Two ministers were voted, but not with unanimity. On y^e 12th y^e Synod books were called for to be examined. On y^e 13th The Committee of overtures proposed y^t for ending y^e foresaid controversy, and for mentaining purity of doctrine in y^e Church: There should 30 ministers and 6 ruleing Elders meet at Edenbrugh a certain day in July next, and y^t y^e should distinguish what contradicted y^e confession of faith, from what orthodox divines differ'd in, not being determined in y^e confession. The Assembly committed y^e naming of such as should meet for y^e work, to y^e committee, ordering them to take in all y^e Professors of divinity y^t were ministers. On y^e 14th A petition of y^e Generall Assembly to y^e King was read and approved: wherein y^e desired a redress of some Grievances, as first, y^t of almost boundless tolleration, y^t y^e discipline of y^e Church was wakened, by y^e Episcopals receiveing Excommunicants into their communion &c. 2^{ly} That y^e patrons hindred y^e people from having an intrest in chusing their pastor. 3^{ly} That y^e oath of abjuration. On y^e 16th The Professor craved y^e Assembly would oblidge Mr. Webster to declare if he would prove what he had undertaken, or he could not. (for he had taken

* The summons containing the plaintiff's allegations.

† Unitarian.

‡ The antithesis of Calvinistic.

instruments in y^e Assembly, y^e he was oblidged to Prosecute him no further, but he would leave it to y^e Church) Mr. Webster adhared to it, but y^e Assembly oblidged him to insist. On y^e 17th The Assembly broake up, and y^e Commissionner in y^e King's name appointed y^e next meeting y^e first thursday in may next. On y^e 18th I came to Glasgow, and was better pleased with it than Edenburgh, both for houses and people; only Edenbrough has more inhabitants. Some think it has 60,000 person in it. Its said it had 35,000 familys in it 5 years agoe, but now its mourning for want of a Parliament, while y^e nobillity spend their moneys at London, which makes some uneasy at y^e union. On y^e 23rd, There happend a fire in this city, which burnt about 5 or 6 hours, persons lives were spared, but some have suffered great Loss. The building was one persons, and set* for 700 mark Scots† by y^e year, 2^d sterling is 02 £ Scots and y^e rest accordingly. I dont hear y^e Loss is computed. my love to my Cousin and desiring your prayers, I continue your Loveing cousin,

JONATHAN WOODWORTH.

Glasgow, June y^e 1st, 1715.

A fourth by y^e same hand.

Dear Cousin.

Yours I recivd y^e 27th Instant. on y^e 3rd our Professor ended his Lectures, with serious exhortations to practical Godliness, and sincere Religion, and a conversation suited to y^e study of Divinity. He appointed severall exegesis to those that were to stay in y^e vacancy, which is to Last till about y^e 10th of October. To me he appointed, An Christus Divinæ Justitiæ, plene' satisfecit? The English commonly stay 2 Sessions in y^e hall, and many things concurring do perswade me, I design to do y^e same, which will come to a year and an half from my entrance. We have oppertunity of improving ourselves in y^e vacancy, by reading and converse, y^e best of y^e English staying in Town. The English only have Liberty to have books out of y^e Library. The books y^e Professor has Lectured are markius, Pictætus, and y^e confession of faith. Markius is y^e present Professor at Leyden under whom our professor was brought up for some time. The Title of his book is, markii medulla Theologiæ Christianæ, being a compend of a greater volume. Pictate is (if Liveing) Professor att Geneva. His stile is plain, he pleases y^e Professor very well. He Particularly commends him for avoiding many scolastick terms in y^e explication of y^e Trinity: And his distinct handleing of Justification. He Reconciles Paul and James, by supposing different Libells from w^{ch} men may be accused at y^e day of Judgment.

* Let.

† The Mark Scots = 1s. 1½d. English money therefore the rent was £39 7s. 6d.

As if he be accused of having broken y^e Law, he is justified by faith in Christ, but if he be accused of infidelity, hypocrisie &c. and so as having no intrest in Christ, he is justified by works, i.e. his works are an evidence of the truth of his faith, and consequently of his intrest in Christ. In his Preface he gives us a brief hystory of y^e progress of Systematick Theology. y^t in y^e Apostolick and succeeding ages, divinity was Plain, and suited to y^e capacity of y^e vulgar, but by degrees obscurer Terms crept in, and in 12th or 13th and 14th Century, when y^e Schoolmen flourished, y^e Scriptures were much neglected, and their Theology consisted in many vain and curious Questions. Hence (says he) our Reformers saw Good reason to give themselves to y^e study of y^e Scriptures, and extirpate y^e Scholastick Theology. Tho: y^e retaind their systematick method. But this Author is Larger than marckius. The Professor only reads him occasionally, on some subjects. The book seems to bear witness what a desire was in its author, for promoteing peace among divines, where y^e differed.

The Confession y^e Professor reads with marckius, and shews a great respect to y^e authors of it. on y^e 27th y^e semi and Batchlor classes broke up, and y^e maistrand class had broke up before. I have been in Mr. carmichaels private class, reading Pneumaticks, and Ethicks, he is Regent this year in y^e Batchlor class. In logick he reads *Ars cogitandi* his own Thesis, and a small compend He has printed. He follows Mr. Lock much in y^e part, as indeed in all y^e parts of humane Learning. In pneumaticks he reads *De Vrione* Professor Philosopie utraject determinationes pneumatici containing 159 pages with his own Theses. In metaphisicks (which I should have nam'd before) he reads *De Vrione* out of Determinationes, consisting of 53 Pages, and his own Theses. In Ethicks he reads *Puffendorff* de officio hominis & civis, with his own Theses. He often differs from Puffendorff. Particularly where he makes y^e end of y^e Law of Nature to be confin'd to this Life, Preface, page y^e 5th—and where he allows persons to express themselves contrary to what y^e think, when y^e may profit themselves and wrong none, to which Mr. C answers, if we are not obligd to tell y^e truth, we should hold our peace, or give y^e generall answer, never forgetting y^e universall and unexceptionable Law of nature That none deceive others, either by words or signs, which in Philosophy may be justly taken for expressions of our conceptions. The Authors before mention'd are read by M^r Lowdon when he comes to them, and I know not but y^e may be read in other colleges in Scotland. M^r D in y^e magistrand class is but lately chosen. I am through spareing Goodness in Good health, desiring your prayers: I continue your obliged, as well as Loveing cousin,

JONATHAN WOODWORTH

Glasgow July y^e 1st 1715

A fifth by y^e same hand.

Dear Cousin,

I receiv'd yours Last monday. I am Glad to hear nothing but well from you. I return you many thanks for your remembrance of me, and those y^t were willing to cast their bread upon y^e waters, may y^e not miss to find it after many dayes, in y^e prospering of their outward affairs, and in obtaining an inheritance more glorious in a better country, y^t y^e may experimentally find it more blessed to give than to receive. And may what y^e have bestow'd, answer y^e pious designs of those y^t honoured y^e Lord with their substance, with an eye to the promoteing of his glory.* The Tumults in England† are no acceptable news to us here. but as a spirit of Persecution has formerly refin'd y^e Church: so its to be hoped this will be for our good some way or other: We are yet in peace here, Tho' not altogether secure from danger from y^e enemy. Had y^e Pretender come at unawares, he might (we had reason to fear) have done much mischief here. But y^e precautions taken by y^e Government, (its said) have discouraged his party. Scotland is ready now to give him a very warm reception.‡ Yesterday, a day of Publick humiliation was solemnly observ'd, appointed by y^e commissioner for y^e General Assembly, for y^e preventing Divine Judgments for y^e sins of y^e nations. In y^e forenoon y^e minister expounded y^e former part of y^e 20th of y^e 2 book of Chronicles. He considered y^e consequences of a popish King, Notwithstanding what fair promises might be made, considering how King Lewes of France, and Queen Mary of England requited those Protestants y^t had so great a hand in Promoteing them to y^e Throne. He Preached from Jer: y^e 7th y^e 14th and laid before them y^e sins of y^e Nations, and concluded from y^t of y^e Prophet At what time I speak against any nation &c. And in y^e afternoon y^e principal preached from Revelations y^e 3rd 19th. Among other sins they considered y^t of Sabbath breaking, and reproved them for spending y^e day Idly, looking thro' their windows, as if y^e had nothing to do on y^t day, as also suffering servants and children, to wander about on y^t day, by which it appears how strictly y^e enjoyn y^e keeping of y^e lords day. I remember it was an observation of Mr Henry§ a little

* This seems to indicate that the cost of the writer's education was defrayed by the subscriptions of friends.

† The Jacobite riots began again on the accession of George I. A Riot Act was passed July 13, 1715, and the Habeas Corpus Act suspended soon after, when a reward of £100,000 was offered for the capture of the Old Pretender.

‡ Volunteer regiments were raised in all the loyal towns of the west of Scotland, in response to a circular letter of Argyll, the royalist generalissimo in Scotland; and by his instructions, dated Edinborough, Sept. 15, 1715, 700 of the Glasgow volunteers, commanded by the Lord Provost, John Bowman, marched to Stirling four days after. The city defences were strengthened, and a ditch, 12 feet wide and 6 feet deep, made round it.

§ Matthew Henry, the Commentator, 1662-1714, Presbyterian pastor at Chester. Married, first, Hardern of Bromborough; second, Warburton of Grange.

before his death : That Religion Rises or falls with y^e keeping of y^e lords day. In my Last I gave you some account of y^e authors taught in Logicks, Metaphisicks Pneumaticks and Ethicks. I do not remember y^t I said anything of Physicks. M^r Carmichael (who is I am perswaded y^e best Philosopher here) reads Le Clerk,* not because he thinks he gives a true account of nature, but because its a compleat system. He finds him very defective in y^e mathematicks, as indeed all or most in y^t country have commonly been, y^e mathematicks not being I think much taught there. He makes use of Keils† *introducto ad veram physicam* also : and says y^t man makes himself master of what he saith. He makes use also of Whistons‡ Prelections, but thinks him not as good as Keil, having a fancy more quick than deep. There's a book containing several sermons preach't at Boyls Lectures by M^r Dertram§ off upminster H.R.S. of great esteem here. I doubt not but he makes y^t part of Phylosophy to answer its true end, by proving y^e existence and attributes of God, from y^e works of creation, and making suitable reflections, and inferences. He has new published y^e 2nd volume, y^e former he calls, *Phisico Theology*,§ y^e Latter *Astro Theology*,§ both in English. Mr. Rays|| Wisdom of God in y^e works of creation is much of y^e same nature. you may expect to hear from me y^e first oppertunity after y^e professor has been at Edenburgh if not before. when you have an oppertunity to write, you may let me know how many you have receiv'd, since your Last writeing. I think none miscarried but y^e first. my Last dated about y^e 12th Instant. My Love to my Cousin desiring your prayers, I continue your Loveing Cousin

I am in good health

JONATHAN WOODWORTH

Glasgow August y^e 21st 1715

A sixth Letter by y^e same hand.

Dear Cousin,

Its a considerable time since I heard from you, but y^e Publick Confusion¶ I suppose may either hinder you from writing

* John le Clerc, of Geneva, 1657-1736. *Genesis, sive Mosis Prophetæ, Liber primus.*

† John Keil, M.D., 1671-1721, Mathematician. *Introductio ad Veram Physicam*, 1701.

‡ William Whiston, M.A., 1667-1752, Professor of Mathematics, Cambridge, till his ejection. *Prælectiones Astronomicæ*, 1711.

§ William Derham, F.R.S., 1657-1735, Canon of Windsor, Rector of Upminster, Boyle Lecturer, 1711-12. *Physico-Theology*, 1713. *Astro-Theology, or the Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God*, 1714.

|| John Ray, 1623-1705, Naturalist, founder of The Ray Society. *The Wisdom of God manifested in the Works of the Creation*, 1704.

¶ The Highland clans were summoned by the Fiery Cross, and the standard of the Pretender raised at Kirk Michael, in Braemar, 6th Sept., 1715, by John Erskine, 11th Earl of Mar, who issued a proclamation in the name of James VIII. three days after; and later on in the same month, again solemnly raised the standard at Moulinearn, in Athol. This was the second attempt at insurrection. The first was on 23rd August, 1705, when the old Pretender sailed into the Frith of Forth with the French fleet, which was dispersed by the combined arrival of a storm and the English fleet.

or intercept y^e epistles. Two Regiments of dragoons Stanhop's and Newton's have Quarter'd here for some time. Last friday, save one, y^e marched towards Stirling, and on Lords day after y^e Duke of Argyle* and Generall Coddagan, marched from Stirling towards Perth to Attack y^e Rebels without delay. All y^e Artillery and other necessaries for y^e army being come before y^e came to Perth y^e met with some of y^e Rebels, and after some Resistance (whereby some of y^e Kings army were wounded) y^e took them Prisoners and sent them to Stirling. By an express from Perth we are advis'd y^t on Teusday Last about 2 in y^e morning, y^e Pretender came from Scoon to Perth, and hearing of Argyles approach, it was proposed by Lord Drummond y^t y^e Town should be burnt, but y^e Pretender and Mar^t were against it: At 10 y^e body of y^e Rebels went off from Perth for Dundee. Leaveing all their Guns except 4 with their stores of straw, corn, and meal of which y^e had a considerable quantity, but Left 300 men behind them to prevent advices from Perth to Argyle till y^e could get to dundee about 10 miles from Perth, ordering y^e same men to burn ye Town if Argyle come on them y^t day, but accounts of it came to Argyle at 3 in y^e afternoon who immediately with a thousand horse and 600 foot came to perth by one next morning: he found y^e Town empty but not burnt y^e said men haveing not had sufficient warning of his coming. The Rebell magistrates, and such as favour'd y^e Rebellion in Perth were imprisoned at Argyles first arrivall there, and at night most of y^e army marched towards Dundee in Pursuit of y^e Rebels. Another express adds, y^t y^e Pretender being in a fine bed at Perth at y^e provosts house and was scarce warm but was oblidged to Leave it, and Argyle at his approach there Lay in y^e same bed. Also y^t some of y^e Rebels fled to Aberdeen and those y^t went to dundee stayd there but one night. Its said y^e Pretender has not heard an Episcopall minister Preach, pray, or ask a blessing since he came into Scotland, and y^t he refused to take y^e Scotch coronation oath, because he would be oblidgd to mention y^e Protestant Religion. We hear y^t at his first coming he was indisposed, and had a melancholy aspect, and y^t y^e people were not well pleased with his person. Tis said y^t he had writ a petheticall Letter to y^e Pope, who has orderd him to be prayd for. Its suspected y^t foreign forces are to joyn y^e Rebels, of which y^e King and Parliament are apprehensive, and therefore are preparing for it. The Presbyterian ministers about Aberdeen are imprisoned. Two great men in Scotland are Lately dead, one eminent in y^e church, y^e other in y^e State. The former is M^r Carstares‡ principal of the Colledge at Edenburgh, and one of y^e ministers

* John, 2nd Duke of Argyll.

† John Erskine, Earl of Mar.

‡ William Carstares.

there, who for christian moderation, Piety, and Learning, and publick usefullness, has not perhaps Left one equall to him in Scotland. I remember he was moderator in y^e Last Generall Assembly, and in y^e commitee y^t met concerning our professor, wherein he shewd himself to be a workman y^t needed not to be ashamed. He was something like M^r Henry. y^e other is M^r T: Smith Esq^r representative for this place in y^e Brittish Parliament. He was known to be a promoter of y^e Good of his country. The King's Army is so disposed, y^t y^e duke of Argyle will be in y^e Right, and Generall Codogan in y^e Left wing of y^e Army. 'Tis to be hoped, y^t this Rebellion will tend to y^e effectuall cutting off all hopes of a popish Government, and y^e establishment of a Protestant Succession on a Good foundation, tho' y^e Rebels would be far from promoteing y^t Good End designedly, but he y^t can make y^e wrath of men to praise him, can make use of them to promote an end y^e set themselves to oppose.

Desireing an intrest in your prayers, I continue your Loveing Cousin

JONATHAN WOODWORTH.

Glasgow, february y^e 4th 1715-16.

P.S.— Feb. y^e 6th, we hear y^e Pretender is fled from Scotland. my Love to my cousins. farewell.

A 7th Letter, written by y^e same hand.

Dear Cousin

I received your about y^e 6th of march, which give me a melancholy account of your family. We find theres little reason to call this our home, or to expect satisfaction in humane enjoyments, when vanity and vexation of spirit is writ on our dearest comforts. Nothing can be a solid ground of comfort to our discomposed minds, when y^e desires of our eyes are taken from us: but y^e grounded hopes of our intrest in him who is y^e only portion y^t can be rested on. When this is our case, we have this universal salve for every sore: y^t all things shall be turnd for y^e best. Mr. Henry tells us, y^t when his first wife lay on her sick bed, which proved her death bed, She would say When I come to heaven, I shall know, I could not have done without this affliction, were we not sometimes in heaviness (if need be) thro' manifold temptations, we might be in danger to forget we are but sojourners, and set our affections on those comforts y^t are only allow'd us for our refreshment in y^e way: Happy are we if we can see y^e Rod, and him y^t has appointed it, and make a suitable improvement of every mournfull dispensation.

We are at present in Peace, and safety here, but its said at

Edenbrough y^e are affraid of an invasion from Swedland, some of y^e Rebels being gone thither, tho' one would think y^t prince has work enough at Home, if he is not assisted secretly with money from other Potentates. The Rebels in y^e north are not totally scattered, but having advice where some of them are in companies, Generall Codogan is gone to attack them with about 2000 men. Some of y^e Kings forces are orderd to go for England about y^e 10th Instant.

Our Professor is to go to Edenbrough to renew y^e controversy between him and M^r Webster, y^e ministers appointed to examine it are to meet, y^t y^e may go thro' it, and deliver their oppinion to y^e Generall Assembly, who are to meet y^e first Thursday in may. The Professor has gone thro' y^e most difficult parts of y^e System, so y^t I expect he'll convene us no more after his return from Edenborough. Besides y^e divines hall I wait on y^e mathematick class this year, and on M^r Carmichael, (who is in y^e magistrand class this year) his morning prelections in Physicks. He designs to dismiss his pupils about may day, about which time I design to Leave Glasgow if not before. The Prisoners here, at Edenbrough and Stirling are to go to London to be Tryed there. Those at Edinburgh and Stirling Petition to be Transported, but these here chuse rather to commit themselves to y^e Kings mercy being most of them forced into y^e Pretenders service, and deserting when y^e could get an oppertunity.

April y^e 3^d. I have a Lecture to deliver, when y^e Professor comes back from Edenbrough if I stay. But I am not certain. I design to come to see you, when I have an oppertunity. I continue your humble Servant as well as Kinsman,

Glasgow March y^e 30th 1716.

JONATHAN WOODWORTH.

P.S.—We have account from Dumfries, y^t y^e Jacobites in y^t country have set severall houses in y^e Town on fire at several times, and threaten to Lay y^e Town in ashes because y^e think their hindring those y^t went to England from entring into y^t Town was y^e cause of their going into England, and consequently of y^e miseries y^e have met with there. 30 horse have been sent to make search for those Rebels but have return'd without finding any of them. We hear y^e pope is resolv'd to furnish y^e Pretender, with a great sum of money to enable him to carry on his affairs. We hear y^t some of y^e Rebels are arived at Ghent and Bruges.

An 8th Letter by y^e same hand, written in England, being y^e Last he ever writt to me.

Dear Cousin,

I desire to be excused y^t you have not heard from me or seen me before now which was beside my expectation wanting

opportunity when I came from Scotland. I was some days with Mr. Aray. I heard y^t you were gone to your father in Laws at y^t time. Since I came home I have been confined to bussiness. At our classically meeting at Knutsford in Auguste I was examin'd. The Lords day after I was sent by Mr. Thomas Holland* to Kingsley near fradsholm, who invited me to be his successor there, he being invited to Wem in Shropshire: The people at Kingsley being also desirous I should come, I accepted y^e call, and have supplyd y^e place† ever since except one day. Maxfield‡ has wanted a fixed Pastor this long time, y^e made their application only to Two, M^r Kings, and M^r Culshell.§ M^r King's congregation would by no means allow of his removall, and so he refused to come. M^r. Culshell from Hereford has by degrees brought his congregation to comply, and I hear D^r Rigby from near Penrith is to succeed him. To morrow I am to be at Cross Street,|| and M^r Fletcher¶ is to be at Kingsley to administer y^e Sacrament of y^e lords Supper. Desiring a place in your Intercessions I am your humble servant and loveing Cousin,

JONATHAN WOODWORTH.

Hale Feb. ye 22: 1716-17.

P.S.—I hear from Stockport, y^t some of y^e disaffected party have done some mischief to y^e meeting house there:*** And y^t M^r Mills†† y^e minister of y^t meeting, has been and is disorder'd, and unable to Preach this long time. M^r Aldred‡‡ has Printed a sermon, preached at manchester on y^e 14th of November, being y^e day on which y^e Rebels were defeated at Preston, which he

* Rev. Thomas Holland, educated at the Manchester Training School, ordained by Matt. Henry at Chester, 1711, assumed the pastorate at Kingsley, 1714, and removed to Wem, Shropshire, 1717.

† The Chapel at Kingsley had in 1715 a congregation of 100, of whom 30 were freeholders. Matthew Henry frequently preached there.

‡ Macclesfield.

§ Rev. Thomas Culceth, inducted at Macclesfield, May, 1717, and held the cure till 1751.

|| This is what was until recently the Unitarian Chapel at Cross Street, on Sale Moor (the Roman Watling Street): it has a freehold farm endowment at Ashton upon Mersey, value £40 per annum, and has lately been transformed into a school.

¶ Mr. Fletcher was pastor at Cross Street from 1700 to 1708, and must have been a popular preacher, as his congregation numbered 322. Bishop Gastrell, *Notitia Castellana*, Vol. I., p. 322, says, "There was a Presbyterian Meeting House, at Cross Street in this parish, to which great numbers resort," anno 1710.

*** The Jacobite riots began at Warrington 10th June, 1715, and spread all over the county. At the close of the rebellion grants for reparations were made by the Government, £1500 being paid for damages to Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, and £140 for damage to Mr. Aldred's Chapel at Monton, where two magistrates had incited the rioters. No mention is made in Heginbotham's *Stockport* of injury to the chapel in that town, but the mob set fire to the vicarage—the Rev. William Nicols, Vicar of Stockport at the period being a strong Hanoverian partisan.

†† Rev. Richard Milne, ordained at Macclesfield by Matthew Henry, 17th June, 1700, built, and became minister of the earliest Presbyterian Chapel in Stockport, 1702. "The Tabernacle," and resigned the pastorate after some disputes with his congregation, 1718. Mr. Walkden became pastor of this chapel, 1744.—*Trans. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XXXII., p. 117.

‡‡ Jeremiah Aldred, minister at Monton, preached the first anniversary sermon on "The Battle of Preston," at Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, 1716. Others were preached in the same place by Charles Owen, D.D., 1717, Joseph Mottershead, 1718, and Joshua Jones, 1719, and were all published.

calls y^e hystory of Saul and David. I hear y^e Losses y^e county of Shropshire has received by y^e mobs, amounts to about 900^l^{bs}. John millots eldest son is dead.

The authour of these Letters, was a sober godly hopefull youth, a good Scholler, and one y^t apply'd himself but too close to his studys : he devoted himself to y^e work of y^e ministry and was some time under y^e direction, and Tutorage of y^e Revnd Mr. Charles Owen, now of Warrington, till y^e Scism bill† took place, and then Mr. Owen desisted, and this young man went to Glasgowe, where he spent a year and an half or near, and return'd to his own country, was examin'd well approved, and exercis'd his ministry for a while at Kingsley near fradsholm in y^e County of Chester. But Alas ! thro: y^e infirmity of his constitution, and to close and prolrix studies, he fell into distempers of body, which being attended with some syttems of a Hypocondraick mellauncholly, in a few weeks took him off. To y^e grief of his aged parents and to y^e universall Loss of y^e Church of Christ. he was very hopefull, and died much lamented by many y^t knew him, when he might be about 26 years old, at his fathers house in Halle, a small village about 2 miles distant from Altringham in y^e county Palatine of Chester.*

* Charles Owen, D.D., of Warrington, persecuted and acquitted, 1713, for a libel in a pamphlet which passed through 33 editions. The congregation numbered 713, of whom 82 were freeholders.

† The Schism Bill, which prohibited Nonconformist ministers teaching children without a licence from the Bishop of the Diocese.